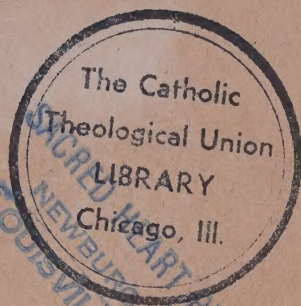




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Rev. Eugene Donahoe



MANUAL
OF
UNIVERSAL CHURCH HISTORY.
VOL. I.I.
SECOND PERIOD (A.D. 700—1303).

MANUAL
OF
UNIVERSAL CHURCH HISTORY.

BY THE
REV. JOHN ALZOG, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FREIBURG.

TRANSLATED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE NINTH AND LAST GERMAN EDITION

BY THE
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DOCTOR OF THEOLOGY AND OF CANON AND CIVIL LAW, PRESIDENT OF THE PROVINCIAL
SEMINARY OF MOUNT ST. MARY'S OF THE WEST, CINCINNATI, OHIO;

AND THE
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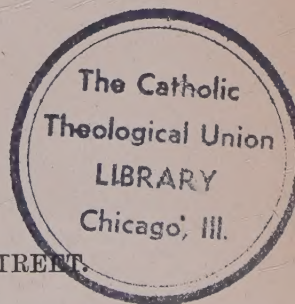
IN FOUR VOLUMES.
WITH CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES AND ECCLESIASTICO-GEOGRAPHICAL MAPS.

VOL. II.

New Edition.

DUBLIN:
M. H. GILL AND SON, O'CONNELL STREET.

1900



Cincinnati, August 15th, 1874.

With no ordinary satisfaction we attach our "Imprimatur" to this most necessary Manual of Ecclesiastical History of the Rev. Dr. Alzog. The work, as it comes from the hands of the Rev. President and a Rev. Professor of our Seminary, may be considered an improvement on the original. It is better adapted to our needs, and from the favour with which the prospectus has been received by our Most Reverend and Right Reverend Prelates and Professors of Theology, we have no doubt of its being regarded as a valuable acquisition to ecclesiastical science.

✠ J. B. PURCELL,

Archbishop of Cincinnati.

Baltimore, August 28th, 1874.

Dr. Alzog's Manual of Church History is by far the best compendium of Church History within my knowledge, and is specially fitted to be a text-book on the subject in Colleges and Seminaries. It is no mere compilation, as such books generally are, but a fresh and original history, such as could have been written only by a man of the most extensive and accurate learning. . . . I have looked over the proof-sheets you forwarded to me, and am convinced that this most excellent Manual has been much improved by your labours. It has been admirably "done into English," and its value as a text-book and guide in this most useful but much neglected branch of study is greatly increased by your brief notes, additional documents, &c. With sincere respect,

Very truly yours in Christ,

✠ J. ROOSEVELT BAYLEY,

Archbishop of Baltimore.

PREFACE.

THE second volume of the translation of Dr. Alzog's Universal Church History, like the first, enjoys the sanction of the proper ecclesiastical authorities. The translators take this occasion to thank many prelates for their cordial approbation; and reviewers, Catholic and non-Catholic, for their judicious notices and words of encouragement.

The work of editing has been far more extensive and laborious in this than the preceding volume. While conscientiously careful not to omit a single sentence of the original, the translators have introduced much that is wholly new, from reliable sources, relating chiefly to countries where the English language is spoken, and in some sections—as, for instance, in that treating of the British Isles—have used the text only as an outline for their guidance.

Again, the author has himself made very important changes and considerable additions in the later German editions of his history, which are now reproduced for the first time in a translation. In preparing his eighth edition, Dr. Alzog entirely recast his former textbook of one volume, added much new matter, partially improved the faults of brevity and obscurity in his sentences by the employment of a more copious diction, and issued the work as a *Manual* in two volumes. In the ninth edition he made similar improvements, both as to matter and form, many portions being not only revised, but entirely rewritten.

The fourth and last edition of the French translation by Goeschler and Audley, edited by Abbé *Sabatier*, and published in 1874-75, is, as far as the French Revolution, based on the *seventh* German, and from 1729 to our own time on the *eighth*, which appeared respectively in 1859 and 1867. The English translation is the only one made on the *ninth* and last German edition, published at Mentz in 1872, and contains, moreover, the latest additions and amendments of the author

which he was kind enough to send the translators, thus giving this translation his fullest approbation.

Lest anyone should think that the translators are inclined to put too high an estimate on Dr. Alzog's work, it may be well to quote here what has been said of it by Dr. Kraus, himself the author of an excellent Church History,¹ and therefore entitled to speak with some authority. "Since Döllinger's Text-book," says he (Ch. Hist., Preface), "is incomplete, and Ritter's Manual has, in a great measure, grown obsolete, the only available book we have now is Dr. Alzog's 'Manual and Abridgment of Church History.'"² They may furthermore add that they have been most conscientious as to the truth of every statement made, whether in the original or in their own additions, and have in *no instance* rested content with anything short of absolute accuracy where this was possible. "To arrive at truth," says a distinguished modern writer,² "is the object, the duty—nay, the joy—of the historian. Once he has found it, he admires its dignity, appreciates its convenience—because it alone clears up all difficulties—never ceases to pursue and love it, and constantly aims at portraying it or something which he mistakes for it." Such also has been their aim and recompense. Any other policy would be dishonest and fraught with disaster. These are serious times; there are only two camps and two standards in the intellectual and religious world now. Under the one are ranged the defenders; under the other the enemies of the Church, for those who are not with her are against her. The eyes of all, friends and foes alike, are turned towards those centuries which it is the custom to call the Middle or Dark Ages, whose history, traditions, and institutions modern scientists, because they fear their influence, affect to despise. But, for good or for evil, their history is being studied and studied thoroughly. Is it not, therefore, the highest duty, as well as the highest wisdom of the historian, to tell the naked, unvarnished truth about them? Is it honest, is it profitable, to conceal disagreeable facts—facts which, though humiliating, are far better told frankly by a friend than openly paraded and misrepresented by an enemy? Such has been the course pursued in this history. The truth has been plainly spoken, without addition and without diminution, irrespective of whom it may benefit or harm.

¹ Dr. F. X. Kraus, Text-book of Ch. Hist. 3 vols., Treves, 1872-1875.

² M. Thiers, Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire, Vol. XVI., p. 418.

“Ought history,” asks Père Lacordaire, “hide the faults of men and orders? It was not,” he replies, “in this sense that *Baronius* understood his duty as an historian of the Church. It was not after this fashion the Saints laid open the scandals of their times. Truth, when discreetly told,” he continues, “is an inestimable boon to mankind, and to suppress it, especially in history, is an act of cowardice unworthy a Christian. Timidity is the fault of our age, and truth is concealed under pretence of respect for holy things. Such concealment serves neither God nor man. God, indeed, has conferred upon His Church the prerogative of infallibility, but to none of her members has He granted immunity from sin. Peter was a sinner and a renegade, and God has been at pains to have the fact recorded in the Gospel.”¹

Dr. Alzog by no means merits the rebuke conveyed in these indignant words, and the Church will be no loser by his honesty. She is the house of the living God, the pillar and groundwork of the truth, the source of all holiness, and in these she is without spot or blemish. Her faithless children may indeed be a reproach to her, as they have been in every age; but once history has shown that in ceasing to be obedient to her teaching and her precepts they have also ceased to be loyal to the highest principles of Christianity, and the noblest instincts of our manhood, her victory will be complete and her triumph glorious.

THE TRANSLATORS.

*Mount St. Mary's of the West,
Feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1875.*

¹ Lettre du Père Lacordaire à l'abbé Perreyve, 2 avril, 1855. *Foisset, Vie du P. L.* II., 532.

NOTICE OF THE IRISH PUBLISHERS.

WE have to thank the Translators for kindly furnishing us with a list of errors occurring in the American Edition. We have corrected them in this edition as far as we could, giving those at the end of the volume which occurred in pages already printed.

M. H. GILL & SON.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

The following additions and corrections were forwarded by the Author to the Translators too late for insertion in their proper place :

Page 14, line 28 from bottom, after the words fourteenth century add : concerning, Sturleson, the eminent statesman of Iceland, cf. *Gfrörer*, Pope Gregory VII., Vol. II. p. 527 sq.

Page 77, line 18 from top, read : During the first half of the ninth century, Reginbert founded an extensive library.³

Page 79, after 12th line from bottom, add : *Dümmler*, Supplem. to a Hist. of the Archd. of Salzburg from the 9th to the 12th century, Vienna, 1860.

Page 80, add to first line from bottom : *Hennet*, Hist of the Archbishops of Mentz, *ibid.*, 1867.

Page 92, line 13 from bottom, add after Schaffh., 1865 : *Sohn*, Jurisdiction of the clergy in the Frankish Empire, Tübg., 1870. Ancient Private and Public Law of Germany, Weimar, 1871, Vol. I.

Page 102, line 14 from the bottom, after (Comment. in Joan., c. 13), add the following : " Petrus specialiter Principatum judiciaræ potestatis accepit, ut omnes per orbem credentes intelligant, quia quicumque ab unitate fidei vel societatis illius quolibet modo semetipsos segregant, tales nec vinculis peccatorum absolvi nec januam possint regni cælestis ingredi." Hom. II. 16. *Migne*, Ser. lat., T. 94, p. 223.

Page 125, line 18 from top, after A. D. 799 add : *Einhardt*, Charlemagne's biographer, was educated under the care of Alcuin, in the Palatine school, and, by his ability and acquirements, won the esteem and favour of the emperor, by whom he was appointed private secretary (*scriba adjuratus*) and superintendent of public works, or, more correctly, supervising architect. He was the emperor's inseparable companion. On the death of the latter Einhard was made preceptor to Lothaire, son of Louis the Mild, and, being a skilful architect, still managed to retain much of his former influence. He was for many years lay-abbot of various monasteries, but, finally, tiring altogether of secular life, lived a secluded life at the out-of-the-way town of Mühlheim, where he built a monastery, and changed the name of the place from Mühlheim to *Seligenstadt* (City of the Blessed). After agreeing with his wife, Emma, that they should henceforth regard one another only as brother and sister, he became a monk, and died abbot of a monastery (P. A. D. 848).² (This² is transferred from line 10, and the corresponding note, by oversight, omitted at the proper place, is as follows :) ² Cf. The Life and Writings of *Paulus Diaconus* (*Pertz*, Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, Vol. X., p. 247-414). *Abel*, Paulus Diaconus and the other Lombard Historians (Historians of German antiquity, in German, Berlin, 1849). *Stillbauer*, The Life of Eginhard, Seligenstadt, 1872. The *Catholic*, year 1872, in the May number, "The Remains of Einhard," etc.

Page 126, line 16 from bottom, should read : *Alcuin*, Opp. cura Frobenii abbat. ad St. Emmeranum.

Page 163, after line 14 from top add : *Von Jensen*, Ch. Hist. of Slesvig-Holstein, edited by *Michelsen*, Kiel, 1873.

Page 175, line 30 from bottom, for 1860, Vol. I., read : 1860-70, Vol. V.; and in the next line add : *Wattenbach*, The Slavic Liturgy of Bohemia, etc., Breslau, 1857.

Page 176, line 5 from bottom, for 1864-1866, 2 vols., read : 1864-1872. 3 vols.; and add : By the same, Hist. of the Bishops and Archbishops of Prague, being a Memorial for the Celebration for the Ninth Centennial of the See of Prague. *Ibid.*, 1873.

Additions and Corrections.

Page 177, line 15 from top, before the words, *He had*, insert: Aided by the advances made by Wolfgang, Bishop of Ratisbon.

Page 179, place first in the *literature* of § 182: Monumenta Poloniæ historica, ed. Bialowski, Lemberg, 1875, 2 vols.

Ibid., to last line at bottom add: Zeisberg, Polish Historiography during the M. A. Ips., 1873.

Page 206, line 10 from bottom, after T. V., p. 691, insert: Maasmeiner, Oration of Pope Hadrian II., 869, or First Extensive Use of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, Vienna, 1873.

SECOND PERIOD.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH PREDOMINANT AMONG THE GERMANIC AND SLAVIC NATIONS. SHE CONVERTS THEM TO CHRISTIANITY, AND CIVILISES THEM. HER HISTORY TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 144. *Character of the Roman Catholic Church during the Present Period.*

Relic of *Möhler's* (Hist. Polit. Papers, Vol. X., p. 564-574). † *J. v. Görres*, L. I., year 1851, Vol. XXVIII., p. 397-407. The same, Six Lectures on the Fundamental Principle, Method, and Chronological Sequence of Universal History, Breslau, 1830. *De Broglie*, *Le Moyen âge et L'Eglise catholique*, Paris, 1852. *Montalembert*, in the Introduction to his *Monks of the West*, Boston, 1872.

A STRANGE feeling of sadness comes over the historian when about to enter upon the Middle Ages. The Ancient World, shrouded in all the glory of the past, and rich in the splendid and incomparable creations of the human mind, is rapidly passing out of view, and Græco-Roman civilisation, poisoned and rotted to the very core, is about to fall to pieces, to be again restored for a season, by the benign and energising influence of Christianity, to something of its ancient strength and beauty. But Roman society had spent its vital forces and vivifying energies, had become a physical and a moral wreck, and had already gone beyond all possibility of radical and perfect cure, before it passed under the influence of the Church. And, though she might give a lease of existence and impart a measure of her own beauty to a body whose very life-springs were well-nigh dried up, she could not again make it what it once had been, or restore to it the graceful symmetry and agile strength that it had once possessed. But she did what she could, and then bore away to an honourable grave a civilisation whose vital powers were exhausted, and whose remedy was beyond her reach.

The Ancient World, weary of the very refinement of its culture, and disheartened at the problem of life, had neither the energy to rouse its vital forces into action, nor the courage to put an end to an existence that had long since become useless. The great Roman Empire, whose name was once so respected, and whose power was so irresistible, lay like some shattered form, worn with fatigue and enervated with excess, when the Germanic nations, led on by a higher impulse than barbarous instinct, came forth from their mountains and forests in the North, and precipitated themselves with resistless fury upon the fertile plains of the South. Barbarity hovered like some dense storm-cloud over the fair face of Europe, ready at any moment to break and shroud in a night of chaos those once flourishing seats of learning and civilisation. But, amid the wreck of the Ancient World, where all around was desolation and ruin, these young and vigorous nations of the North came into contact with a divine and spiritual power by which their rude and untutored strength was overawed and subdued, to which they bowed down and did homage, which they shortly accepted as the inspirer of their lives and the guide of their conduct, and which they finally revered as a teacher and a ruler, and cherished as a fond and solicitous mother.

At the opening of the Middle Ages, a *new scene of action* is entered upon, and possesses, in the character of the conflicts in which Christianity will engage, and in the triumphs which it is destined to achieve, features *peculiarly* its own. The home of culture and refinement, and the centre of great events have been permanently transferred from the East to the West, and from the South to the North.

Again, among the nations of antiquity, the aims, the hopes, the aspirations, and the endeavours of man were centred in the political importance and temporal prosperity of the State, and he possessed no motive of action higher or more potent than these could supply. The security and well-being of the Commonwealth were the sole aim and purpose of his life, and constituted the one supreme rule of his conduct.

But in the Middle Ages all this is changed. The motives and purposes of human exertion reached out beyond all objects of sense, and up into a region of thought higher and more pure than any merely natural aspirations could inspire. Hence, the character of the progress of mankind will not, in time to come as in time gone by, vary with the varying character of the different nations, as each comes to the front upon the political stage of the world, and, after a season, passes away to make room for its successor, but will have one distinguishing and family feature which will be unmistakably impressed upon all the nations of Europe, because the individual purposes, aims, and aspirations of each will be the common purposes, aims, and aspirations of all, and each separately, and all combined, will employ

the same means to work them out. These nations are introduced to history in the infancy of their civilisation, and their road of passage to a vigorous manhood is clearly marked across the centuries of the Middle Ages.

In the countries now inhabited by the barbarian conquerors of the Roman Empire, and during these ages, when, according to the fine expression of *Herder*,¹ "*the barque of the Church was freighted with the destiny of mankind*," the Church took up a new position and pursued a line of action to which she had no parallel in her past history.

Furnished with all the external implements of conquest the wealth of ancient culture could supply, and preserving that internal compactness and strength which were a consequence of her well-ordered hierarchy, she went forth to the conflict among the rude and barbarous peoples of Europe, whose souls she regenerated and whose hearts she subdued. Having thus lifted humanity up to a higher estate, she proclaimed herself its guardian, and, as such, carried the weight of her influence into every great question of public and private life; extended the circumference of her jurisdiction till it included questions of a purely civil character; and, finally her *Supreme Head*, who during this period reached the zenith of his power, arbitrated between princes and subjects, and nations and peoples.

The principle of unity running through the many and diverse tendencies of mediæval national life, giving the character of oneness to what would else be but a tangled and unintelligible mass of facts, is entirely due to the subduing and predominant influence of the Church, and the energising life of her *religion*, whose teachings schooled the minds of all to common purposes of action, inspired them with common motives, and furnished a common centre, towards which every endeavour gravitated, and in which might be found its sufficient explanation. Hence, the very *character and genius of the Middle Ages* are but the natural outgrowth of religion, and of the social organization that came into existence under its influence.

Some writers prefer to find in the condition of the Church, at this time, only a fit subject for hostile criticism, and the abundant source of all the evils that came upon the Middle Ages; while others, more temperate and unquestionably more fair, candidly admit that, in this age, when civilisation was still in its infancy, she alone possessed and preserved the principle of spiritual and moral fecundity which was to work out the full development of mankind throughout all coming time.² That the Church exercised a beneficent action and a salutary

¹ *Herder*, *Ideas on the History of Mankind*. Stuttg., 1828, Pt. IV., p. 208.

² † *Wührer*, *The Beneficent Influence of the Church during the Middle Ages for the Decrease of Ignorance, Barbarity, and Lawlessness*. (Pletz, *New Theol. Journal*, Vienna, 1831, Vol. I., p. 219 sq.) † *Kober*, *Influence of the Church and her Legislation on Morality, Humanity, and Civilisation during the Middle Ages*. (Tübing. *Theolog. Quart.*, 1858, pp. 443-449.) Compare *Guizot*, *L'Église et la société chrétienne*, Paris, 1861, p. 65.

influence upon the Middle Ages, has been asserted and maintained by men of every shade of opinion, whose ability is beyond all reasonable question, and whose principles are such as to acquit them of any suspicion of undue partiality.

Herder, the eloquent panegyrist of humanity, says, in his *Ideas on the History of Mankind*:¹ "It is doubtlessly true to say that the Roman hierarchy was a necessary power, without which there would have been no check upon the untutored nations of the Middle Ages. Without it, Europe would have fallen under the power of a despot, would have become the theatre of interminable conflicts, and have been converted into a Mongolian desert."

And the great historian of Switzerland discourses as follows upon the same subject: "All the enlightenment of the present day, whereof the daring spirit of Europe will not permit us to forecast the ultimate consequences, either to ourselves or to the other nations of the world, came originally from that hierarchy which, when the Roman Empire fell to pieces, sustained and directed the human race. It imparted, so to speak, to the mind of Northern Europe, which as yet possessed neither elevation nor grasp of thought, a stirring, an energising, and a life-giving impulse, under the impact of which it was carried forward, retarded, indeed, by many adverse and accelerated by some favourable circumstances, till it finally achieved the triumphs that are now before the world."²

To put forward the correct view, and to establish it by well-ascertained and irrefragable facts, is the simple duty of the conscientious historian. His work is greatly facilitated by the historical researches of modern times. These, whether pursued by Catholic or Protestant scholars, are more reliable and impartial than those of former years, and have shed so much light upon the particular question in point, and rendered so large a measure of justice to the Middle Ages, as a whole, that the most reluctant and stubborn minds will be forced to admit that freedom, elevation, enlightenment, and moral grandeur—not servitude, depravity, ignorance, and immorality—were the distinguishing characteristics of these Ages of Faith. In proof of this the following authorities may be quoted:

1. Gallé, in his *Voices of the Middle Ages*,³ says: "One may, in this day, indulge the hope that these voices from a distant past will not return void or die away without calling forth a responsive and generous sympathy. The age of rigid, orthodox Lutheranism, which spurned every effort of the human mind, having the most remote connection with the Middle Ages, has long since passed away. We are now far removed from those days, when men professed to see in the Reformation the dawn of that glorious light which we now enjoy; and in the Middle Ages, but a long and hopeless night, overcast.

¹ *Ideas on the Hist. of Mankind*, Pt. IV., p. 303. Cf. p. 194 sq.

² *John v. Müller*, *Hist. of Switzerland*, Book III., c. 1, "*Hierarchy*."

³ Halle, 1841, Preface, p. vi.

with a deep darkness, the fit accompaniment of ignorance and barbarity."

2. *Jacob Grimm*, in his *Antiquities of German Law*,¹ says: "The wise men of our generation judge of the Middle Ages with about as much fairness as they do of our ancestors of ancient Germany. The ancient poetry of the Germans, which brings before the mind, in a hundred living and glowing pictures, the whole-souled and gladsome life of bygone days, has been reproduced; but to what purpose? It should seem that the senseless gabble about the right of the strong and the oppression of feudal lords would never cease. People talk as though we were strangers to misery and wrong in these latter days, as though there was not one gleam of hope and comfort to soften and soothe the sufferings of the past. Well and good; but from a legal point of view, I will venture to assert that the bondage and servitude of past ages was less harsh and more tolerable than is the condition of our own oppressed peasants, and of the overtaxed journeymen of our factories. The difficulties to be encountered by the poor, and those who go out to serve, in procuring a licence to marry, border on servitude," etc.

3. *Daniel*, in his *Theological Controversies*,² says: "We have all got into the habit of asserting, over and over again, like a set of parrots, with whom it has become a sort of law to hold such language, that the Middle Ages were ages of ignorance and corruption; and we would listen to one demonstrating that two and two make five with far more temper than we should exhibit in entertaining the thought that the darkness which was then upon the earth was not so thick that one might cut it with a knife."

All this is, indeed, bad enough; but, if possible, a worse service is done the Middle Ages by those authors who set out with the distinct purpose of writing up everything connected with them; who set them up as models of civil and ecclesiastical polity, and who propose, for permanent imitation to all future time, a condition of things which was itself the effect and outcome of a state of transition.³

"The Middle Ages," says *Böhmer*, "from having been long unfairly represented, have now come to receive an undue measure of praise. If, on the one hand, the powers of the soul developed with wonderful wealth and beauty, and produced immortal works of great depth and learning, it should not be forgotten, on the other, that traces of barbarism are everywhere visible."

"The Middle Ages," adds *Kraus*,⁴ "were a season of young and luxuriant growth, and produced abnormal and extravagant examples of both goodness and wickedness. They were distinguished by

¹ 2nd. ed. Göttingen, 1854, Pref. p. xxi. sq.

² Halle, 1843, p. 73.

³ *Kraus*, Text-Book of the Ch. Hist. of the Middle Ages. Treves, 1873, Vol. II., p. 205 (Tr.)

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

loftiness, originality, and strength of character, in a degree to which no preceding or succeeding age can furnish a parallel; because only an age of simple, living, and vigorous faith is capable of producing great and noble characters. Nor can it be denied that the higher aspirations of intellectual life during the Middle Ages were directed towards speculation and scientific method. But their strength lay not in this direction. Political theories, poetical creations, and works of fiction, in which the warm and brilliant imagination of the writer not unfrequently borders on the extravagant, are the characteristic intellectual productions of these youthful nations. If there be one thing more apparent than another in all their works of art, in their majestic Gothic cathedrals, and in their theories and speculations, it is **a** reaching out after something higher and holier than earth—an attempt to rise up to the very throne of heaven, to come nearer and nearer to the Most High God. It is not wonderful, then, that with aspirations so lofty, they should lose sight of the mere objects of sense that surrounded them on every side. Like some inexperienced child, they gazed in admiration and wonder upon the phenomena of nature, and regarded it as they might a riddle, of which the solution had been lost. They possessed but a vague knowledge of the history of mankind, and antiquity was to them visible only in undefined outline, and lay at so great a distance behind them that they could catch but imperfect glimpses of it through the hazy medium of legendary lore. But few had any proper appreciation of the office and importance of history. Under such circumstances did these nations enter upon the arena of the civilised world to undertake the solution of the problems of life. They were ignorant of the past, and had no concern in its affairs; but they were keenly alive to the needs of their own times, and met them, as they successively came up, with astonishing versatility of resource.

“Borrowing but little from the ancient civilisation of the nations they had conquered, they created a civilisation peculiar to themselves, of which the prominent features were feudalism and chivalry, vassalage and the hierarchical organization of the States General. Civil equality was, indeed, entirely unknown to the Middle Ages; but, for all this, taking all the institutions of that period, one with another, and it cannot be denied that they were more conducive to freedom and independence than any which characterised Europe from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and than many which exist in a number of European states in our own day. The full development of the hierarchy, which had now grown wealthy and powerful; the astonishing growth of monasticism; the influence of religion, by which the authority of the Church was revered and obeyed by men in every walk of life; and finally, the exaltation of the Papacy and the restoration of the Western Empire through its exertions, complete the picture of the Middle Ages—a period which, when everything is taken into account, is great and memorable in the annals of mankind,

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which we have no wish to see restored, but of which we have no reason to be ashamed."

No man was better qualified than Count *Montalembert* to appreciate justly and depict faithfully the characteristic traits of the Middle Ages; and no man has done so with greater power and brilliancy. The reader will pardon us, therefore, for giving his words at some length:¹

The Middle Ages stand unfortunately between two camps at the deepest enmity with each other, which only agree in misconstruing them. The one hate them, because they believe them an enemy to all liberty; the others praise them, because they seek arguments and examples there to justify the universal servitude and prostration which they extol. Both are agreed to travesty and insult them—the one by its invectives, the other by its eulogiums.

I affirm that both deceive themselves, and that they are equally and profoundly ignorant of the Middle Ages, which were an epoch of faith, but also a period of strife, of discussion, of dignity, and, above all, of freedom.

The error common to both admirers and detractors of the Middle Ages consists in seeing there the reign and triumph of theocracy. It was, they tell us, a time distinguished for ever by human impotence, and by the glorious dictatorship of the Church.

I deny the dictatorship, and I still more strongly deny the human impotence.

Humanity was never more fertile, more manful, more potent; and as for the Church, she has never seen her authority more contested in practice, even by those who recognised it most dutifully in theory.

Religion, it is true, governed all; but she stifled nothing. She was not banished into a corner of society, immured within the enclosure of her own temples, or of individual conscience. On the contrary, she was invited to animate, enlighten, and penetrate everything with the spirit of life; and after she had set the foundation of the edifice upon a base which could not be shaken, her maternal hand returned to crown its summit with light and beauty. None were placed too high to obey her, and none fell so low as to be out of reach of her consolations and protection.

From the king to the hermit, all yielded at some time to the sway of her pure and generous inspirations. The memory of Redemption, of that debt contracted towards God by the race which was redeemed on Calvary, mingled with everything, and was to be found in all institutions, in all monuments, and, at certain moments, in all hearts. The victory of charity over selfishness, of humility over pride, of spirit over flesh, of all that is elevated in our nature over all the ignoble and impure elements included in it, was as frequent as human weakness permitted. That victory is never complete here below; but we can affirm without fear, that it never was approached so closely. Since the first great defiance thrown down by the establishment of Christianity to the triumph of evil in the world, never, perhaps, has the empire of the devil been so much shaken and contested.

Must we, then, conclude that the Middle Ages are the ideal period of Christian society? Ought we to see there the normal condition of the world? God forbid! In the first place, there never has been, and never will be, a normal state or irreproachable epoch on this earth. And, besides, if that ideal could be realised here below, it is not in the Middle Ages that it has been attained. These ages have been called the ages of faith; and they have been justly so called, for faith was more sovereign then than in any other epoch of history. But there we must stop. This is much, but it is enough for the truth. We cannot venture to maintain that virtue and happiness have been throughout these ages on a level with faith. A thousand incontrovertible witnesses would rise up to protest against such a rash assertion, to recall the general insecurity, the too frequent triumphs of violence, iniquity, cruelty, deceit, sometimes even of refined depravity; to demonstrate that the human and even diabolical element reasserted, only too strongly, their ascendancy in the world. By the side of the opened heavens, hell always appeared; and beside those prodigies of sanctity which are so rare elsewhere, were to be found ruffians scarcely inferior to those Roman emperors whom Bossuet calls "monsters of the human race."

¹ Monks of the West, Vol. I., Introduction.

The Church, which is always influenced up to a certain point by contemporary civilisation, endured many abuses and scandals, the very idea of which would to-day horrify both her children and her enemies. They proceeded sometimes from that corruption which is inseparable from the exercise of great power and the possession of great wealth; sometimes, and most frequently, from the invasions of the lay spirit and temporal power. Yes, cupidity, violence, and debauchery revolted often, and with success, against the yoke of the Gospel, even among its own ministers; they infected even the organs of the law promulgated to repress them. We can, and ought to, confess it without fear, because all these excesses were redeemed by marvels of self-denial, penitence, and charity: because beside every fall is found an expiation; for every misery, an asylum; to every wickedness, some resistance. Sometimes in cells of monasteries, sometimes in caves of the rocks; here, under the tiara or the mitre; there, under the helmet and coat-of-arms, thousands of souls fought with glory and perseverance the battles of the Lord, fortifying the feeble by their example, reviving the enthusiasm even of those who neither wished nor knew how to imitate them, and displaying, over the vices and disorders of the crowd, the splendid light of their prodigious austerity, their profuse charity, their unwearied love of God. But all this dazzling light of virtue and sanctity ought not to blind us to what lay beneath. There were more saints, more monks, and, above all, more believers, than in our days; but I do not hesitate to say that there were fewer priests, I mean good priests. Yes, the secular clergy of the Middle Ages were less pure, less exemplary than ours; the episcopate less respectable, and the spiritual authority of the Holy See much less sovereign than now. This assertion will, perhaps, astonish some in their ignorant admiration; but it is not the less easy to prove it. The pontifical power has, at the present time, subjects less numerous, but infinitely more docile. What it has lost in extent, it has more than gained in intensity.

Never, then, was anything more false and puerile than the strange pretence maintained by certain tardy supporters of the Catholic renaissance, of presenting the Middle Ages to us as a period in which the Church was always victorious and protected; as a promised land flowing with milk and honey, governed by kings and nobles piously kneeling before the priests, and by a devout, silent, and docile crowd, tranquilly stretched out under the brook of their pastors to sleep in the shade, under the double authority of the inviolably respected throne and altar. Far from that, there never were greater passions, more disorders, wars, and revolts; but, at the same time, there were never greater virtues, more generous efforts for the service of goodness. All was war, dangers, and tempests in the Church, as in the State; but all was likewise strong, robust, and vivacious: everything bore the impression of life and strife. On the one side, faith—a faith sincere, naive, simple, and vigorous, without hypocrisy as without insolence, neither servile nor narrow-minded, exhibiting every day the imposing spectacle of strength in humility; on the other, institutions militant and manful, which, amid a thousand defects, had the admirable virtue of creating men, not valets or pious eunuchs, and which one and all ordained these men to action, to sacrifice, and continual exertions. Strong natures everywhere vigorously nourished, and in no direction stifled, quenched, or disdained, found their place there with ease and simplicity. Feeble natures, with the fibre relaxed, found there the most fitting regimen to give them vigour and tone. Worthy people, relying upon a master who undertook to defend all by silencing or enchaining their adversaries, were not to be seen there. We cannot look upon these Christians as on good little lambs, bleating devoutly among wolves, or taking courage between the knees of the shepherd. They appear, on the contrary, like athletes, like soldiers engaged every day in fighting for the most sacred possessions; in a word, like men armed with the most robust personality and individual force, unfettered as undecaying.

As for those among its detractors who accuse the Catholic past of the Western races of being incompatible with freedom, we can oppose to them the unanimous testimony, not only of all historical monuments, but of all those democratic writers of our own day, who have profoundly studied this past. Above all, of M. Augustin Thierry, who has shown so well how many barriers and guarantees had to be overthrown by royalty before it would establish its universal sway. This ancient world was bristling with liberty. The spirit of resistance, the sentiment of individual right, penetrated it entirely; and it is this which always and everywhere constitutes the essence of freedom. That freedom has established everywhere a system of counterpoise and restraint, which rendered all prolonged despotism absolutely impossible. But its special guarantees were two principles which modern society has renounced—the principles of hereditary right and association. Besides, they appear to us under the form of privileges, which is enough to prevent many from understanding or admiring them.

It was the energetic and manly character of their institutions and men which secured the reign of liberty in the Middle Ages. We have already pointed this out, but we cannot revert to it too often. Everything there breathes freedom, health, and life—all is full of vigour, force, and youth. 'Tis like the first burst of nature, whose spontaneous vigour had not yet been robbed of any portion of its grace and charm. We see limpid and healthful currents everywhere springing forth and extending themselves. They encounter a thousand obstacles and embarrassments upon their way; but almost always they surmount and overthrow these, to carry afar the fertilising virtue of their waters.

Weakness and baseness! these are precisely the things which were most completely unknown to the Middle Ages. They had their vices and crimes, numerous and atrocious; but in them proud and strong hearts never failed. In public life as in private, in the world as in the cloister, strong and magnanimous souls everywhere break forth—illustrious characters and great individuals abounded. And therein lies the true, the undeniable superiority of the Middle Ages. It was an epoch fertile in men:—

“*Magna parens virūm.*”

FIRST EPOCH.

FROM THE MIGRATION OF THE GERMANIC AND SLAVIC
NATIONS TO THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY VII.,
A. D. 1073.

FOUNDATION OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY OF THE
MIDDLE AGES.

PART FIRST.

FROM THE FOURTH CENTURY TO THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE,
A. D. 814.

"I became all things to all men that I might save all.—1 Cor. ix. 22.

§ 145. *Sources and Works.*

Meihomii, *Rer. German. scriptores*, Helmst., 1688 sq., 3 T., fol. *Leibnitii*, *Scriptores rerum Brunsvic. illustrationi inservientes*, Hanov., 1707 sq., 3 T., fol. *Freheri*, *Rerum Germ. Scriptor.* ed. *Struve*, Argentor., 1717 sq., 3 T., fol. *Ussermannii*, *Monumenta res Alemannicas illustr.*, typis St. Blasian., 2 T., 4to. **Pertz*, *Monumenta Germ. historica*, Hanov., 1826-1875, 21 T., fol. (T. I., II., V., VI.-XIV., and XVI.-XXIII., contain *Scriptores*; T. III., IV., and XV., *Leges*.) *Harzhemii*, *S. J. Concilia, Germ.* (until 1747), Colon., 1759 sq., 11 T., fol. **Jaffé*, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicar.* Berol., 1864 sq., 4 T. Conf. *Dahlmann*, *Authentic Documents of German History*, 2nd. ed. Götting., 1839. **Wattenbach*, *Sources of the History of Germany in the Middle Ages*, 2nd. ed. Berlin, 1866. The *Historians of German Antiquity in a German dress*, by *Pertz*, *Grimm*, and others, Berlin, 1847 sq. *Du Chesne*, *Hist. Francor. scriptor.* Par. 1636 sq., 5 T., fol. **Bouquet-Dom Brial*, *Rer. Gallicar. and Franc. scriptor.* Par. 1738-1833, 19 T., fol. *Muratori*, *Rer. Ital. scriptor. Mediol.* 1723 sq., 27 T., fol. Commenced, *Monumenta Britan.* Conf. *Rosler*, *De annalium medii ævi condit. and De arte critica in ann. Tübg.*, 1788 sq., 4to.

Gregor. Turonens, *H. e. Francorum*, epitomised and continued by *Fredegar* until 641, ed. *Ruinart*, Paris, 1699, fol. (*Bouquet*, T. II., p. 75), in German, Würzburg., 1848 sq. *Beda Venerab.*, *H. e. gentis Anglorum.* *Jornandes*, *De rebus Geticis*, until 540, ed. *Fabricius*, Hambg., 1706, fol., ed. *Closs*, Stuttg., 1861. (*Muratori*, T. I., p. 187.) *Isidor. Hispal.*, *Hist. Gothor., Vandalor., Suevor.*, until 625, ed. *Rosler*, Tübingen, 1803, 4to. *Isidor. Pacens.* (about 754) *Chron.* (*Du Chesne*, T. I.) *Paulus Warnefridus*, *diaconus*, *De gestis Longobard.* libb. VI., fr. 568-744. (*Muratori*, T. I., P. I., p. 395 sq.) *Annales, Rer. Francicar. Laurissenses*, 741-829, revised and continued from 788 in *Annales Einhardi*, 741-829. *Annales Fuldenses*, 714-901. *Bertiniani*, 741-882. (*Pertz*, T. I., p. 124 sq.)

Also, the *Church Histories of particular countries*: *Italia sacra*, *Gallia christiana*, *Germania sacra*, *España sagrada*, etc. †*Papencordt*, *Hist. of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, ed. by *Höfler*, Paderb., 1857. *Gregorovius*, *Hist. of the City of Rome in the*

Middle Ages, Stuttg., 1859 sq., 7 vols. until 1500; of Vol. I., 2nd. ed, 1870. *V. Reumont, Hist. of the City of Rome, Berl., 1867, 3 vols.

Baronii, Annal. Natal. Alex., H. e. sæc. VI. sq. Fleury (see our Vol. I., p. 33.) Stolberg-Kerz, Pts. 16-25. Binterim, Philosophical Hist. of the German National and Provincial Councils, from the Fourth Century to the Council of Trent. See, for this Period, Vols. I. and II.

Profane Historians: †Damberger, Synchronistic Hist. of Church and State in the Middle Ages, Ratisbon, 1850 sq., in 15 vols., until 1378. †Cantù, Universal History of the World, Vol. V. †*Phillips, German History, with particular attention to Religion, Civil Laws, and Political Constitution, 2 vols., Berlin, 1832-1836. †Fehr, Handbook of Christian Universal History, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 312 sq., and Pt. II. †Weiss, Text-book of the History of the World, Vol. II. *Leo, Lectures on German History, Halle, 1854 sq., Vol. I. †Schlegel, Philosophy of Hist., Vol. II. Schlosser-Kriegk, Hist. of the World, Vols. 4-5. See especially Heeren and Ukert, Hist. of the European States, Hambg., 1820 sq. Wachsmuth, Hist. of European Morals, Lps. 1831-1839, 5 vols. Conf. *Potthast, Bibliotheca historica mediæ ævi: Guide through the historical works of European Middle Ages, Berlin, 1862. The Supplement thereto, same place, 1868, gives a most elaborate history of the literature of that period.

§ 146. *Religion of the Germans.* (Conf. § 12.)

I. Herodoti, Histor. lib. IV., c. 93 and 94; lib. V., c. 3. Tacit., De situ, morib. et popul. Germaniæ, and Annal. XIII. 57; Historiar. IV. 64. Jornandes, De reb. Geticis. Abrenuntiatio diaboli and indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum cum commentar. (Ekkart, Comment. de rebus Francor. orient., Wirceb., 1729, T. I., p. 405 sq., epp. Bonifacii ed. Würdtwein, p. 126 sq.; ed. Giles.)

II. Döllinger, The Jew and the Gentile, p. 49 sq. Krafft, Ch. H. of the Germanic Nations, Brl., 1854, Vol. I., p. 128 sq. †Phillips, German History, Vol. I., Jacob Grimm, German Mythology, Götting. (1835), 3rd. ed., 1854. Simrock, Manual of German Mythology, including also Northern, 2nd. ed. Stuttg., 1859. Retberg, Ch. H. of Germany, Vol. I., p. 246 sq.

We have already remarked¹ in the first period of this history, that, when the Barbarians made incursions into the Roman Empire, and particularly while the Arian controversies were going forward, many tribes of Germanic origin were converted to Christianity. But as the propagation and growth of Christianity among them presented features peculiar to the people, and wholly different from those which accompanied the conversion of the Greeks and Romans, and as they took no part in the doctrinal controversies which agitated the rest of the Christian world, it was thought that their history might be rendered more clear and intelligible by treating it separately.

The earliest information we possess of the Germans² is derived from the pages of Tacitus, who treats of them from the time they first came into contact with the Romans.

There is among them a time-honoured tradition, according to which they revere, as the father of their race, *Thuisto* (*Duisco*, *Deutscher*), who is represented as having sprung from the earth, and perpetuated his offspring through his son, *Mannus*. That they were of Asiatic origin there can be no doubt. Their very name, *Reche*, signifying a foreigner or an exile, points unmistakably to their migratory character. The date of this migration cannot be positively

¹ See Vol. I., § 107.

² The name is derived from *Gehr*, or *Wehr-Mannen*, *Wehr-männer*, i. e. *War-men*.

fixed, but it is more than likely that it was coeval with the great confederation of the Assyrian tribes, and that the forward movement of the Scythians was the immediate occasion of it.

Tacitus represents the Germans to us as a people living in the state of nature, and in the traditions and poetry of the past, distinguished by their love of war and their intrepidity in presence of danger; by their strong sense of justice and the fidelity of their attachments; and by their disregard of death and their high appreciation of woman,¹ whom they regarded as in every respect the equal of man.

Their social relations were, as a rule, confined within the limits of those tribes bearing the same names. When arrayed in order of battle, each family had its appointed place; and so great was their love of freedom and independence, that, unless compelled by the most imperative necessity, they would not submit to a superior or obey a chief; and should they be so unfortunate as to receive punishment at the hands of the latter, they would consider such disgrace as the deepest depth of infamy to which it was possible to fall. He alone deserved the name of freeman² who had the courage and ability to defend his life by personal prowess; and to be disarmed in the conflict and deprived of liberty, was an irreparable misfortune.

There existed, however, between the bondman and the free, different degrees of dependence, which varied according to circumstances. The German was not even separated in death from the war-horse and the arms with which he had gained his conquests and defended his personal liberty.

The *Religion* of the ancient Germans, like that of all primitive nations, though less poetic and not so elaborately artistic as the paganism of the Greeks and Romans, consisted in a simple *worship of nature*, bearing in many respects a close resemblance to that of the *Persians*—a people with whom the Germans were very nearly allied in language and physical constitution.³ Their conception of the Deity was beautiful and exalted. "They conceive," says Tacitus, "that to confine gods within walls, or to represent them in *human* similitude, is unworthy the grandeur of celestial beings. They consecrate woods and groves to them, and designate by titles of divinity that secret Power which they apprehend only by the instinct of reverence."⁴

The simplicity of their worship was not accompanied by the sacrificial pomp common to the Gauls.⁵ Still, it would be incorrect to apply to all the Germans, indiscriminately, the accounts given by

¹ Divinum aliquid et providum feminis inesse putant. Tacit., c. 8, Germ.

² Wër, waro, baro, Spanish varon.

³ See Vol. I. § 25.

⁴ Tacit., Germ., c. 9. Cf. *Agath.*, Hist., I. 7.

⁵ Germani multum ab hac (Gallor.) consuetudine differunt; nam neque Druidas habent qui rebus divinis præsint, neque sacrificiis student. *Cæsar*, de bello Gallico, VI. 21.

Cæsar and Tacitus. The latter speaks of one of their temples of *Tanfana*, in the land of the Marsi,¹ and the reports of Christian missionaries, who visited these nations at a later day, make mention of quite a number. Both Cæsar and Tacitus inform us that the Germans worshipped a *Divine Trinity*, known, according to the former of these writers, as the *Sun*, *Vulcan*, and the *Moon*; and, according to the latter, as *Mercury*, *Hercules*, and *Mars*.

Christian missionaries also inform us that the Germans paid special homage to three principal deities, and *St. Columbanus* discovered three idols on the shores of the Lake of Constance. The number three again recurs in their formula of abjuration of the eighth century.

Woutan (Wodan, hence Wodan's day, or Wednesday) was the chief divinity among the Germans. From his throne, high up in the heavens, he gazes through a window out upon the earth, and considers the various occupations of men; or he leads the throng in the wild career of a savage hunt through the air, ranges the hosts in order of battle, and looks after the other avocations of man.

Beside him is *Hulda*, the fearless huntress, who by turns follows the peaceful avocation of a shepherdess, attends Woutan on his aerial voyages through the clouds, admonishes women of their domestic duties, or threatens those who yield to the solicitations of slothful slumbers.

Next to *Hulda* come the *sons* of Woutan. These are *Donar* (Thor, Thunær, whence *Donnerstag*, or Thursday), who hurls the thunder-bolt down upon the earth and flashes the fury of the lightning from out the depths of the clouds; and the one-handed *Ziu* (Tyr, Jr, Erich), the god of war (whence *Erich's-Zinstag*, *Dienstag*, *Tuesday*; French, *Mardi*; Ital., *Martedì*).

Besides these gods of terror, were ranged a race of more *beneficent divinities*, whose office was to look after the fertility of the fields. First came *Ingo*, next *Nerthus* (Mother-earth), accompanied by her offspring, *Frouwo* (Freya), the amiable companion of Woutan (whence *Freitag*, Friday; French, *Vendredi*; Ital., *Venerdì*); and the goddess *Ostare* (*Eostra*), through whose genial influence the glory of spring rises from the death of winter.

If the Germans were proud and arrogant, and refused to submit to any human authority, they were equally humble and submissive in matters of religion, and ready to yield full obedience to the ordinances of the Deity, as revealed through the oracles of their priests.²

They selected as places of sacrifice the tops of mountains, the margin of a clear spring, the surface of a rock, but chiefly the gloomy and mysterious shades of a forest of oaks. They also offered *human*

¹ *Tacit.*, Ann. I. 51. Cf. *Grimm*, loco cit., p. 55. *Retberg*, Ch. H. of Germ., Vol. II., p. 576.

² *Tacit.*, Germ., c. 7. Neque animadvertere neque vincere, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum.

sacrifices by the Lake of *Hertha*, on the island of Rügen. A young man and maiden were cast together into this lake, and perished in its waters.

Doubtful questions of right were submitted to the decision of the gods, whose judgment was made known by issue of duels, Runic wands, and other species of *ordeal*. To test whether a child was legitimate or not, it was placed upon a shield and immersed in the water; if it reappeared on the surface, the judgment was deemed favourable.

When, finally, one of their number took leave of the joys and sorrows of this life, the Germans paid the last tribute of respect to his remains with simple and impressive ceremonies, unaccompanied by either extravagant tumult or pompous parade. The Southern Germans burned, the Northern Germans buried, their dead; and a modest hillock, covered with green sward, was the only monument that marked their last resting-place.¹

§ 147. Religious Belief of the Germans in Scandinavia.

I. The Edda (the story-telling great grandmother), the *more ancient, poetical one*, by Sæmund Sigfusson († 1133), *Edda rhythmica seu antiquior Sæmundina dicta* ed. *Thorlacius, Finn Magnusen*, etc., Hamb., 1787-1828, 3 T. 4to. Editio rec., *Raskii, Cur., Afzelius*, Holm., 1818. Translation of many songs, by *Hagen*, Breslau, 1814. *Grimm*, Berlin, 1815. *Legis*, Lps., 1829 sq., 3 vols. The *prosaic Edda*, commenced by the celebrated statesman and historian of Iceland, *Snorre Sturleson* († 1241), finished in the fourteenth century. *Snorna-Edda ásamt Skáldu af Rask*, Stockholm, 1818; transl. by *Fr. Rûhs*, Berlin, 1812. The earlier and the later Edda, together with the mythological tales of the Skalda, translated and illustrated by *Simrock*, Stuttgart, 1855. Extracts and comments by *Kraft*, Vol. I., p. 118-212. The poem, *Muspilli*, ed. by *Schneller* (*Buchner's Contributions*, Munich, 1832, Vol. I., nro. 2), *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Adam Bremensis*.

II. *Stuhr*, Faith, Science, Philosophy, and Poetry of the Ancient Scandinavians, Copenhagen, 1825. *Legis*, *Alkuna Mythology of the North*, Lps. 1831. *Hochmeister*, *Mythology of the North*, Hanover, 1832. *Petersen and Thomsen*, *Guide to the Knowledge of Northern Antiquities*, translated by *Paulsen*, Copenhagen, 1837. *Münter*, Ch. H. of Denmark and Norway, Lps. 1823, p. 1-104.

The mythology of these Northern Germans contains all the essential elements of religious belief common to every German nation, but among them religion wears a more gloomy aspect, and its similarity to the worship of nature among the ancient Persians is still more marked and striking. Odin, the supreme god, creates the world from the body of the giant *Ymer*, whom he has put to death; and the latter circumstance becomes the prolific source of interminable wars between the creating gods and the race of giants. *Thor* is the god of thunder and of war; *Freyr* is the generating power, and *Freya* the prolific mother, of nature. These three presided over the destinies of men; Odin gives victory, glory, and the gift of song, and Freya brings the joys of requited and the bitterness of disappointed love. The false and the cowardly expiate their deeds of baseness in *Nifheim*, and those who come to an inglorious end wander forlorn in the shades of

¹ Funerum nulla ambitio, . . . monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem, ut gravem defunctis, adspernantur. *Tacit*, Germ., c. 27. These words are remarkable when compared with what Tacitus says of their architecture.

the kingdom of *Helu*; but such as are chosen from among their fellows by favour of the *Valkyres*, and such as fall gloriously on the field of battle, ascend to *Walhalla*, there to continue, until the end of the world, their life of heroism in the company of the gods.

Their sacrificial worship was but a feast of pleasure, during which the banqueters drank their beverages from horns. In seasons of exceptional trouble and threatening danger, they offered *human sacrifices*.

Notwithstanding that gods and men are on easy and familiar terms, a note of *deep and plaintive grief* runs through the Edda from first to last. Both men and gods feel the pangs of sorrow and taste the bitterness of death. Even *Baldar*, the son of Odin, has a presentiment, and the words of an oracle confirm its truth, that the ancient powers of darkness will be one day let loose, come up out of their abyss, and destroy mankind. Although restrained for a season by the prowess of the *Ases*, the most distinguished of the heroes of ancient time, they will in the end break their fetters, and, after a brief and terrible conflict, drag down into the deep abyss both the *Ases* and the heroes of *Walhalla*. While the conflict is still in progress, the world, according to the same oracle, shall go to pieces, and be consumed by fire (*Muspilli*—End of the world).

A new *earth arises* out of this ruin, on which a male and female, still in the state of innocence, are placed. Here also dwell some of the sons of the fallen gods, together with *Baldar*, who has made his escape from the lower regions.

But, in the midst of grotesque fancies like these, the belief in an unknown and higher Power comes prominently forward, to whose general purpose the issue of all these trifling conflicts is subservient: who is the energising principle of the forces of nature, and who restored the world to its *present* definite and permanent form (*Alfadur*).

From this outline of the religious belief of the ancient Germans, we are enabled, besides giving an insight into their character, to understand in how far their doctrines contributed to *open their minds* to the truths of *Christianity*, and to account for:—

1. The purity and delicacy of faith which they exhibited after having once embraced the Gospel. 2. The deep feeling of reverence with which they received the first Christian missionaries, who, in the early days of the mission, were almost, without exception, foreigners. 3. The many and various forms of trial by ordeal, such as those by fire and water, and the appeal to the judgment of God. 4. And, finally, the genius which inspired their architecture and religious paintings. For what are the great and lofty domes of their churches; the countless delicate columns, spreading, as they rise, into branching boughs, and forming sweeping vaults overhead; the finely-tapered spires, piercing the very clouds, adorned with sculptured flowers and foliage cut in stone, and with fantastic statuettes of matchless beauty, but symbols, borrowed from the wild oak forests of ancient Germany, to which a spiritual and a Christian signification has been given, and which have been for ever consecrated to the worship of the true God?

And is not the mysterious and awe-inspiring light of those temples, softened and toned till it wears the guise of another world; and the cunningly-wrought and elaborate branch-work, with stem, and leaf, and flower, through which the bright sunbeams enter with magic effect and indescribable charm, but a feeble attempt to transfer to the purposes of religion something of the majesty and beauty of those grand primeval religious sanctuaries of the Germans.¹

¹ See art. Romans and Germans. in the *Hist. Polit. Papers*, Vol. XII., p. 473 sq.

CHAPTER I.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY.

Gratianus, Hist. of the Propagation of Christianity in the States of Europe, arisen from the ruins of the Roman Empire, Tübg., 1778, 2 vols. † *Hiemer*, Introduction of Christianity in German countries, Schaffh., 1857 sq. *Dollinger*, Manual of Ch. H., Vol. I., Pt. II., p. 138-144. Engl. Transl. of Germanic Nations. *Retberg*, Ch. H. of Germany, Vol. I. *Krafft*, Ch. H., Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 327 sq. † *Friedrich*, Ch. H. of Germany, Bamberg, 1867 sq., 2 vols. *Rückert*, Hist. of the Civilisation of the German People during the period of their transition from Paganism to Christianity, 2 vols., Lps. 1853. * *Pehr*, Introd. to the Hist. of Church and State in the Middle Ages, Stuttg. 1859. The same, State and Church in the Frankish Empire, Vienna, 1869. * *E. v. Wietersheim*, Hist. of the Migration of Nations, 4 vols., Lps., 1869. * *Gfrörer*, Contrib. towards a Hist. of German Popular Rights in the Middle Ages, 2 vols., Schaffh., 1865-66. *Pallmann*, Hist. of the Migr. of Nations, 2 vols., Weimar, 1862-1864. Tr.—For a lucid survey of the Migr. of Nations, see the Hist. Atlas by *Spruner*, and also that by * *Wedell*, which is still better than the former.

§ 148. Among the Goths.

Conf. the art. "*Goths*" in the *Freilburg Eccl. Cyclop.* and the works of *Waitz*, On the Life and Doctrine of Ulfila, Hanover, 1840, and *Bessel*, The Life of Ulfila and the Conversion of the Goths, Götting., 1860.

THE coming of our Divine Lord, which effected so great a revolution in the spiritual world, exercised an influence no less potent and radical in the political. During the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, the nations of the North and East commenced to move forward towards the South and West, without, as we should judge, either guidance or purpose, but really *in obedience to a call from God*,¹ and for the accomplishment of a holy destiny. They were carried forward towards the land in which the Light of the world had dawned, and where its effulgence was steadily growing in splendour, till their vast multitudes fairly thronged those countries in which, according to divine appointment, the Church of Christ had already been established. That so momentous a significance should attach to the migration of nations was early asserted by the unknown author of a work directed against Pelagius, and entitled *De Vocatione Gentium*.² Neither was the Church unprepared or unwilling to give a warm welcome to these rude warriors. On the contrary, she was patiently waiting the time when it should graciously please God to call both kings and people within the subduing influence of His holy faith.

In the second century of the Christian era, the Goths, issuing from the wilds of Scandinavia, sought a home on the shores of the Black Sea. Of these, the Ostrogoths settled between the Don and the Dniester, and the Visigoths between the Dniester and the Theiss. From the third century onward, they waged bloody and relentless

¹ John, vi. 44.

² *Rösler*, Dissert. de magna gentium migratione ejusque primo impulsu. Tüb., 1795
8vo.

wars against the Roman emperors, and not unfrequently made incursions into the provinces, and particularly into those of Greece and Asia Minor, carrying desolation wherever they went.

Having been expelled from Thrace by the victorious Constantine, numbers of them entered the imperial army, and it is chiefly to the valour of their arms that the victory gained over Licinius at Byzantium, A. D. 323, which *decided the fate of the world*, should be ascribed.

It was from the soldiers of the Roman legions, taken prisoners during these conflicts, that the Goths gained their first knowledge of the Christian religion.¹ They were represented at the *Council of Nice*, A. D. 325, by Bishop *Theophilus*,² and about the year 347, *Cyril* of Jerusalem,³ speaking of them, said: "Bishops and priests, and even monks and nuns, may be found among the Goths."

They preserved the *Catholic faith* pure and intact until the reign of Valens, from whom the Visigoths, divided into two bodies under the respective leaders, *Fridiger* and *Athanaric*, and driven forward by the advance of the Huns (A. D. 326), sought an asylum. The emperor granted them permission to take up their abode on the southern bank of the Danube, but only on condition that they should embrace Christianity, which, under the circumstances, meant simply the *Arian heresy*.

This conversion was mainly effected by the labours of *Ulfila*,⁴ their great apostle and bishop.

He was the descendant of a noble Gothic house, and was sent as a hostage to Constantinople, shortly after the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, and while in the capital embraced Christianity. He accepted it, with simple and earnest faith, just as he found it, putting aside all the idle and speculative questions that distracted the religious mind of that age. Having returned among his countrymen, he for a time held the office of lector; but, having shortly afterwards invented Gothic characters, he set to work on a *Gothic translation of the Bible*,⁵ most of which has been preserved to us, bearing ample testimony to the ability with which the work was done.

When *Theodosius* commanded all the subjects of the Roman Empire to accept the Nicene Creed, the Goths, animated by a spirit of

¹ *Sozom.*, H. e. II. 6. *Philostorg.*, H. e. II. 5.

² *Socrat.*, H. e. II. 41.

³ *Cyrill.*, Catech. 10, 19; 13, 40.

⁴ *Wulfila*, Wölfein or Little-wolf.

⁵ *Socrat.*, H. e. III. 33. *Sozom.*, IV. 37. *Theodoret.*, IV. 33. *Ulfila's translation of the Bible*, ed. by *Zahn*, Weissenfels, 1805; then, *Ulfila's O. and N. Testam. fragm.*, ect., edd. de *Gabelentz et Loebe*, Vol. I., Altenburg, 1836, Vol. II. Lps. 1842-1847 (with a full Glossarium and Grammar of the Gothic language); thereto a Supplement, by *Loebe*. *Massmann*, The Holy Scriptures of the O. and N. T. in the Gothic language, with Greek and Latin text, annotations, Dictionary, and Hist. Introd., Stuttg., 1856. It is rather affirmed than denied that this *translation of the Bible* is free from Arian views but, on the other hand, Arianism is most certainly found in *Ulfila's profession of faith*, with the remarkable addition: *Ego Ulphila episcopus et confessor semper sic credidi*. Conf. *Kraft*, L. c., p. 327-361. *Waitz*, in L. c. *Bessel*, in L. c.

bitter hostility to the Romans, refused to give up the teachings of Arianism.

From the Visigoths the Arian heresy spread rapidly among the *Ostrogoths* and the *Vandals*, the Burgundians and the Suevi, all of whom obliged the Catholics, among whom they chanced to settle, to embrace its teachings.¹

On the death of Valens, Gratian compelled the Goths to submit to his authority (A. D. 379–380), and *St. John Chrysostom*, Patriarch of Constantinople, taking advantage of this favourable turn in affairs, set to work with characteristic zeal and energy to spread the knowledge of Christianity more generally among them. He provided Gothic missionaries in the very city of Constantinople, and set apart a church in which divine worship was conducted in the Gothic language. The dedication of this church was the occasion of one of those eloquent discourses, so peculiar to the great orator, in which the miraculous conversion of these barbarous nations was adduced as a proof of the civilizing influence of the Gospel,² and as a verification of the prophecy of Isaias:³ “The wolf and the lamb shall feed together.” *St. Athanasius*, marvelling at their conversion, cries out, in a spirit of triumphant joy: “Who has reconciled those who were formerly at deadly enmity with each other, and united them in the bonds of enduring peace, if it be not Jesus Christ, the Saviour of all men, the Well-Beloved of God the Father, who, for our sakes and for our salvation, has deigned to suffer for all? The prophecy of Isaias, ‘They shall turn their swords into ploughshares and their spears into sickles,’ has been fulfilled, and, wonderful to relate, these people, by nature barbarians, who while they remained idolaters were ceaselessly engaged in deadly conflict against each other, never putting aside their arms, have since their conversion to Christianity given up their habits of war and devoted themselves to the peaceful cultivation of the fields.”

St. Jerome was still more surprised when, in his distant cave at Bethlehem, he received a letter from two Goths, by name *Sunnia* and *Fretella*,⁴ begging him to state his opinion as to the merits of the Latin and Græco-Alexandrian translations of the Bible, both of which varied somewhat from the original Hebrew.

“Who,” says he, “would believe that the barbarous Goths study the oracles of the Holy Ghost in the text of the original Hebrew, while the listless Greeks appear to take no interest in such studies.” Both of these fathers also testify that of the Goths under Athanaric, some bore witness to their faith, and proved the sincerity of their love of the Church by suffering *martyrdom* rather than give up the doctrines which she had taught them.

¹ Conf. *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics, Part II., p. 553–569.

² Homil. III, opp. *Chrysost.*, T. XII., ed. *Montfaucon*.

³ Isaias, lxxv. 25; cf. xi. 6.

⁴ *Hieronym.*, Ep 106. Quis hoc crederet, ut barbara Getarum lingua Hebraicam quæreretur veritatem, et dormitantibus, immo contemnentibus Græcis iussa Germania Spiritus Sæ eloquia scrutaretur? (Opp. T. I., p. 641.)

§ 149. Christianity among the Visigoths. Their Kingdoms in Gaul and Spain.

Jornandes, De rebus Geticis seu de Getarum (Gothorum) origine, c. 1-3, ed. *Stahlberg*, Hagen, 1859; ed. *Closs*, Stuttg., 1861. *Idoti*, Chronicon in *Florez*, España sagrada, T. IV., p. 289-501; *Isidor. Hispal.*, Chronica regum Visigothorum. (opp. ed. *Arevalo*, T. VII., p. 185.) †*Aschbach*, History of the Visigoths, Frankft., 1827, 2 vols. *Helfferich*, The Arianism of the Visigoths, Berlin, 1860. †*Gams*, Ch. H. of Spain, Vol. II., p. 395 sq.

In the year 410, Rome was taken by the Visigoth Arians under *Alaric*, and if the disgraceful circumstances which preceded and led to its capture, have no parallel in the fall of any other city, neither have the moderation and generosity with which the conquerors treated the vanquished inhabitants of the once proud mistress of the world.

That the mildness and clemency exhibited by the Barbarians on this occasion are evidence of that humane feeling so characteristic of the Germans, there can be no doubt, but it is equally undeniable that these are in part to be ascribed to the civilizing influences of Christianity. Did not *Æneas* see, asks *St. Augustine*:—

“Dying Priam at the shrine,
Staining the hearth he made divine?”

“But what was novel” (in the sack of Rome), continues the Bishop of Hippo, “was, that savage Barbarians should show themselves in so gentle a guise, that the largest churches were chosen and set apart to be filled with those to whom quarter was given; that in them none were slain and none forcibly dragged out; that into them many were led by their relenting enemies to be set at liberty, and that from them none were led into slavery by merciless foes. Whoever fails to see,” he adds, “that this is to be attributed to the name of Christ, and to the Christian temper, is blind; whoever sees this, and gives not thanks to God, is ungrateful; and whoever hinders anyone from praising it is mad. No prudent man will ascribe such clemency to Barbarians.”¹

Alaric quitted Rome, and it is somewhat difficult to satisfactorily account for his hasty departure.

The Goths, unable longer to maintain themselves in Italy, set out for Gaul, in the year 412, under the leadership of *Ataulf*, where they founded a kingdom between the Loire and Garonne, of which *Wallia* became the king, and *Toulouse* the capital, and which, after a few years, extended over the greater part of Spain.² This was the first kingdom established in Europe by the Germans, and was, even after it had assumed a distinctively Christian character, conspicuous for

¹ *Aug.*, De Civit. Dei I. 1-7. *Gregorovius*, Hist. of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages, Vol. I., p. 147-168. *Reumont*, Hist. of the City of Rome. Vol. I., p. 734 et sq.

² *Rosenstein*, Hist. of the Kingdom of the Visigoths in Gaul, 1859.

deeds of barbaric violence, which were usually followed by the more terrible scourges of pestilence and famine.

Of the Vandals, Alani, and Suevi, the first conquerors of Spain, only these last were Catholics, and even they adopted the Arian heresy in the year 464, after King *Remismond* had married the daughter of the Visigoth Theodoric. They then began their work of pillage by sacking cities, pulling down churches, and putting to death Catholic bishops and priests, many of whom, such as *Pancratian* of *Braga*, *Patanius*, and others, suffered martyrdom for their faith, and in their singular fortitude and courageous death, left a rich heritage of glory to the Spanish Church.

The condition of the Church under the Visigoth King *Eurich* († A. D. 476), was, if possible, still more deplorable.

Sidonius Apollinaris, Bishop of Clermont, states that “Eurich sent great numbers of Catholic bishops into exile, and prohibited the election of others to take their places. Thus,” he goes on to say, “the churches of both Gaul and Spain, having been deprived of their pastors, rapidly went to ruin, grass grew about the sanctuaries and on the very altars, and beasts of prey took up their abode among the rubbish of those desecrated temples.”¹

Alaric, the son of Eurich (A. D. 506), though himself an Arian, adopted towards the Catholics a more lenient policy than that which his father had pursued; but under *Leovigild* the horrors of persecution were again revived, and so violent was the temper of this prince, that he put to death his own son, *Hermenegild*, on Easter Sunday A. D. 585, at Tarragona, for embracing and refusing to give up the Catholic faith.

His son and successor, *Reccared* (A. D. 586-601), who had more sympathy with the doctrines for which his brother had shed his blood than with the unnatural spirit of the father, who had outraged every parental instinct, always regarded the Catholic Church with no small degree of favour, and in the year 587 made a full and open profession of her teachings, in a council composed of both Catholic and Arian bishops. The *Council of Toledo*, held A. D. 589, struck the final blow against the Arianism of the Goths, upon which it passed thirty-nine anathemas. The Church now sprung into new life, and flourished with great splendour under the distinguished Hispano-Gothic bishops, *Helladius* of Toledo, *Isidore* of Seville († A. D. 636), *Ildephonse the Younger*, Archbishop of Toledo, and others. The *seventeen Synods of Toledo*, held between A. D. 400 and 694, are ample evidence of the growth and prosperity of the Church, of the revival of religious life and of the political progress of the nation.

¹ *Sidon.*, Lib. VII., ep. 6, ad Bas. *Sirmondi*, Opp. T. I., max. bibl. PP. T. VI. *Gal-*
land, Bibl. T. X. *Migne*, Ser. lat. T. 58. *Gregor. Turon.*, Hist. Francor. II. 25. *Kauf-*
mann, The Works of C. Apoll. Sidon., Götting., 1864; *Châix*, St. Sidoin, Apollinaire et
son siècle, Paris, 1867.

§ 150. *The Vandals in Africa.*

Victor, Episcopus Vitensis, who was an eye-witness of what he relates (487), wrote Libb. V. historiae persecutionis Africanæ sub Genserico et Hunnerico Vandalor. regib. ed. *Chiffletius*, S. J., Divione, 1664, 4to. (Hist. persecutionis Vandal. ed. *Ruinart*, Paris, 1694, 8vo.; Venet., 1732, 4to., max. bibl. PP. T. VIII., p. 675 sq.) *St. Fulgentii*, Episc. Ruspensis vita (by Ferrandus, his scholar?) max. bibl. PP. T. IX. *Procopius Cæsareensis* (first teacher of rhetoric, then legal counsellor of Belisar, may be styled the Byzantine Herodotus), historiarum libb. VIII. (Persian, Vandalic, and Gothic Memorabilia) ed. gr. and lat. ex. ed. *Claudian Maltret*, Paris, 1662, sq., fol., Venet., 1729 (corpus scriptor. Byzant.) In German, by *Kannegiesser*, Greifswalde, 1827, sq., 4 vols.; Vol. II. on the Vandals. Conf. *Dahn*, on Procopius of Cæsarea, Berlin, 1865; the same, Kings of the (ancient) Germans, Munich, 1860. *Isidor. Hispal.*, Historia Vandalorum et Suevorum. †*Morcelli*, Africa christ. Brixia, 1816, 3 T., 4to. †*Papencordt*, Hist. of Vandalic rule in Africa, Berlin, 1838. *Katerkamp*, Vol. III., p. 333 sq. *Neander*, Memorabilia, Vol. III. Pt. I.

We have no knowledge of the circumstances or motives that induced the Vandals to embrace the Arian heresy, but we do know that, having set out from their old home in Panonia in company with the Suevi and Alani, they emigrated to Spain, where they wrought such devastation that they are justly entitled to the distinction of being called the most cruel of all the Germanic tribes (A. D. 409).

When *Boniface*, the Roman governor of Africa, who had been for some time conscious that he held his office by a very insecure tenure, learned at length that he had been accused, and, through the powerful influence of his personal enemies at the Court of Ravenna, found guilty of high treason and deposed, his indignation knew no bounds. Yielding to the impulses of revenge, he raised the standard of rebellion, and, disregarding the advice and prayers of St. Augustine, called to his assistance the neighbouring Vandals from Spain. The Vandals, who had found it difficult to maintain themselves in Spain, gladly accepted the invitation, and passed over to Africa, under their king, *Geiseric* (Genserico), to the number of fifty, or, as some say, eighty thousand. In doing so, however, their intention was to conquer the fair provinces of this country for themselves, rather than to aid in the work of establishing the independent authority of Count Boniface.

Boniface soon discovered his error, but not till it was too late to provide a remedy. The richest provinces of Rome and the granary of Italy passed into the hands of the Barbarians. Geiseric immediately set on foot a persecution of the Catholics, which lasted throughout the whole course of his long and infamous reign (A. D. 427-477),¹ and surpassed in brutal cruelty and refined torture, if possible, even that of Diocletian. Bishops and priests were expelled the country, and those who refused to go were sold into slavery. Many fled to Rome, but were not even here beyond the reach of the terrible Geiseric, who,

¹ *Herm. Schulze*, De Testamento Gensericici, 1839.

in the year 455, sat down with his savage hordes¹ before the walls of that city. So great were the evils that came upon the Christians, that some began to entertain doubts in regard to the truth of an overseeing Providence in the affairs of men; and *Salvian*, Bishop of Marseilles, feeling that there was a call upon him to correct this error, composed a work specially devoted to its refutation. This Christian *Jeremias* took the ground that these divine visitations were but the just chastisements of an avenging God upon a reprobate people, whose degeneracy and immorality were in striking contrast with the singular purity and vigour of the Germanic nations.

Under *Huneric* (A. D. 477-484), the son and successor of *Geiseric*, who had married *Eudoxia*, the widow of *Valentinian III.*, the Catholics enjoyed a short interval of peace, for which, however, they were indebted to the humane offices of the emperor *Zeno*. *Eugene*, who was distinguished alike for his piety and firmness of character, became Bishop of Carthage, A. D. 479, after the see had remained vacant for the space of twenty-four years. But the Arian bishop, *Cyrilla*, who, besides being unscrupulous, was skilled in the arts of intrigue, assailed *Eugene* with such bitterness, that the latter, together with five thousand Catholics, was obliged to put up with all manner of indignity, and to suffer the most inhuman cruelty.

*The Catholics of Sicca and Lara, notwithstanding that they were shut up in a small room, and enduring a martyrdom of torture in every member of their bodies, sang, without ceasing, hymns in honour of Christ; while many of those who had their tongues cut out at Tipasa, still retained the power of speech, and raised their voices in praise and thanksgiving to God.*²

A conference held at Carthage, A. D. 484, composed of Catholic and Arian bishops, in the hope of adjusting difficulties, served only to augment them, and to add to the already severe sufferings of the Catholics.

Guntamund (A. D. 494), convinced that the most sanguinary and persistent persecution would be inadequate to the task of entirely eradicating the Church from the soil of Africa, permitted the exiled bishops to return one by one to their dioceses; but *Thrasamund* (A. D. 496-523), who was of quite another opinion, commenced anew the work, interrupted by the clemency and judgment of his predecessor, and forbade, but to no purpose, the consecration of Catholic bishops. Seeing that their number, instead of falling off, was daily on the increase, he adopted a more summary method of ridding himself of

¹ See *Kraus*, Ch. Hist. of the Middle Ages, p. 214. (Tr.)

² Even *Mr. Gibbon*, who never looks beyond the *natural*, has been obliged to admit the truth of this wonderful fact, because of his inability to impeach the historical testimony on which it rests. *Victor.*, Vitens. V. 6; *Procopius*, De Bello Vand. I. 8. (opp. ed. Bonn, I. 345); *Evagrius*, IV., 14. The testimony of the Platonist, *Aeneas Gaza*, on the overthrow of the Vandalic domination, is given by *Theophrastus* in *Galland*, T. X., p. 636. Emperor *Justinian* also states (in Cod. L. I., tit. 27, De officio præfecti prætorio Afric.): "Vidimus venerabiles viros, qui, abscissis radicibus linguis, pœnas suas mirabiliter loquebantur." *Tullemont*, T. XVI., and *Schrockh*, Ch. Hist., Pt. 12, p. 101 et seq.

their presence, and sent one hundred and twenty of them into exile in Sardinia. Among them was *Fulgentius*, Bishop of *Ruspe*, one of the most intrepid and learned defenders of the Catholic faith.

The Church again enjoyed a short respite from the horrors of persecution, under *Hilderic*, a prince whose humanity cost him his life. He was assassinated by his cousin, *Gilimer*.

The Catholics were saved from the consequences of a fresh persecution, which threatened to be as sanguinary as any that had preceded it, by the timely interference of the emperor *Justinian*, who sent *Belisarius* into Africa to protect and defend them.

This general had little difficulty in overthrowing the domination of the Vandals in Africa; for these rude warriors, once they had come fully under the influence of the polished manners and luxurious life of the Carthaginians, became, from a valiant and comparatively pure people, the most effeminate and corrupt of mankind. Thus Africa passed again under the authority of Rome (A. D. 533), and all hope of the Catholic Church being re-established in that country by means of Germanic influence was at an end. After the year 670, every trace of Christianity disappeared before the advancing power of Islamism, and an event so unique in the history of the Church can only be accounted for by ascribing it to the inscrutable designs of Divine Providence.

§ 151. *The Burgundians and their relations to the Church.*

(*Plancher*.) *Histoire de Bourgogne*, Dijon, 1739. *Collatio episcoporum*. præsert. Aviti Vienn. coram rege Gundebaldo (*d'Achéry*, *Spicileg.* T. III. *Migne*, Ser. lat. T. 59). *Retberg*, Ch. H. of Germany, Vol. I., p. 253 sq. *Gelpke*, Ch. H. of Switzerland under Roman, Burgundian, and Alemannian rule, Berne, 1856. *Derischweiler*, Hist. of the Burgundians until their incorporation into the Frankish kingdom, Münster, 1863. *Binding*, *The Burgundo-Roman Kingdom*, Lps., 1868.

The *Burgundians*, who dwelt between the Oder and the Vistula, issuing from their northern home, followed the route over which the Goths had passed, till they came as far as the Danube, where they encountered the Gepidæ and the Romans. Retreating before the superior strength of these two peoples, they settled on the banks of the upper Main and the Neckar, and were there thrown into contact with the Alemanni (A. D. 406), with whom they were continually at war. They were forced, by the terror of Attila's arms, to break up their settlement on the Rhine, and, retreating in a south-westerly direction, they entered the country of the Jura, about A. D. 412, and founded a kingdom in Gaul, extending from the Alps to the Rhône and the Saone, of which *Lyons* became the capital. It is thought, but the opinion rests on very questionable authority, that they became converts to the Catholic Church as early as the year 417. Be this as it may, it is certain that no great reliance could be placed on the sincerity of their conversion, otherwise it would be difficult to

account for the readiness with which they embraced the Arian heresy, about the year 444, during the reign of *Gundobald*.¹

This prince, unable to resist the cogency and strength of the arguments of *Patiens*, Bishop of Lyons, but particularly of those of *Avitus*, Bishop of Vienne, expressed a wish to enter the Catholic Church, but desired to have his conversion kept a secret, from fear of drawing on himself the enmity of his son, Theodoric. His son, *Sigismund*, exhibited greater resolution and more character than his father, and, at the desire of the Franks, returned to the Catholic Church. After the year 517, his example was followed by many of the Burgundians, among whom Arianism entirely disappeared once they had passed under the dominion of the Franks, during the reign of *Godomar* (A. D. 534).

§ 152. Ravages of the Huns in Germany, Gaul, and Italy.

Thierry, King Attila and his Age, Lps., 1852. *Neumann*, The Nations of Southern Russia and their Historical Development, 2nd. ed., Lps., 1855. *John von Müller*, Journeys of the Popes. See also Vol. I., p. 474, note 2.

The nations of which we have just spoken had suffered more from the attacks of the Huns than from those of any other people, and were at length obliged to retire before their advancing columns. The Huns were the rudest of all the Slavic nations of which we have any knowledge. *Attila*, their leader, whose name is indissolubly associated with devastation and ruin, marched through Germany and into Gaul at the head of a vast multitude, composed of nations which he had reduced to subjection and forced to follow his standard, and with this incongruous army commenced an attack upon the united kingdom of the Visigoths and Franks (A. D. 444).

The Rhenish cities of Cologne, Mentz, Worms, Spire, Strasbourg, and the neighbouring cities of Treves, Metz, and others, were almost entirely destroyed, and their churches demolished. Checked by the doubtful results of the battle of *Châlons-sur-Marne* (451), and awed by the commanding presence and resolute attitude of *Lupus*, Bishop of Troyes, Attila directed his course towards Italy, and by the might of his arms added to the disasters with which this unfortunate country was already so severely scourged (A. D. 452). He stormed and sacked Aquileia, burned and plundered many other cities, and was only stayed in his career of blood and fire, and prevented from carrying the terror of his arms to the walls of Rome, by the great *St. Leo*, who undertook an embassy to his camp. As the resolution of *Lupus* and *Leo* had proved more effectual in curbing the anger of this ferocious barbarian than either armed resistance or mercenary tribute, the fact gave rise to the saying that "only a wolf or a lion could withstand Attila."

¹ *Oros.*, Hist. adv. Pagan. VII., 32, 38. *Socr.*, H. e. VII. 30, III. 30. *Conf. Pagi*, Crit. ad a. 413, n. 13, and *Prosper* in Chron. ad a. 435.

Attila, it is said, returned to the Danube, and died in the following year, A. D. 453. His numerous and terrible army, destitute of the only man who possessed sufficient ability and resolution to make his authority respected among its anomalous masses, broke through all the restraints of discipline and wandered over the face of the country, carrying destruction wherever they went. It required a *higher* than a human power to protect Christendom against so terrible a scourge.

And, indeed, it would seem that divine grace, which flowed in upon the Church in abundant streams during this age, was more than sufficient to overcome the power of sin and wickedness which lay like a foul mist upon the face of the earth. It was then that God raised up in defence of his cause those great lights of the Church and pillars of truth, *St. Leo the Great*, *St. Lupus* of Troyes, *St. Germanus* of Auxerre,¹ *St. Severin*,² that mysterious person whose origin and early history no one seemed to know, and those other great men who rivalled the zeal and the glory of *St. Severin*—*St. Honoratus* and *St. Hilary* of Arles, *Eucherius* of Lyons, and others no less distinguished. All these exercised an influence which Attila and the other leaders of barbarous hordes found it impossible to resist.

§ 153. *The Ostrogoths and Lombards in Italy.*

Jornandes, De rebus Geticis. *Procopii Cæs.*, Historiar. libb. IV-VIII. (in Germ. by *Kannegiesser*, Vols. 3 and 4.) *Aurel. Cassiodori*, Variarum (epistolarum) lib. XII. et Chronicon (consulare). *Pauli Warnefridi*, De gestis Longobardor., libb. VI. (*Muratori*,

¹ Conf. *Stolberg-Kerz*, Pt. XVII., p. 421 sq.

² *Eugippii*, Vita St. Severini (*Bolland.*, Acta Sanctor. mens. Jan., Tom. I., p. 483) ed. *Kerschbaumner*, Scaphus., 1862; in *Friedrich's* Ch. Hist. of Germany, Vol. I., Appendix, p. 439-489, according to Munich manuscripts, transl. into German, with Introduction and Annotations by *C. Ritter*, Linz, 1853. Conf. *Friedrich*, L. c., p. 358-383.

The Life of *St. Severin*, by his disciple *Eugippius*, is of inestimable value, as it contains information of the condition of things in that age which could be obtained from no other source; for the Danubian provinces may be said to have been shrouded in utter darkness during the period immediately preceding and the period immediately following the lives of these two men. From no other source could we obtain so abundant information of the then flourishing condition of Christianity and the complete organisation of the Church in the Roman provinces to the south of the Danube. It is certainly providential that, just on the eve of the decline of these provinces, a work should be left us which describes so graphically, and with so much detail, the state of the country and the characteristics of its inhabitants. (*Wattenbach*, Germany's Sources of History, p. 34.)

That *St. Severin* was of noble extraction, there can be no doubt, and it is not unlikely that he belonged to the last of the ruling houses of Rome. Inspired with the desire of labouring in the cause of Christ among the oppressed inhabitants of Noricum, he withdrew into solitude and obscurity. He practised the most extreme austerities, went barefooted during the most inclement seasons, and, though he observed excessive fasts, quite forgot himself in his desire to supply the food of life to the famishing souls of those about him. He went up and down the country exhorting and preaching penance, comforting the distressed, and alleviating, as best he could, the wants of the needy. He regularly exacted tithes from those who could pay them, for the support of the poor and the redemption of captives. His authority was great in the land, and it was said that the elements and the lower orders of beings were obedient to his command, and that the wrath of God overtook all who would not hearken to his words. *Kraus*, Ch. Hist. of the Middle Ages. (Tr.)

Scriptor. Ital. T. I. *Gregor. M.*, Epp. opp. Paris, 1705, T. II.) *Manso*, Hist. of the Ostrogothic Empire, Breslau, 1824. *Sartorius*, Hist. of the Ostrogoths, transl. into German, Hamb., 1811, from the French of *du Roure*, Histoire de Théodoric le Grand, Paris, 1846, 2 vols. *Gregorovius*, Hist. of Rome during the M. A., Vol. I., p. 273 sq. v. *Reumont*, Hist. of Rome, Vol. II., p. 1-127. *Dahn*, Germanic Kings. *Koch-Sternfeld*, The Kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, according to Paul Warnefr., Munich, 1839. *Flegler*, The Kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, Lps., 1851.

Even *Odoacer*, the leader of the Heruli,¹ the conqueror of Italy, and the destroyer of the Roman Empire (A. D. 476), was subdued by the presence of the mysterious St. Severin. His reign came to an end after the Ostrogoths, under the leadership of *Theodoric*, had issued from Pannonia (A. D. 488), and conquered Italy and Sicily, Rhætia and Noricum, Vindelicia and Dalmatia, and established a vast empire, whose authority extended over all these countries. But, for the space of eleven years, during which the reign of *Odoacer* lasted, the Catholic Church enjoyed, through his indulgence, the blessings of comparative peace; and this notwithstanding that he was himself an Arian.

Although both *Theodoric* and his people embraced the Arian heresy, his policy towards the Catholic Church was characterized by humanity and moderation, and not unfrequently by justice and impartiality. In pursuing this course he was guided by the prudent counsel of *Cassiodorus*, his wise and learned chancellor.

During the reign of *Theodoric*, Italy enjoyed a measure of her former prosperity; the clouds that had so long darkened the land were broken, and for a season her fair fields bloomed as of old, and Rome herself was called the Happy City (*Roma Felix*). *Theodoric's* treatment of the Romanians was considerate and just. He protected them against the oppression of the Goths, and secured to them the benefits of their ancient rights, laws, and institutions. But towards the close of his reign, which lasted thirty-six years, incensed at a law passed against the Arians by Justin, the Roman emperor of the East, he revenged himself upon the Catholics of his own dominions, whom he pursued with tyrannical severity. He cast Pope *John* into prison, where the latter languished for awhile, and finally died, A. D. 526. He also put to death, for crimes of which they were declared guilty on the testimony of suborned witnesses, *Symmachus*, his father-in-law, and *Boëthius*,² both men of consular dignity. While in confinement, *Boëthius* enjoyed as best he could the consolation afforded by science and religion, and has left his thoughts on these subjects to posterity, in his admirable work entitled, "*On the Consolation of Philosophy*."

Theodoric died A. D. 526, and under his successors the persecution against the Catholics in a great measure ceased. *Amalasuntha*, the daughter of *Theodoric*, who governed in the name of her son, *Athalaric*,

¹ *Stolberg-Kerz*, Pt. XVII., p. 474 sq. *Eugippii*, Vita Severini, c. 14.

² On *Boëthius* and *Cassiodorus*, see *Alzog's* Patrology, 2nd. ed., p. 413-418; and, on the latter, also *Mentalembert*, Monks of the West, Vol. I., p. 348-356.

a minor, succeeded to her father; but after the death of her son, she shared the throne with her cousin, *Theodotus*, by whom she was murdered. The emperor *Justinian*, under pretence of avenging this murder, sent his general, *Narses*, at the head of an imperial army, into Italy, and after an eighteen years' war (A. D. 535-553), destroyed the Ostrogothic empire. Italy became a Roman province, and was governed by *exarchs* who resided at *Ravenna*, of whom *Narses* was the first and *Longinus* the second. So complete was the overthrow of the Visigoths, that in a short time the very name of this gallant people disappeared.

In the year 568, the *Lombards*, under the command of their king, *Alboin*, entered Italy, either of their own accord, or, as is more probable, at the invitation of *Narses*, who had been deeply offended by the empress. Leaving *Pannonia*, they crossed the *Carnian Alps*, and, with the aid of twenty thousand Saxons and some other hordes, took possession of the whole of Northern Italy, in whose fertile fields they permanently settled, and gave to it their own name. It would seem that Providence had decreed that there should not remain a single Roman province in the West. *Pavia* fell into the hands of the conquerors after a siege of three years, and after the death of *Alboin*, who was assassinated at the instigation of his wife, *Rosamond*; his successors gradually extended the empire to the South, till it comprehended nearly the entire Italian peninsula. All that remained to the Byzantines were the duchies of Rome and Naples, a few cities on the Ligurian and Adriatic coasts, such as Venice and the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and the tongue of land on the south-east of the peninsula.

This was, both for the Church and for Italy, a season of unspeakable misery. The Arian Lombards, who possessed neither the versatility nor the humanity of the Goths, on the one hand, exhibited no inclination or fitness for political organization, and, on the other, manifested the most violent hatred of the Catholics whom they found in the country. This will account both for the interregnum of ten years which followed the assassination of *Kleph*, the successor to *Alboin*, during which the country was governed by thirty-six dukes, and for their cruel persecution of the Catholics of Italy. At the close of the ten years, it was found necessary to restore the office of king, and *Flavius Antharis*, the son of *Kleph*, ascended the throne. He had married *Theodolinda* (*Dietlinde*), a Bavarian princess, through whose influence the condition of the orthodox Catholics was very considerably ameliorated. She herself professed the Catholic faith, and laboured with zeal in the work of converting the Arian Lombards. On the death of her husband (A. D. 590), *Theodolinda*, in compliance with the wish of the Lombard lords, took the reins of power into her own hands, and shortly after associated Duke *Agilulf* with herself in the government of the kingdom.¹

¹ *Kraus*, Ch. H. of the M. A., pp. 215, 216.

GREGORY THE GREAT, A. D. 590-604.

This favourable condition of affairs should be attributed, in a great measure, to the prudent counsels of Gregory the Great,¹ whom God seems to have raised up at this period to be the protector of Italy and the guardian of the Church. Descended from the senatorial and wealthy house of the Anicii, he soon became so distinguished for integrity of character, for his varied literary and scientific attainments, and for those graces and accomplishments so becoming, if not absolutely necessary, to one in his condition of life, that he rapidly rose in favour till he reached the high and honourable office of Prætor of Rome. Such distinctions, though highly attractive and capable of yielding an honest satisfaction to an upright mind, were not to Gregory's liking. He felt that God was calling him to a higher, a holier, and a purer life, and still he hesitated. But the struggle was soon past, and Gregory surrendered himself, with characteristic generosity, to the influence of grace. He devoted his wealth to the endowment of six new monasteries in Sicily, and established a seventh in his own palace, upon the Coelian Hill, at Rome, which he had inherited from his father, and in which he himself became a monk. All Rome was amazed to behold one, who formerly went forth with all the circumstance of a great dignitary of state, clad in costly robes and decked with jewels, now walk the streets of the city with the unassuming air of a beggar, and dressed in the coarse habit of an humble follower of St Benedict.

Like all noble and generous souls, Gregory, as soon as he had taken the obligations of a monk upon himself, determined to keep faith with himself and with his God. He practised the most severe austerities; applied himself to the study of Holy Scripture; read, wrote, and prayed, and observed so strict a fast that his health finally gave away. His only food had been pulse, which his mother, who had become a nun since the death of her husband, prepared for him, and sent to his monastery, but he was now obliged to take more substantial food. At the request of Pope Benedict I., but much against his own will and inclination, Gregory quitted his monastery, in the year 577, to become one of the seven cardinal-deacons, or *regionaries*, who presided over the seven principal divisions of Rome. It cost him still greater pain to accede to the wishes of Pope Pelagius II., who sent him as *Apocrisarius*, or Nuncio, to the court of the Emperor Tiberius, at Constantinople. He was accompanied on this mission by several monks, and with them observed, as nearly as he could, the rule of his order, and applied himself to reading and study.

¹ His biography by *Joannes*, Eccl. Rom. diacon, and *Paul Warnefrid*, in *Gregor. M.*, Opp. ed. *St. Marthe*, Paris, 1705, 4 T. fol. (in T. IV.) locupl. *Gallicioli*, Venet., 1768, 17 T. 4to. *Alzog's* Patrology, 2nd. ed., p. 420-427. *Palma*, Prælect. h. e. T. II., Pt. I., p. 44-86. *Stolberg-Kerz*, Pt. XX., p. 346 sq. *Lau*, Gregory the Great, Lps. 1845. *Böhringer*, Ch. H. in Biographies, Vol. I., Pt. IV., p. 310-426. *Herder*, Thoughts on the Hist. of Mankind, Pt. IV., p. 100.

He nevertheless discharged his duties with marked ability, and succeeded in restoring the friendly relations between the Holy See and the Byzantine Court, which had been interrupted by the invasion of the Lombards.

His eminent talents for business, his learning, his piety, his rigour towards himself, his watchful care over the conduct of others, and his solicitude and energy in guarding and defending the interests of the Church, pointed him out as one who would discharge the duties of the Pontifical office with honour and distinction, and he was accordingly raised to this great dignity on the death of Pelagius, A. D. 590. It is to him that the Catholic Church of the West is indebted for her august liturgy and the splendour of her worship, for the solemn majesty and sweet melody of her chant, and for the extinction of the schism which had arisen out of the *Three Chapters*,¹ and which for a time threatened to cut off from the body of the Church the bishops of Venetia and Istria. It is to him also that the Anglo-Saxon Church owes her origin.

Gregory had but one object in view in all his undertakings, and that was the exaltation and glory of the Church. "My honour," he writes, "is the honour of the whole Church; my honour is to behold my brethern (the bishops) filled with single-minded and earnest energy (*solidus vigor*). Then only do I feel that I enjoy true honour, when the honour due to all is denied to none."²

Besides being a model monk and a model churchman, Gregory the Great was also the most distinguished writer of his age. His writings have largely contributed to secure for him the title of *Great*, and have been, in a great measure, the source of the powerful influence which he has exerted upon the Church from his own day to ours.

When he ascended the Papal throne, the morality of the clergy was greatly relaxed, and to his active energy and the example of his own life is again due the purity of morals which characterized the ecclesiastics of every grade, at the close of his pontificate.

That he fully appreciated what a true priest should be, is abundantly proved by his work, entitled the "*Pastoral*," containing rules concerning the vocation, life, and teaching of pastors; and that he had sufficient courage, self-denial, and resolution to put these rules into practice in his own case, is manifest from the history of his life. Gregory's experience, personal holiness, and insight into character, enabled him to detect those among his clergy who were imbued with his own spirit and love of virtue. He sent men of this character into every part of Italy to provide for the wants of all, and to eradicate, by the power of the word of God, the traces of Paganism which were here and there beginning to appear.

His vigilance in watching over the rights of the priesthood, and his zeal in defending them when attacked, were not confined to one

¹ See Vol. I., p. 436.

² Epistolar. lib. VIII., ep. 33, ad Eulogium.

district or country, but extended, as was fitting, over the whole Church of which he was the Supreme Pastor. He corrected numerous abuses; caused *orphan asylums* and *schools for the poor*, institutions hitherto unknown, to be erected in many and distant lands—an ample evidence that his tender solicitude and paternal care were as wide as the limits of the Church, and as deep as her charity.

A man of such untiring activity and such stirring energy, who exerted so deep and lasting an influence upon the destinies of the Church, well deserved the title of *Great*, which his contemporaries cheerfully conferred upon him, and which has been confirmed by the universal verdict of posterity.

His strenuous efforts to defend the rights, privileges, and institutions of the Church, commanded the respect and elicited the admiration of even the Arian Lombards. Owing to the ceaseless wars waged against each other by the Greek exarchs and the Lombard princes, the hatred of the Italians against their northern conquerors had grown so deep and intense, that St. Gregory, if he would, could at any moment have called his countrymen to arms, brought about a universal uprising, and precipitated a general war. But he preferred the more lasting, if less brilliant, honours which attach to the office of mediator, to the doubtful glory of an unsuccessful warrior.¹ He asked both parties to consider the consequences of further prolonging the struggle. "What," said he, "can be the result of continuing the contest other than the destruction of many thousand men, who, whether they be Lombards or Romans, would be more usefully employed in tilling the fields."

He died March 12, A. D. 604, a martyr to his indefatigable zeal and restless activity, having, according to *Herder*, gone through more work in the same length of time than any ten of the secular or ecclesiastical princes of his age were capable of.

In the next century, when the Lombards, under kings *Luitprand* and *Rachis*, were again threatening the reduction and sacking of Rome, Pope *Zachary* (A. D. 741-752), mindful of the example of the great Leo, went on an embassy to Pavia and Perugia, and at the former place obtained assurances of peace, and at the latter a promise that his city should not be besieged. Nay, so great an influence did his presence exert, that *Rachis*, a few days later, laid down the Iron Crown, and retired with his wife, together with the princes and princesses of his family, to the monastery of St. Benedict.²

§ 154. *Benedict of Nursia—Western Monasticism.*

Mabillonii, *Annales Ord. St. Bened.* (to 1157, Paris, 1703-1739), Luc., 1739-1745, 6 T. fol. in the *Præf. sæc. I.*, p. 7: *Observationes de monachis in Occid. ante Benedictum. Dacherii et Mabillonii*, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. St. Bened.* (to 1100), Paris, 1668-1701, 9 T.

¹ *Epist. lib. IV.*, ep. 47.

² *Edicta regum Longobardorum*, ed *Vesme*, Aug. Taurinor. 1855. Conf. *John von Müller*, *Journeys of Popes*.

fol. The Life of St. Benedict in *Gregor. M.*, Dialog. lib. II. opp. ed. Bened., T. II., p. 207-276. Compare also *Bolland*, Acta SS. mens. Martii., T. III., p. 247 sq. The *Rule of St. Benedict*, in *Holstenii Cod. regul. monast.*, T. I., p. 111-137; Germ. Transl. by Father *Charles Brandes*, in his *Benedictine Library: Life of St. Benedict, his Rule and Explanation of it. Our Lady of Hermits*, 1856-1858, 2nd. ed., 1863, 3 small vols. The same. The *Benedictine Order* and its world-wide influence (*Täbg. Quarterl.*, 1851, p. 1-40). †*Montalembert*, Les Moines de l'Occident, 5 vols., Paris, 1860; Engl. transl. by *Mrs. Oliphant*, London, 5 vols.; American ed., Boston, 1872, 2 vols., Vol. I., p. 305-345; Germ., transl. by *Charles Brandes*, O.S.B., Ratisbon, 1860-1868, Vol. II., p. 1-73.

The *Order of St. Benedict*, which was but a fresh manifestation of the principle of divine energy, residing and constantly at work in the Church, came into existence at a time when both Church and State were threatened with irremediable disasters by the continued incursions of the Barbarians. This order not only saved the Church from the calamities with which she was then menaced, but also gave her the assurance of a new lease of life, imparted to her fresh vigour, and inspired, fostered, and preserved that wealth of spiritual culture which has been a blessing to all succeeding ages.

The first monks that had been seen in the West were *Anmonius* and *Isidore*, who accompanied *St. Athanasius*, when this great bishop came to Rome to invoke the protection of Pope Julius. While this heroic man was passing his exile in Gaul, he had an opportunity, of which he promptly availed himself, of adding to the glory he had already won by his noble defence of the divinity of Christ, that of animating the West with a holy reverence and a religious zeal for the monastic life; and the love of self-denial and austerity inspired by his eloquence was kept alive and fostered by the examples of holiness so graphically set forth in his Life of St. Anthony. In Italy, the elements of monastic life were brought into shape, adjusted, and organised by *Eusebius* of Vercelli, *Ambrose* of Milan, and *Jerome*; *Augustine* was eloquent in its praise in Africa; *Martin*, Bishop of Tours,¹ introduced it into Northern, and *Cassian* into Southern Gaul.

As early as A. D. 400, two thousand monks followed the mortal remains of St. Martin to the grave.

But the severity of the Western climate would not admit of so rigorous a discipline as that practised with perfect impunity under the more genial skies of the East. It was, therefore, necessary to modify the Rule, and, as is usual under such circumstances, every one thought himself at liberty to introduce such changes as he conceived to be best suited to the conditions of the country and to the habits of the people. Changes so arbitrary, introduced at a time when the country was harassed by the invasions of the Barbarians and society upheaved, threatened the dismemberment of the Church and the destruction of monasticism. Happily Providence gave to the Church

¹ *Sulpicii Severi*, De vita B. Martini lib.; Dialogi tres, and Epist. tres.; *Gregor. Turon.*, De miracul. St. Martini. Conf. **Montalembert*, L. c. Amer. ed., Vol. I., p. 265-272; Germ. transl., Vol. I., p. 213-221. *Reinkens*, Martin of Tours, the wonder-working monk and bishop, Bresl., 1866.

at this time a man, destined to future celebrity, who drew order out of confusion, and established the monastic rule in the West on a solid and permanent basis; and thus rescued from destruction an institution whose services to religion from that day to this have been both extremely eminent and beneficial. This was BENEDICT, of the noble house of the Anicii, and, on his mother's side, the last scion of the lords of *Nursia*, a Sabine town, where he was born, A. D. 480. He was put to school at Rome, where he received an excellent education for his years, but he felt ill at ease amid the corruption of that great city. At the early age of fourteen, he resolved to give up study, to break the ties of family, and to renounce the pleasures and allurements of the world. Bidding farewell to friends and home and all he held dear, he plunged into those almost inaccessible hills through which the river Anio forces its way, leaping from fall to fall, to the town of *Subiaco* (Sublaqueum). On his way he met a monk, named *Romanus*, who gave him a haircloth shirt, and a monastic dress made of skins. Continuing on his way, he met an abrupt rock overhanging the course of the Anio, in which there was a dark and narrow cave, into which the sun never found its way. Here he remained three entire years, cut off from all the world, and unknown to all, except the monk Romanus, who supplied him with food, which he conveyed to the solitary by letting it down from the top of the rock by a rope, to which was attached a bell, to give warning that the scanty meal was at hand.

But his place of concealment could not always remain a secret, and he was at length discovered by shepherds, who at first thought him a wild beast, but proclaimed him a great servant of God after the holy man had discoursed to them of the graces and mercies of Christ.

While here he was assailed by a terrible temptation. The memory of a lady whom he had formerly known continued to haunt him, and so great was the impression she had made upon him that he was on the point of leaving his retreat, when a great grace was poured in upon his soul, and, acting under its inspiration, he plunged naked into a clump of thorns and briars near his grotto, rolling about in them till he was one wound, and, amid the pains of the body, hushed for ever the solicitations of passion.

The retreat of the young solitary was soon broken in upon. The people of the neighbourhood came to ask his blessing, and the monks of the monastery near *Vicovaro* continued to importune him till he consented to become their abbot. They, however, soon tired of his austere severity, and attempted to rid themselves of him by poison. The attempt was discovered, for, when Benedict made the sign of the cross over the vessel, it burst in pieces.

Benedict again withdrew to his cavern; but the holiness of his life and the beauty of his example excited so much jealousy and hatred against him, that he resolved to leave for ever a place which his presence had so long sanctified.

He set out from Subiaco, and, directing his course along the western side of the Apennines and towards the south, he came at last to a magnificent mountain overlooking the river Liris (Garigliano) at its source, where he rested (A. D. 529). This is *Monte Cassino*.

Here St. Benedict built two chapels—one dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the first solitary of the new faith, and the other to St. Martin, the great bishop of Tours; and around these rose the monastery destined to become the most celebrated religious retreat of the Catholic world, where Benedict wrote the *Rule*, and from whence bishops and popes went forth to govern the Church by their prudence and wisdom, and to edify her children by their virtuous lives and illustrious examples. The life of labour, of prayer, and of meditation pursued by St. Benedict and his children contained the germ, and served as the model of that more stately and complex organization into which his order developed at a later day.

His *Rule*, which contains seventy-three articles, is an abridgment of Christian doctrine, and embraces all the counsels of evangelical perfection. It is based on a thorough knowledge of human nature, and is characterised by a happy union of mildness and severity, of simplicity and prudence. Two leading principles run through every article of the *Rule*, viz., labour and obedience; and its spirit and aim seem to be to bring together all the members of a monastery into one family circle, with relations to each other as open and tender as those which exist between father and son, or brother and brother.

The wisest of each community was chosen by the suffrages of his brethren to be set over them, and the name of *Father*, or *Abbas*, which he received on entering upon his duties, expressed the affectionate relations he held towards the others, who were called his *Brothers*.

The abbot was expected to teach by example rather than precept; to study carefully the character, disposition, and tastes of every member of the monastery over which he was set; to direct each as prudence might suggest; to temper mildness with severity, and to carefully abstain from manifesting any preference for one above another. The most efficacious checks to any temptation, on the part of the abbot, to abuse his authority, were an abiding sense of the dreadful *account* he would one day be called upon to render to God, and the holy and inviolable character of the *Rule* (*sancta regula*), which bound him equally with the lowest member of the community.

Next to the *abbot*, but subordinate to him, came the *prior* (*præpositus*), and, for the more complete and efficient direction of the monks, a *dean* was set over every ten of them.

The monks were instructed to regard their superiors as the representatives of Jesus Christ, and to obey them accordingly.

The *postulant* (*pulsans*), or one who applied for admission into the community, was to pass through a year's probation, or novitiate, during which the serious obligations of the life upon which he was about

to enter were, as directed by the Rule, brought before his mind three successive times.

But the most radical innovation upon former customs was the duty of *residence* (*stabilitas loci*) enjoined by the fifty-eighth article of the Rule, which forbade the monks to pass from one house to another, and directed that each one should remain where he had made his vows.

St. Benedict was keenly alive to the dangers of a uniformly cloistered life, and wisely provided against them. He introduced among his monks the practice of alternate prayer and labour, and prescribed that, when not engaged in singing the praises of the Lord as set forth in the words of the Psalm,¹ "Seven times a day have I sung thy praises," they should be *continually* engaged in *various* occupations, according to the talents, skill, and acquirements of each, such as manual labour, reading, transcribing manuscripts and books, and giving instructions to the young. He used frequently to remind his brethren that "they could not be truly monks unless they should live by the labour of their hands, like their fathers and the apostles."

The tendency of the age and the wisdom of the Rule of St. Benedict soon attracted to his monastery a great number of young men. Among the most distinguished of his disciples were *Placidus* and *Maurus*, who laboured energetically and assiduously to establish the order in Sicily and Gaul.

Gregory the Great, who was much attached to the order, exerted his powerful influence to further its interests, became himself a member of it, and wrote the *Life of St. Benedict* as a labour of love.

The life of this great saint of the West was drawing near its close, and he had already announced his approaching death to many of his monks then at a distance from Monte Cassino. On the sixth day of his illness he requested to be carried into the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, where, supported on the arms of his disciples, he received the Holy Viaticum; after which he was taken to the foot of the altar, and at the side of the grave in which he had directed his remains to be laid, standing erect, with hands extended to heaven and a prayer upon his lips, he gave back his great and pure soul to God, March 21, A. D. 543. He was buried by the side of his sister, *Scholastica*, on the very spot where the altar of Apollo, which he had cast down, had stood.

"The results of Benedict's work," says Count de Montalembert, "were immense. In his lifetime, as after his death, the sons of the noblest races in Italy, and the best of the converted Barbarians, came in multitudes to Monte Cassino. They came out again, and descended from it, to spread themselves over all the West; missionaries and husbandmen who were soon to become the doctors and pontiffs, the artists and legislators, the historians and poets of the new world. . . .

Less than a century after the death of Benedict, all that barbarism had won from civilisation was reconquered. And more still, his children took in hand to carry the Gospel beyond those limits which had confined the first disciples of Christ. . . . The West was saved. A new empire was founded; a new world began."¹

§ 155. Christianity among the Franks—Triumph of Catholicity.

Gregor. Turon., Hist. Francor. *Ruinart*, Paris, 1699, fol. (*Bouquet*, T. II., p. 75, in *Migne's Ser. lat.* T. 71.) Germ. transl. Würzb., 1848-1849; *von Giesebrecht.*, Berlin, 1851, 2 vols. *Leibnitz*, De origine Francor., appended to *Eccard's* ed. of the Salic and Ripuarian Laws, Francof., 1720, fol. *Fredegar.*, Chron. Conf. **Duchesne*, Hist. Franc. script. Paris, 1636-1649, 5 vols. **Bouquet*, Recueil des hist. de la Gaule, etc., Paris, 1738-1855. 21 vols. (Tr.) *Rettberg*, Ch. H. of Germany, Vol. I., p. 258 sq. *Friedrich*, Ch. H. of Germany, Vol. II., p. 57-114. *Heber*, The Pre-Carolingian Christian Heroes of the Faith on the Rhine, Frkft., 1858. *W. Junghans*, Hist. of the Frankish kings, Childeric and Chlodwig, Götting., 1867. *Bornhac*, Hist. of the Franks under the Merovingians, Greifswalde, 1863. *Ozanam*, La civilisation chrétienne chez les Francs, Paris, 1849. (Tr.)

It is probable that the *Franks* were acquainted with the Christian religion some considerable time before they made their final conquest of Gaul. Bands of these Frankish warriors were in the habit of crossing the Roman boundary of the Rhine, at first for purposes of plunder, and afterwards in the hope of obtaining permanent settlement, and in this way were, for many years previously to their conversion to Christianity, brought into close and familiar intercourse with the current of thought and everyday life of the Romans. Moreover, many of them served in the armies of Rome.

These circumstances will serve to explain why the Frankish chieftains entertained so high an admiration of St. Ambrose, and ascribed to his friendship and good-will the victories of the Frankish Comes Arbogastus.

About the second half of the fifth century, the Franks had settled permanently in Gaul. They had divided into two principal branches of the *Salii*, who inhabited the country between the Scheldt and the Meuse, and the *Ripuarii*, who probably dwelt between the Meuse, Moselle, and Rhine.

Although they sacked and destroyed many cities, and carried desolation far and wide into the surrounding country, there is no evidence that they purposely oppressed the Christians or manifested any special dislike of their religion. On the contrary, it would seem that the Franks were, if not well disposed towards Christianity, at least tolerant of its practice; for, although they had possession of the cities of Cologne, Maestricht, Tongres, Treves, and Toul, not a single church was destroyed during their occupation; and it is, moreover, certain that Comes Arbogastus, who ruled, perhaps in the name of the Roman Empire, with sovereign authority, at Treves, as early as A. D. 470, was both a Frank and a Christian. Neither was the Christian religion unknown in the royal house of the *Salii*; for

¹ Monks of the West, Vol. I., p. 344. (Tr.)

Lautechild and Audefléda, the daughters of *Childeric*, who died A. D. 481, the latter of whom was the wife of *Theodoric* of Bern, were Arians.

Here, as elsewhere, the triumph of the Church was brought about through the instrumentality of a Catholic prince.¹ This was *Chlodewig* (Clovis), the son of *Childeric* and chief of the Salic Franks (A. D. 481-511), who, by his victory at Soissons, A. D. 486, over the Roman governor *Syagrius*, put an end to the Roman supremacy in Gaul.

He laid the foundation of the monarchy of the Franks in those provinces of which he had gained possession, and which lay between the Somme and the Seine, and extended to the south and east as far as the Loire and Rhone. His attention had already been directed to Christianity, to which he seemed much inclined, by his queen *Clotilda*, a Burgundian princess.² When engaged in battle against the Alemanni, near the town of Tolbiacum, or *Zülpich*,³ perceiving that the issue of the contest was doubtful, he made a vow to become a Christian if God should grant him the victory. After the leader of the Alemanni had fallen, the soldiers of the defeated army cried out: "Spare us, O King; we are thy people."

Clovis was instructed in the Christian religion by *Vedastus* of Toul, and *St. Remigius* of Rheims, the apostle of the Franks, and on Christmas day, A. D. 496, received baptism at the hands of the latter. On this occasion *St. Remigius*, addressing Clovis, and referring to the idols of Pagan and to the symbols of Christian worship, said: "Humble thyself, proud Sicambrian; burn now what thou didst formerly adore, and adore now what thou didst formerly burn."⁴

Three thousand noble Franks and a great number of Frankish ladies followed the example of Clovis, and were at once baptized by the attending bishops and clergy.

According to a legend of a more recent date,⁵ the press of people was so great at the ceremony of the anointing and coronation of Clovis, that the attendant who bore the chrism could not make his way to Bishop *Remigius*, who officiated on this occasion. The interruption, however, was short; for a white dove descending from heaven supplied the sacred oil, and, after the prince had been anointed and crowned, he was saluted as the newly arisen *Constantine*.

Pope *Anastasius II.* was overjoyed at this conversion, and enter-

¹ *Gay*, *Ste. Clotilde et les origines chrét. de la nation et monarchie française*, Paris, 1867. *Bouquette*, *Ste. Clotilde et son siècle*, Paris, 1867.

² *Clodewig* (Clovis) had, at the request of his pious consort, consented that, after his death, the heir-presumptive might receive baptism, and the same permission was granted to the second son in the event of the death of the heir-presumptive.

³ It is more probable, as *Junghans* and others assert, that the place here mentioned is not *Zülpich* on the Lower, but *Alpich* in the Palatinate, on the Upper Rhine.

⁴ *Mitis depone colla. Sicamber, adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti.* (TR.)

⁵ *Hincmar* is the first who relates this legend. This oil of chrism, which was used at the coronation ceremony of the French kings, was, until the year 1793, preserved in a phial in the cathedral of Rheims.

tained the hope that Clovis would prove the sincerity of his faith and the loyalty of his devotion by becoming the champion of the rights of the Church. He addressed a letter to the king, in which he said: "Complete the work thou hast begun, and become our consolation and our crown. Let thy conduct be so ordered that thy mother, the Church, who has borne thee to God, may rejoice in the undertakings and triumphs of so great a king. As thou art great and illustrious, be thou also the consolation of thy mother; be resolute and firm in her defence, and arm thyself with the helmet of salvation against the designs of the ungodly."

St. Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, although a subject of Gundebald, also wrote to Clovis, congratulating him on his conversion to Christianity. "Be assured," he said, "most illustrious of princes, that the spotless robe of the humble neophyte will add fresh strength to the valour of thy arms, and that the deeds, which by the aid of thy good fortune thou hast already achieved, will be eclipsed by the glory of those which thy piety will enable thee to perform. The world is filled with the fame of thy victories, and we, though of a foreign country, share in the glory of thy triumphs. When thou art victorious in battle, we feel that thy victories are ours as well."

The hopes entertained of this illustrious prince by Pope Anastasius and St. Avitus were fully realised. The lamp of Faith was lighted in France on Christmas night, and that festival has on this account always been specially dear to the French people. It is with them pre-eminently a family festival; and "*Noël*" has ever been the inspiring battle-cry of that gallant and chivalrous nation. From the days of Charles Martel to our own, the Church has never appealed in vain for aid to the power and sword of France. The bishops who had assembled in council at Orleans, A. D. 511, bestowed on Clovis the honourable title of "Eldest Son of the Church."¹ This prince did, in fact, attack and defeat the Burgundians and the Visigoths at Vouge, near Poitiers (A. D. 507), and deprived them of nearly all their possessions in Gaul.

It is much to be regretted that the life of Clovis by no means corresponded to the earnest professions of his conversion, or to the sincere respect which he uniformly showed to the clergy. He left to his four sons a vast empire *stained with deeds of blood and murder*.

St. Gregory of Tours² assures us that dissension and debauchery were, for many years after the death of Clovis, familiar to the house of the Merovingians; and that bishops who had the courage to rebuke the royal libertines were sent into exile. These were frequently

¹ *Hincmari*, Vita S. Remigii, c. 3 (*Hincm.*, Opp, T. I., Paris, 1645, fol., and *Sirius*, Vitæ SS. ad d. 13 Januar.) Conf. v. *Murr*, The Holy Phial at Rheims, Nürnberg, 1801. *Alberd. Thijm.*, Les fils aînés de l'église (Revue Belge et étrangère, Brux., 1861).

² Conf. *Löbell*, Gregory of Tours and his Age, Lps. 1839. *Bornhaek*, Hist. of the Franks under the Merovingians, Greifswalde, 1863. Pt. I. *Nädelin*, Merovingian Royalty, Stuttgart, 1865.

the ablest and most fearless defenders of the Church. A period of brighter promise was entered upon when *Dagobert I.*, after the death of his father and brothers, united all the provinces of the Frankish monarchy under one rule. Owing, however, to the want of energy and the worthlessness of the royal imbeciles who succeeded Dagobert, the monarchy was soon torn by internal dissensions and the country ravaged by the inroads of the Saracens. For a similar reason the government was wholly administered by the *maiores domus*; and *Charles Martel*, who succeeded to that office on the death of his father, *Pepin of Heristal*, squandered the property of the Church upon lay abbots and soldiers. *Pepin the Short*, and his brother *Carloman*, held the office conjointly until the latter withdrew into the monastery of Monte Cassino. Pepin secured the esteem of the nobles by the success of his wars in Saxony and Bavaria, and of the clergy by his co-operation with Archbishop Boniface in the efforts of the latter to reform the Church. Thus strong in the affections of both these classes, he summoned, with the consent of Pope *Zachary*, a general assembly of the empire to meet at Soissons, where he had Childeric III. deposed, and himself anointed by Boniface king of the Franks, A. D. 752. The affairs of the Church now assumed a more hopeful aspect, and continued to improve under Charlemaigne, the son and successor of Pepin.

§ 156. Christianity in the British Isles.

St. Patricii, Opusc. (max. bibl. T. VIII.; *Galland.*, Bibl. T. X., p. 159 sq.) ed. Waræus., Lond., 1658. *Probi*, Vita Patricii (*Beda*, Venerab. opp.) Conf. †*Greith*, Hist. of the Old Irish Church, Freiburg, 1867. *Gildæ* Badonici (500-580) de exidio Britanniae lib. querulus, ed. Gale, Oxon., 1691. *Columbæ* Vita by Adamnan (*Canisii*, Lectt. antiq., T. I., p. 675-708, and by Cummineus; *Mabillon*, Acta SS. ord. St. Bened., T. I.) *Beda Venerab.*, H. e. Anglorum, ed. *Smith*, ed. *Giles*. See above, Vol. I., p. 28, note 2. *Usserii*, Britannicar. eccl. antiquitates (Dublin, 1639, 4to), London, 1687, fol. *Lingard*, Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, Newcastle, 1806, 2 T., transl. into German, and ed. by *Ritter*, Breslau, 1847 (being a complete English Ch. H. down to the Restoration under Dunstan, in the tenth century). The same, Hist. of England, 10 vols., 1825. *Kemble*, The Saxons in England, transl. into German by *Brandes*, Lips., 1853, 2 vols. *Walter*, Ancient Wales, Bonn, 1859. *John Lanigan*, Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, 2nd. ed., Dublin, 1829, 4 vols. †*Thomas Moore*, Hist. of Ireland, London, c. 9-13; German by *Klee*, Mentz, 1836. Hist. of Ireland, by *Cusack*, Nun of Kenmare, 1867. *Cotton*, Fast. eccl. Hibern., 5 vols., Dublin, 1845-1860. *Collier*, Political and Eccl. Hist. of Ireland. *Ebrard*, The Culdean Church of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, in *Niedner's* Journal of Hist. Theol., 1862 and 1863. The same, Ch. H. II., 393 sq. **Schwab*, Studies on Ch. H. by a Ref. Theol. (against Ebrard), Austr. Quart. for Theol., 1868, 1. †*Schrödl*, Introduction of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, Passau, 1840. Cf. thereon, Tüb. Quart., 1840, p. 664 sq. **Montalembert*, The Monks of the West, Edinburgh. †*Zell*, Lioba and the pious Anglo-Saxon Women, Freibg., 1860. *Wasserschleben*, The Penitentiary Discipline of the Western Church, Halle, 1851 (that of Theodor of Canterbury, pp. 13-37, 145-219).

The traditions which assert that Christianity had been preached in Britain by either James the Elder, Simon the Zelot, or the apostle St. Peter, have long since been given up as untenable. The efforts of Anglican theologians in these latter days to establish the apostolic

origin of their episcopacy, by attempting to prove that *St. Paul* was the founder of the Church in Britain,¹ have been entirely fruitless. It is certain, however, that Christianity was preached in the Island² at a very early date, and that many Britons suffered martyrdom, during the persecution of Diocletian,³ rather than give up their faith.

It is also certain that Christianity had been preached in *Ireland* before *Palladius* reached its shores. Nor is it difficult to account for the fact. It is well known that an active commercial intercourse existed between Ireland and Gaul at this period, and that the ports of Ireland were more frequented than those of Britain by foreign merchants. Neither was it an unusual thing for the Irish of those days to make predatory descents upon the coast of Gaul, and to carry away captive many of the Christian inhabitants of that country. Either of these circumstances will satisfactorily account for the existence of Christianity in the island previous to the coming of *Palladius*. Pope Celestine, having been informed of the fact, consecrated *Palladius*, then a Roman deacon, and sent him into Ireland, in the year 431; and, as has been said, the latter on his arrival found many Christian communities⁴ already existing in the island. Great hopes were entertained of this mission;⁵ but, as *Palladius* was entirely ignorant of the country, and lacking in the courage and perseverance so necessary to the success of great enterprises, they were never realised. To undertake so arduous a mission, with any reasonable hope of ultimately achieving success, required a special training and a thorough knowledge of the people, such as, by extraordinary circumstances, were placed within the reach of *St. Patrick*, the true *Apostle of Ireland*. *St. Patrick* (*Patricius*) was born A. D. 387, according to his own account, at Bonavem Taverniæ; that is, at *Boulogne*, on the coast of Picardy,⁶ then called *Armorica*. His father, *Calpornius*, was a deacon; his grandfather, *Potitus*, a priest; and his mother, *Conchessa*, is said to have been a near relative of *St. Martin* of Tours. At the age of sixteen he was carried away captive to Ireland by some Irish pirates who had made a descent upon the coast of Gaul. Having

¹ Traditions of the Ancient British Church, *Bonn Periodical*, n. 15, p. 88 sq., and *New Series*, 3rd year, nro. 3, p. 174 sq.

² Vol. I., p. 252.

³ *Beda Venerab.*, H. e. I. 4. Conf. c. 17 and 21. *Lingard*, Hist. of England, Vol. I., ch. 1.

⁴ "Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Cælestino *Palladius* primus episcopus mittitur." *Prosperi Chron.* ad annum 431.

⁵ "Ordinato Scotis episcopo, dum Romanam insulam (Britanniam) studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam."

⁶ Not at *Kilpatrick*, in Northumberland, Britain, as it has been generally supposed since the time of *Usher*. *Bonavem*, in the Celtic language, is the Latin *Bononia*, and the adjunct *Taverniæ* designates the regio *Tarbannensis* (Tarabanna, or Tarvenna, the same as Terouanne), where Bononia was situated. See *Lanigan*, 1, 93. If *St. Patrick* is frequently called a Briton (*Britannus*), we are not to suppose that it is intended to signify that he was a native of the British island, for the inhabitants of the country round *Boulogne* were called *Britanni* as early as the days of *Pliny*. *Döllinger*, Ch. II., Vol II., p. 20.

arrived in Ireland, he was sold into slavery, and set to tend flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. Here, abandoned by all and left to his own thoughts, he felt the want and experienced the power and sweetness of prayer. At the end of six years, a voice from heaven commanded him to make his way to a certain port, where he would find a vessel in readiness to carry him to his own country.

After his arrival in Gaul, he went to Tours, where he spent four years at the school of St. Martin, laying up those stores of knowledge, and sinking deep and wide that foundation of virtue, of which in after years he stood so much in need. From Tours he went to spend a short time with his parents, and, while at his father's house, had a dream in which he beheld the Irish people calling out to him, from beyond the sea, to come and pass the remainder of his days in their midst. This he interpreted as a call from God, but did not immediately answer it. In the year 418, he paid a visit to *St. Germanus*, who had been lately consecrated bishop of Auxerre, by whose advice he went, probably to the famous school of the Island of Lerins, to further perfect himself in knowledge and virtue. Leaving this cloister, he returned to St. Germanus, who probably still continued to be his master in the spiritual life, and at his recommendation visited Rome, in the year 431, in the company of a priest, whom the bishop sent with him to bear witness to his great excellence.¹ Here he received a commission to preach the Gospel to the Irish people, and, with Pope Celestine's benediction upon him, set out for his distant mission. On his way through Gaul, he heard of the death of Palladius, and was consecrated in his stead by Amator, Bishop of Evreux (*Ebroicum*). He set sail from the shores of Gaul with a few companions, among whom Auxilius and Isserinus appear to have been the most conspicuous, and landed in Ireland, A. D. 432.

The inhabitants of the island, when St. Patrick landed on its shores, were given to the worship of stars, and adored fountains. It does not seem that the use of idols was general among them; and if they sometimes represented their gods under material forms, these were no more than blocks of stone rudely sculptured into figures. Mountains and hills were the sanctuaries of their gods, and here they met for purposes of worship.

The inhabitants of the country were divided into two *distinct* classes, one of which embraced the aborigines, who, as the ancient traditions of the country state, were *Milesians*, and had come from Gallicia (Iberia); the other embraced the Scots (*Scythæ*?) who had

¹ The journey of St. Patrick to Rome is mentioned not only by *Probus* and other biographers, but also by *Hericus*, Vita S. Germ. I. 12 (in Actis SS. Julii, T. VII.) *Hericus*, however, wrote about the year 860. But as the Book of Armagh, and the Life of St. Patrick, contained therein, were written by the blessed *Aidan*, of Sletty, who died in 698, we have an authority for his journey in the seventh century. The silence of the *Confession*, in which St. Patrick relates only those circumstances in which he beheld an especial Divine Providence, cannot be adduced as an authority against this journey. *Dollinger*, L. 1, p. 21.

more recently come into the country, had subdued the old possessors of the soil, and now held them in subjection.¹

Easter Sunday is a memorable day in the history of Ireland. It was forbidden to light a fire on Easter Saturday until after the flames of that lighted in honour of Baal, the sun god,² should have appeared from the hill of Tara. St. Patrick, disregarding the injunction, lighted the Easter fire on Saturday, and King Laeghairé (Leogaire), indignant at this bold violation of a religious custom, went out in person, accompanied by his Druids, to learn who the strangers were, and what was their mission. A discussion was arranged between St. Patrick and the Druids, to take place on the following day, at Tara. That morning, St. Patrick and his companions set out on their way, chanting hymns as they went along. Arrived at Tara, our Saint explained the faith of Christ with the eloquence, earnestness, and simplicity characteristic of apostolic men. His words were listened to with respect and attention, and so potent was their influence that *Dubtach*, the chief poet and Druid of the king, was converted. Conall Creevan, a brother of the king, was among the first disciples of Patrick. Patrick also conciliated the good-will and effected the conversion of many young men of the higher classes, who subsequently shared his apostolic labours. Many young maidens, also, led captive by the chaste beauty of the doctrine St. Patrick preached, dedicated their virginity to God, and embraced an ascetic life. They were frequently opposed in their good purpose by their parents, but the only effect of such opposition was to strengthen their resolution and add to their numbers.³ St. Patrick went to Connaught, where he remained seven years. During his stay in this province his labours were blessed by the most remarkable and numerous conversion of his missionary life. As he was approaching the land of *Tirawley*, he learned that a great multitude were assembled to celebrate a festival in honour of the seven sons of King Amalgaidh, who had lately died. Advancing into the midst of the assembled clan, he preached the doctrine of Christ, and laid open its truths with such force and lucidity that seven princes and twelve thousand of the people⁴ received the faith and were baptised by Patrick at the fountain of Enardhae.

After the year 439, Secundinus, Auxilius, and Isserinus, whom St. Patrick had sent to either Britain or Gaul to receive episcopal consecration, shared his missionary labours.

¹ St. Patrick calls the great body of the original natives *Hiberionaces*, for Ireland, in his writings, is named *Hiberione*. Not only numbers of these, but many also of the ruling class, bad, he says, in his *Confessions*, become Christians. *Döllinger*, L. 1., p. 22.

² See Life of St. Patrick, by *M. F. Cusack*, p. 253 et seq. (Tr.)

³ *Filii Scotorum et filiae regulorum monachi et virgines Christi esse videntur*. In the letter against Coroticus, written before the *Confessions*, these Scots are spoken of as persecutors of the Christians. It was not until about eighty or ninety years from this period that the appellation of "*Scots*" was given in common to all the Irish, and that the island was known by the name of "*Scotia*." The present Scotland was not so called before the eleventh century. *Döllinger*, in L. c., p. 23.

⁴ Life of St. Patrick, by Miss *Cusack*, p. 296 et seq. *Userii, Antiquitates*, ed. Dublin, p. 865. (Tr.)

In the year 455, towards the end of his life, St. Patrick received from a wealthy chief, by the name of Daire,¹ a tract of land, for the erection of a cathedral, on a hill in the neighbourhood of the residence of the kings of Ulster. The district itself was called *Macha*, and around the cathedral a town rapidly sprang up, known as *Ard-Macha*, the present Armagh, which became the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland.

Years before (A. D. 432-3) Patrick had founded the monastery of *Saul* on a tract of land which had been given to him by Dichu, and between this famous retreat and the see of Armagh he spent the remaining days of his laborious life. After he had once set foot in Ireland as a missionary, he never again thought of returning to his native land. To one so earnest in the performance of his duties, and so sensitive of the responsibility which rested upon him, such thoughts would have been associated with a dread of disobeying the will of Christ, who had set him over the Irish Church, and commanded him to remain with the Irish people all the days of his life.²

Shortly after the erection of the cathedral of Armagh, Patrick, together with Auxilius and Isserinus, held a synod, in which many useful statutes were enacted for the government and direction of the infant Church.

To show the sentiments entertained by St. Patrick and the early Irish Church towards the Holy See, it will be sufficient to quote one of the *Canons of St. Patrick*, which even Usher, who has translated them, admits to be genuine: "Whenever any cause that is very difficult, and unknown to all the judges of the Scottish nation, shall arise, it is rightly to be referred to the see of the archbishop of the Irish (that is, of Patrick), and to the examination of the prelate thereof. But if there, by him and his wise men, a cause of this nature cannot easily be made up, we have decreed it shall be sent to the See Apostolic—that is, to the chair of the Apostle Peter—which hath the authority of the city of Rome."³

The only letter extant written by St. Patrick is the well-known one against *Coroticus*, a British chief, who had made a descent upon the Irish coast, and carried away captive many Christians baptized by the Saint himself. This act very naturally caused him great pain, and he wrote in consequence a circular letter, containing a sentence of excommunication against Coroticus, which he ordered all the priests to read to their people, even in the presence of the chief.

Our Saint, conscious that his life and labours were now drawing to a close, withdrew to the monastery of Saul, where he probably wrote his *Confessions*. In these he tells us that he had visited every corner of the island, and had everywhere ordained priests, and that the great bulk of the people were Christians.

¹ Book of Armagh, fol. 6, b. a.

² Confessions, p. 17.

³ History of Ireland, by Miss Cusack, p. 79. (Tr.)

At this monastery, the first of his founding, the retreat he loved so well, and into which he was accustomed to retire, when worn with the fatigues of missionary labour, to spend a few days alone with his God, St. Patrick breathed his last, March 17, A. D. 465.

He was succeeded in the See of Armagh by *Benignus*, whose father, *Seschnan*, had kept St. Patrick over night when this latter was on his way to Tara, and who, as a reward for his hospitality, obtained for himself and his whole family the grace of faith.¹

The effects of St. Patrick's zeal and prudence were soon visible. Cloister-schools, under the direction of the bishops, were soon to be found in great numbers all over the island, and rapidly grew into famous seats of learning. Towards the close of the fifth century, St. Bridget introduced into Ireland a rule for nuns, and founded many convents throughout the country, the most famous of which was that of Kildare (A. D. 490). There can be no better evidence of the energy, prudence, and zeal of St. Patrick, and those who took up his work after him, and of the docility, earnestness, and generosity of the Irish people, than the fact, that, in the course of the sixth century, the Gospel had spread from one end of the island to the other, from hamlet to city, and from palace to cottage. *Muchertach*, the chief king, who reigned from 513 to 533, openly professed Christianity, and multitudes of men, of all classes and of every age, forsook the world to follow Christ. The face of the whole island was changed. A nation that but a few short years before had been shrouded in the darkness of paganism, was suddenly illumined by the pure rays of divine truth. Churches and chapels, monasteries and convents, schools and colleges, covered the land, and from hill and valley one song of thanksgiving went up to the throne of God. And thus Erin became the *Island of Saints*,² the home and refuge of learning and holiness, and the nursery whence missionaries went forth to carry the light of faith to the nations of the European continent. Her seats of learning, her monasteries and nunneries, and her charitable institutions were unsurpassed, either in number or excellence, by those of any nation of the world. Her children preserved the faith of Christ

¹ *Bolland.*, Acta Sanctorum, mensis Martii, Tom. II., p. 517 ; mensis Feb. Tom. III., pp. 131, 179.

² The Anglican bishop, *Usher*, who died 1665, found and published a most remarkable *Catalogue of Irish Saints*, which was compiled, probably, about the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. In it, the Irish saints are ranged in three classes, according to the ages in which they lived. The *first* class is of those who lived from the coming of *St. Patrick*, 432, to the year 542, and to it belong three hundred and fifty bishops (mostly *chorepiscopi*, or *country-bishops*) and founders of churches, "for all the Irish bishops were then holy, and filled with the spirit of God." Of the *second* class of saints, which comprehends those who lived from 542 to 598, and which comprises three hundred persons, the smaller number is of bishops, the greater of priests, probably abbots and monks, as during this epoch the monasteries of Ireland flourished in all their splendour. The *third* class of saints consists of priests and of a few bishops, in number about one hundred persons. They lived from 605 to 665. See *Userii*, Britan. eccles. antiquitates, p. 913 sq. Conf. *Döllinger*, Manual of Ch. H., Vol. I., Pt. II., p. 188-191 ; Engl. transl., Vol. II., p. 32-34.

as pure and entire as it came from the lips of her apostle; heresy and schism were unknown to them; and loyalty to the successor of St. Peter was one of their most distinguishing characteristics.¹ They have remained faithful and attached to the Supreme Head of the Church, with unvarying uniformity, amid every vicissitude of fortune, from the days of St. Patrick to our own; and there is every indication that their fidelity to the Vicar of Christ will be as unbroken and cordial in the future as it has been in the past.

The northern portion of the country, now known as *Scotland* (*Caledonia*), was inhabited at this period by the *Caledonians*, like the Irish, either a Gallic or Celtic tribe; the southern portion, or that which lies between the Frith of Forth and the Grampian Hills, by the *Picts*, who had come from Scandinavia.

Bishop Ninian, a native of Britain, who had been educated in Rome, converted the Picts to Christianity in the year 412. The Caledonians, or, as they are sometimes called, the Northern Picts, were converted by *St. Columba*, or *Columbkil*,² who commenced his missionary life among them about one hundred and fifty years later.

This remarkable man, who belonged to the royal houses of Ireland, was born at *Gartan*, in the county of Donegal, December 7, A. D. 521, and was educated in the famous school of *St. Finnian* of Maghbile, who had himself studied at Rome. Before Columba had reached his twenty-fifth year, he had founded a great number of monasteries in Ireland, the most celebrated of which was that of *Derry*, in his own native province, which was long the seat of a great Catholic bishopric, and is now known under the modern name of *Londonderry*.³ He had received deacon's orders from *St. Finnian*, and in the year 550 was raised to the priesthood, but his humility was such that he would never consent to take upon him the episcopal office and dignity.

In the year 563, when in the forty-second year of his age, Columba set out from his native land, accompanied by twelve companions, and, in one of those large osier boats, covered with hide, which the Celtic nations used for purposes of navigation, sailed to the North, and landed on the shores of the island of *Iona*, or *Hy*, to which in memory of the Saint, the name of *Hy-Columbkil* was afterwards given. He and his companions immediately set about building a monastery, which was of the rudest description, consisting only of a

¹St. Columbanus thus describes the Irish Church in his Epistle to Pope Boniface IV., in 613 (Biblioth. PP. Max XII. 28). In like manner speaks Cummanian, a countryman and contemporary of St. Columbanus (*Userii*, Vet. Epist. Hib. Sylloge, Paris, 1669).

²St. Columba, like many of the Irish saints, borrowed from the Latin a symbolical name, signifying *Dove of the Holy Ghost*, a title which he merited by the remarkable purity of his life. He is also called *Columb-Kill*, or *Cille*—that is, *Dove of the Cell*: and is sometimes confounded with his countryman Columbanus, the celebrated founder of *Luxeuil*. His name originally was *Crimthan*. *Beda*, Eccl. Hist., V. 10. *Montalcmbert*, Monks of the West, Bk. IX., chap. I. (Tr.)

³Ibid., Vol. II., pp. 9 et seq. (Tr.)

frame covered with the interlaced branches of trees. It was not till some years later that a more substantial edifice was erected, with much danger and labour, as the large oaks to be used in its construction were brought across the waters from the neighbouring shores. Such was the humble beginning of the great monastic centre whence issued those devoted heroes who carried the blessings of religion and civilisation to Scotland and Great Britain. New communities went forth from the mother-house of Iona, and established themselves among the Northern and Southern Picts, and even in our days the remains of fifty-three churches, to which, according to the custom of that age, monasteries were attached, have been discovered in both those districts, all dating back to the time of St. Columba.¹

God deigned to give the divine sanction to the mission of this great saint by granting him the grace of miracles. Purity of life and humility were his two distinguishing virtues.

In the year 590, Columba returned to Ireland, and, while there, assisted at the national assembly, or parliament, held at Drumceitt, or Drumkeath, in which King Aedh proposed the abolition of the order of bards. These were at once the historians, genealogists, poets, and musicians of Ireland. They preserved in verse and rich poetic imagery the traditions of the past, and celebrated the triumphs and glories of the chiefs in whose age they lived. The graceful charm which they threw about the legendary history of Erin, and the stirring notes in which they sang her victories in war, invested them with a sacred character in the eyes of the lower classes, and made them all-powerful and highly respected with the nobles. They, however, sometimes abused both their influence and their gift, exciting the violent hatred of some by the satire of their verse, and of others by the insolence of their behaviour.

When Columba visited Ireland, King Aedh had resolved to banish, or, as others say, to put to the sword, this obnoxious class of men, but the former pleaded so eloquently and so persistently in their favour that they were let off with a restriction of their former privileges.²

Columba, in virtue of his privileges as founder of the Church in both Northern and Southern Scotland, exercised ecclesiastic jurisdiction throughout both of these countries, and, out of respect to his memory, this prerogative was conceded to many of his successors, though these were only priests.³ This jurisdiction was not, however, exercised by them as priests, but as abbots or generals of their order.⁴

¹ Monks of the West, Vol. II., Book IX., chap. III. (Tr.)

² Monks of the West, I. c. (Tr.)

³ "Habere autem solet ipsa insula (Hy) rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, cuius juri et omnis provincia et ipsi etiam episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius (Columbæ) qui non episcopus, sed presbyter extitit et monachus." *Bede, Hist. Eccl. III. 4.*

⁴ "In quibus omnibus idem monasterium Insulanum (Hy) in quo ipse, (St. Columba) requiescit corpore principatum tenet." *Bede, H. c. III. 4.*

This distinguished apostle of Great Britain, after a long and laborious life, died as he had lived. After going over all the island and taking a tender farewell of the monks, at work in the fields and praying in the cloisters, he withdrew to his own cell, and, when the bell rang at midnight for matins, rose and preceded his brethren to the church. Here he was found, by his faithful children, prostrate before the altar, and in a dying condition. Raising his right hand, he blessed the community and expired, June 9, 597.¹

In the fourth century, the bulk of the inhabitants of Britain had already been converted to Christianity. But the Britons, no longer protected by the power of Rome, and unable to defend themselves against the Picts and Scots, who seized every opportunity to make incursions into their country, sought aid elsewhere. It happened that, at this time, a Saxon squadron was cruising in the British channel, in quest of adventure, under the command of the two brothers, Hengist and Horsa. Vortigern, the most important of the petty kings who held sway in the island, invited the strangers to enter into an alliance with him, and to trust to his generosity for their reward (A. D. 449). Having obtained a footing, the Saxons conducted themselves as conquerors rather than allies, driving the Christians into the remote western parts of the island, and destroying their churches. To add to the misfortune of these persecuted Christians, their clergy had become so degenerate as to be incapable either of inspiring them with sentiments of patriotic devotion and brave resistance, or of soothing the pain of their humiliation by the consolations of religion.² Oppression produced its usual effects upon them. Deprived by their conquerors of the civilising influences of Christian institutions, and entertaining a deep and vindictive spirit of hatred against their treacherous allies, they so far lost the spirit of the Gospel that they never showed the slightest disposition to make a pacific and glorious conquest of their oppressors by converting them to the religion of Christ.

The conquerors of Britain, after having driven the ancient inhabitants of the island into the wild mountains of the West, formed themselves into a heptarchy, or seven independent kingdoms of unequal extent and influence, under the general direction of a *Bretwalda*, or

¹ Monks of the West, I. c.

* The Epist. *Gildæ Sapiientis*, who wrote in the beginning of the sixth century, contains a very severe account of the degenerate condition of both the clergy and laity of this period. (In *Gale*, *Scriptores Historiæ Britann.*, Oxon., 1691, fol. Tom. I. et Max. Biblioth. Tom. VIII., p. 715. *Galland*., Tom. XII., p. 189.)

Melancholy is the contrast, says *Döllinger*, with the flourishing condition of the Irish Church, that is presented to us by the state of decay and oppression in which, at this period, we find the Church of Britain. The devout Gildas has left to us a strongly coloured picture of the degeneracy and corruption of the people, and of the disgraceful lives of the clergy in the first half of the sixth century. . . . Severe, but not unmerited, was the judgment that was inflicted upon the Britons and their Church, etc. *Ch. Hist. Eng.* transl., Vol. II., pp. 35, 36. Still, Abbé *Darras* (Vol. II., p. 104) applies the title of *Isle of Saints* to England as well as to Ireland during this age, and speaks of "the glorious name bequeathed to England by the Christians of the sixth century." (Tr.)

chief king, who exercised a sort of suzerainty over all. His authority, however, was nominal rather than real, and the petty kingdoms were not, as the name *heptarchy* implies, always of uniform number. Almost every trace of Christianity disappeared from those portions of the country occupied by the Anglo-Saxons, and a rude idolatry, possessing none of the graceful features or comparative purity which characterised the worship of the ancient Celts, was substituted in its stead. The petty kings, having no longer anything to fear from the enmity of the Britons, and possessing no bond of union other than that derived from common interests and the instinct of self-preservation, began now to make war upon each other. It is difficult to say what might have been the condition of Britain had not a fortunate circumstance, which occurred at this time, brought the idolatrous inhabitants of that country under the notice of a man whose true Catholic heart embraced all nations in its wide charity, and who finally succeeded in bringing the Anglo-Saxons under the sweet yoke of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

This was *Gregory the Great*, who, while yet a monk, as he was one day passing through the forum at Rome, was struck by the fair complexion and radiant beauty of some Anglo-Saxon youths there exposed for sale, and learning that they and their people were idolators, grieved that the souls of persons so handsome without should be disfigured by so much deformity within.¹ He at once conceived the desire of going himself as a missionary into their country to announce the Gospel of Jesus Christ to those poor people; but the Romans, who greatly esteemed him for his many virtues, would not hear of his departure from their midst. But, though not permitted himself to undertake so arduous and glorious a mission, the project was always dear to his heart, and he resolved, if God should ever give him the means, to carry it into execution. Having been elevated to the dignity of Supreme Pontiff, he purchased some of those fair Saxon slaves, placed them in monastic schools, and had them educated in the doctrines of the Christian religion. But the Great Pope did not rest here. In the year 595, he resolved to send missionaries into Britain, and selected for the leader of this difficult mission the monk *Augustine*, then abbot of the monastery at Rome which now bears the name of St. Gregory,² and is situated on the western angle of Mount Cœlius. From this monastery, around which cluster so many beautiful and touching traditions, Augustine set forth on his distant mission,

¹ "What evil luck," said Gregory, "that the Prince of Darkness should possess beings with aspect so radiant, and that the grace of these countenances should reflect a soul void of inward grace! But what nation are they of?" "They are Angles." "They are well named, for these Angles have the faces of angels, and they must become the brethren of angels in heaven. From what province have they been brought?" "From Deira" (one of the two kingdoms of Northumbria). "Still good," answered he. "De ira eruti—they shall be snatched from the anger of God to the mercy of Christ. And how name they the king of their country?" "Alle, or Ælla." "So be it; he is right well named, for they shall soon sing Alleluia in his kingdom." *Monks of the West*, Vol. II., p. 145. (Tr.)

² Now the titular church of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, Henry Ed. Manning.

accompanied by forty monks of his own community.¹ On their way they visited the island of Lerins, and, while there, learned that it was next to impossible to acquire a knowledge of the language of the Anglo-Saxons; that the people themselves were barbarous and ferocious; that it would be hopeless to attempt their conversion to the mild and humane law of the Gospel, and that those who should be foolhardy enough to persist in so wild a dream would expose themselves to certain destruction. Frightened by these reports, the companions of Augustine persuaded him to return to Rome and represent to Pope Gregory the perils and uselessness of such a journey. The Pope, however, would not hear of the undertaking being abandoned, told Augustine it were better not to have entered upon the work at all than give it up, once it had been commenced; and, giving him and his mission the apostolic blessing, again sent him "forward in God's name." The Pope also gave Augustine letters to the Abbot of Lerins, to the Bishop of Aix, and to the governors of provinces, thanking them for their past services to the missionaries; and to the bishops of Tours, Vienne, and Autun, and to Virgilius, metropolitan of Arles, recommending Augustine and his companions to their kind offices. He also wrote to the two young kings of Austrasia and Burgundy, and to their mother, Brunehaut, who reigned in their name over Eastern France, explaining the object of the mission, and begging that they would send interpreters to accompany the missionaries to Britain, to provide a royal safe-conduct to insure their safety while journeying through Gaul.

Thus protected, Augustine and his comrades crossed Frankish Gaul, and after a short voyage landed, in the year 597, on the *Isle of Thanet*, where, a century and a half before, the two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, first touched the British shores, and where, nearly six centuries and a half before, the terrible legions of Cæsar disembarked to reduce this distant island to a province of the Roman Empire.

Ethelbert—that is, the *noble and valiant*—the reigning king of Kent, who had been recognised *Bretwalda*, or chief-king, by the other princes of the heptarchy, had married *Bertha*, the daughter of *Cariberti*, king of the Franks of Paris. This princess, being a Christian, had been affianced to Ethelbert only on condition that she should be permitted to observe the practices of her religion. She brought with her as spiritual adviser, from her native country, *Luidhard*, a Christian bishop, who practised the offices of his religion in an old Catholic church of the Roman times, situated near Canterbury, which had escaped destruction at the hands of the Barbarians. King Ethelbert, having taken a few days to deliberate on the course to be pursued with regard to the missionaries, paid them a visit on the island where they had landed, and, having seated himself on an oak stump, listened to their address, and learned their intentions, informed them, that, as

¹Not fourteen, as stated in *Dollinger's Ch. Hist.*, Vol. II., p. 39. Cf. *Palma Prælectiones H. E.*, Vol. II., p. 423. (Tr.)

they were strangers to him, he could not at once give up the belief of his fathers and of his nation, but assured them that, since they evidently believed what they said, they should be hospitably entertained, and might go through his kingdom, preaching and converting whom they could.¹

He also gave them the old Roman church² at *Dorovernum* (Canterbury = Kent-war-bury, that is, the borough of the men of Kent). This church was dedicated to St. Martin, and thither Augustine and his monks repaired to celebrate Mass, chant the divine office, and perform other offices of the ministry.

King Ethelbert, charmed by the holiness of their lives, and won by the purity of their doctrine, asked and obtained permission to enter the church, and was baptized by St. Augustine on the Feast of Pentecost, A. D. 597.

The example of the king had a very salutary effect upon his countrymen, and on the following *Christmas*, A. D. 597, ten thousand of them were received into the Church. They were baptized in the Thames, at the mouth of the Medway, opposite the Isle of Sheppey.³ Pope Gregory, in writing to Augustine, to Eulogius (Patriarch of Alexandria), and to Bertha (Ethelbert's queen), expressed the great joy which these events gave him. In the meantime, Augustine had, by order of the Pope, gone to Gaul, where he was consecrated Archbishop of the Anglo-Saxons by Virgilius, the former Abbot of Lerins and now Metropolitan of Arles, on the same day on which the ten thousand were baptized in the Thames.

Gregory, on receiving the glad tidings of these successes in Britain, immediately sent out a fresh colony of monks, who carried with them relics, vestments, sacred vessels, altar furniture, and a stock of books destined to form the beginning of an ecclesiastical library.⁴ Of these, the most conspicuous were *Mellitus* and *Justus*, who succeeded each other, on the death of Lawrence, in the metropolitan see of Canterbury, and *Paulinus*, the apostle of Northumbria. The Pope also authorised Augustine to establish twelve episcopal sees in Southern Britain; and gave him permission to appoint whom he would metropolitan of the ancient Roman city of *York* (Eboracum), as soon as the faith should have spread to Northern Britain. This see was also to have twelve suffragan bishops, all of whom, with the metropolitan of

¹ *Monks of the West*, Vol. II., p. 154. (Tr.)

² "The present church," says Count *Montalembert* (*Monks of the West*, Vol. II., p. 155), "rebuilt in the thirteenth century, occupies the place of that which is for ever consecrated by the double memory of Bertha and Augustine, the Archbishop. The baptismal fonts are shown there, in which, according to tradition, King Ethelbert was baptized by immersion." (Tr.)

³ *Palma*, *Prælectiones*, H. e., Vol. I., p. 423. *St. Greg.*, Epist. VIII. 30. Dean *Stanley's* *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 19. (Tr.)

⁴ "Nec non et codices plurimos." *Bede*, I. 29. An old catalogue of the first consignment of books ends with these words: "This is the origin of the library of the whole English Church," A. D. 601. *Monks of the West*, Vol. II., p. 164. (Tr.)

York, were to be subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury during the lifetime of Augustine.¹

The instructions of Gregory with regard to the disposition to be made of Pagan temples are marked by that prudent moderation which always distinguished him. He gave orders that these should not be demolished, but that, as soon as the inhabitants of those districts in which they were situated, should have embraced Christianity, they should be cleansed with holy water, and altars, containing the relics of saints, constructed and placed in them, that they might thus be converted into sanctuaries of the true God.

It was customary with the Anglo-Saxons to commence their worship and their sports with plentiful feasts, and while it was thought prudent that these should not be abolished, it was at the same time deemed absolutely necessary that their meaning and import should be changed, and that, instead of a Pagan, they should bear a Christian significance. In order to this, they were appointed to take place on such festivals of the Church as would be at once occasions of rejoicing, and memorials of events distinctively Christian. Such were the festivals of Church-dedication, and the annual commemoration of martyrs whose bones reposed under the altars of the various churches throughout the country.²

St. Augustine went to his eternal reward, May 12, A. D. 605, just two months after the death of Pope Gregory the Great, by whom he had been sent into England. Previously to his death, Augustine had chosen *Lawrence*, one of his companions, to succeed him in the primatial see of Canterbury, and had had him consecrated for that office, thus wisely providing for any possible contingency in the infant church of Britain. The choice did great honour to Augustine, for Lawrence was equally distinguished by unremitting zeal in missionary labour and spotless integrity of life.

If little or no difficulty had been experienced in bringing the Chief-King, or Bretwalda, to embrace Christianity, it was quite otherwise with the remaining princes of the heptarchy, with perhaps one exception. This was *Saberet*, a nephew of Æthelbert, and king of the

¹ Epist. 65, tit. 11, ad Augustinum. (TR.)

² St. Augustine had sent a messenger to Rome to confer with the Pope on these important matters, and the instructions received by him are given in *Greg. M. Epistolar.*, lib. XI., nros. 28 sq. opp. ed. Benedict., T. II., p. 110 sq.; in *Beda Venerab.* Opp. l. c.; and at length in the letter to *Mellitus*, Bishop of London, opp. T. II., p. 1175. Cf. also note *b* of the Benedictine edition: "Dicite et (Augustino) quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi: videlicet quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa, quæ in eis sunt idola, destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiæ ponantur; quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est, ut a cultu dæmonum in obsequium veri Dei debeant mutari." Cf. also lib. XI., ep. 64: "Placet mihi, ut sive in Romana ecclesia sive in Gallicarum sive in qualibet ecclesia aliquid invenisti, quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicitè eligas et in Anglorum ecclesia, quæ adhuc in fide nova est, institutione præcipua, quæ de multis ecclesiis colligere potueris, infundas.—Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis, quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæ recta sunt elige, et quæ quasi in fasciculum collecta apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem deponere."

neighbouring kingdom of Essex. He received the monks with kindness, and was himself baptized by Mellitus, one of the new missionaries sent by Gregory, and who became bishop of London, A. D. 604. This, the chief city of the East Saxons, was at that early day a flourishing and populous place. King Ethelbert built for Mellitus the cathedral of St. Paul, and authorised the erection of a second bishopric in his own kingdom of Kent, at the Roman city of Rochester, twenty miles west of Canterbury, over which *Justus*, another of the new missionaries, was set.¹

In the year 616, both Ethelbert and Saberet died, and the prospects for the further advancement of religion in the kingdoms over which they had ruled were anything but promising. *Eadbald*, the son of Ethelbert, was captivated by the beauty of the lady whom his father had married on the death of Bertha, and, when he succeeded to the throne, took her to his bed, and forsook a religion which would not permit him the gratification of his passions.² His example had a most mischievous influence upon his subjects. It kept those out of the Church who otherwise would have entered her communion, and caused the relapse of others who were either tired of the restraints of Christianity, or desired to stand well with their king. The Church in England was threatened with still greater misfortunes when Saberet, the founder of Westminster Abbey, and nephew of Ethelbert, died, and his three sons, who had continued Pagans and enemies to Christianity, came to the throne of Essex. They openly professed Paganism, and gave permission to their subjects to worship idols. Being present on one occasion, when Mellitus was administering Holy Communion, they demanded of the bishop that he should also give them of that "white bread" which he had given to their father. The bishop promptly refused, unless they, like their father, should consent to be cleansed in the waters of baptism. The princes, indignant at this refusal, ordered him to quit their kingdom. The Bishop of London withdrew into the kingdom of Kent to confer with Lawrence, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Justus, Bishop of Rochester, as to the course to be pursued in the face of these growing difficulties, and the three agreed to return home, where they might serve God, as they thought, more effectually. Mellitus and Justus had already crossed over to France, and Lawrence was about to follow them, but the night before his intended departure he slept in the church of the monastery where reposed the remains of Augustine, Ethelbert, and Bertha, and during the night had a dream, in which St. Peter appeared to him, chided him for his cowardice, and scourged him till the blood came, for thinking of leaving a church over which he had been set as bishop, and for which he should rather die than abandon it to the enemies of Christ. The next day the archbishop hastened to the king, who at

¹ Monks of the West, Vol. II., p. 182. *Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 24. (Baltimore, 1854.) (Tr.)

² *Lingard*, L. c. p. 24. (Tr.)

once demanded who had dared treat one such as he so ill. "It was St. Peter," replied Lawrence, "who inflicted on me these blows and sufferings for your salvation."¹

Eadbald, terrified by so signal a chastisement, renounced idolatry, put away his father's wife, received baptism, and recalled Mellitus and Justus from France.

Eadbald, though sufficiently powerful to restore Christianity within the limits of his own kingdom, was not, like his father, invested with the authority of Bretwalda, and could not therefore command obedience from the people of Essex. These, and particularly the inhabitants of London, obstinately refused to again receive Mellitus and the other Christian missionaries, saying that they much preferred their own idolatrous priests.² Mellitus, on the death of Lawrence, A. D. 619, succeeded him in the see of Canterbury. The kingdom of Essex seemed now almost hopelessly lost to Christianity, and the same may be said of East Anglia. Redwald, the king of the latter country, had been converted while on a visit to Ethelbert, but after his return home, had, through the influence of his wife and counsellors, relapsed into Paganism.

The missionaries, however, met with considerable success in the kingdom of *Northumbria*, and, through the influence which this conquest gave them, were enabled to bring back and permanently secure to the Church the kingdoms of Essex and East Anglia.

The conversion of the kingdom of Northumbria cannot be overestimated in its influence upon the spread of Christianity in England. It was the largest and most important kingdom of the heptarchy, was intimately connected with the kingdom of East Anglia, and its king, at the date of its conversion, exercised the authority of Bretwalda.

King Edwin, who was mainly instrumental in introducing Christianity among the Angles to the north of the Humber, was the son of *Ella*, or *Alla*, the first king of the *Deïrians*, who then occupied the extensive region now known as Yorkshire, and had been excluded from the throne by *Ethelfrid* the *Ravager*, the son of *Ida*, called by the British bards, on account of his cruelty, the *Man of Fire*, or the *Great Burner*. Ethelfrid united under his own standard all the Anglo-Saxons of Northumbria, who had heretofore composed the two kingdoms of *Bernicia* and *Deira*. Edwin grew up at the court of *Redwald*, the king of East Anglia, and had married the daughter of his protector Ethelfrid, fearing that the young prince whose crown he had usurped might become a dangerous rival, employed every means to induce Redwald, who was then Bretwalda, to deliver him into his hands. Redwald was about to comply with the request, when his wife interposed, and besought her lord not to violate, for gold, his honour and the sacred rights of hospitality.³ Redwald, who had formerly renounced Christianity, in compliance with the wish of his wife, now

¹ *Beæd.* II. 6. (Tr.)

² *Ibid.*, II. 6, 7. (Tr.)

³ *Ibid.*, II. 12. (Tr.)

listened to her prudent counsel, and, instead of betraying the young prince, declared war against Ethelfrid, and defeated and slew him in battle. Edwin now became king of Northumbria, and, on the death of Redwald, assumed the title and authority of *Bretwalda*, which, from this time forward, remained attached to the kingdom of Northumbria. Having lost his first wife, he sought in marriage *Ethelburga* (noble protectress), the sister of the reigning king of Kent, and daughter of Ethelbert and Bertha. She was therefore descended from Kengirt, on her father's side, and on her mother's, from Saint Clotilda. Her brother, Eadbald, at first refused to listen to the proposals of the Northumbrian king, because the latter was a pagan. Edwin assured him that the princess, in case she became his wife, should be at liberty to observe all the practices and rites of her religion; that the same privilege should be extended to any number of persons, of whatever quality or condition, she might see fit to bring with her; and that it was not improbable he himself might embrace her religion.¹ With these conditions, she was given in marriage to the Northumbrian prince, and *Paulinus* one of the monks whom Pope Gregory had sent over to aid Augustine, and who was now consecrated Bishop of Northumbria by the Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied her to look after her spiritual wants (A. D. 625).

Edwin was for a long time making up his mind, and it was not until after two years had elapsed that he finally took the step. He had escaped death at the hands of an assassin sent by the king of the West Saxons to take his life, and now promised that, if he should return safe and victorious from the war he was about to wage with this deceitful foe, he would at once enter the Church, and, as a pledge of his sincerity, had his young daughter baptized by Bishop Paulinus.² He returned victorious, but still hesitated to carry his promise into effect, and proposed a conference with his priests and thanes.³ Each in turn was asked his opinion of the new religion, and the first to answer was *Coifi*, the pagan high-priest. He declared that "the religion they had hitherto followed was worth nothing," because "none had served the gods with more zeal than himself," while "he had received no favours from them, and others had received many." "If, then," he continued, "you have found, after a searching examination, that the new religion is more efficacious, let us hasten to embrace it."⁴ The next to give his opinion was a thane, who said that "life might be compared to the flight of a sparrow that enters a hall at night. Whence it comes, or whither it goes, no one can say; neither can any one say what preceded, or what will follow, the brief span of man's life. If, therefore," he concluded, "the new religion can tell us something certain of these things, it should be followed."⁵

The assembly then expressed a wish that Paulinus should speak and explain the truths of the Christian religion; and when he had

Bede, II. 9. (Tr.) ² *Ibid.*, Loc. cit. (Tr.) ³ *Ibid.*, II. 13. (Tr.)
Ibid., Loc. cit. (Tr.) ⁵ *Ibid.*, Loc. cit. (Tr.)

ceased, Coifi was the first to rise and assent to all the bishop had said. "I have," said he, "for these many years, been in search of truth, and the more I have searched, the more hopeless has seemed the task. I now declare I have found that which gives life and salvation and eternal blessedness. I am therefore in favour of at once cursing and committing to the flames the altars which we have so uselessly consecrated."¹

The king immediately declared that he renounced idolatry and embraced the faith of Christ. The high-priest was the first to profane the pagan temples, by casting a spear into one of them; and the people, seeing that the gods were silent, set upon both temples and idols, and utterly demolished them.

The king was baptized with great solemnity, by Paulinus, on Easter day, A. D. 627, in a wooden church hastily erected for the occasion, and his example was followed by his sons and great numbers of the nobility and people.² The splendid minster of York, the metropolitan church of Northern England, was afterwards built on the site of this little wooden church, and the design of Pope Gregory thus carried into effect.

Some time after this event, Paulinus accompanied Edwin and Ethelburga to a royal villa in the northern part of the kingdom, and, while there, was incessantly engaged for thirty-six days in catechizing the people of the neighbouring villages, whom he baptized in the river which flowed close by.

Paulinus, with that zeal which always characterises truly apostolical men, did not confine his labours to the northern side of the Humber alone; but, passing to the south of that river, preached the faith to the inhabitants of the maritime province of Lindsay, many of whom he baptized in the Trent. The beautiful cathedral of Lincoln owes its origin to the mission of Paulinus, and here also, in the year 628, he consecrated *Honorius*, the fourth successor to Augustine in the see of Canterbury, and one of the first companions of the saint in his mission to England, over thirty years before. The then reigning pope, *Honorius I.*, sent the *pallium* to each of two metropolitans, and ordained that, in the event of the death of either, the survivor might appoint and consecrate his successor, without referring the matter to Rome. The great distance between Rome and England, the difficulty of travel by land and sea, and the inconveniences that might arise from protracted delay in a country where the Church was still struggling for existence, rendered such provision necessary.³ The Pope also wrote to King Edwin to congratulate him on his conversion, but when the letter reached England, the king had gone to his reward, six years after his baptism,⁴ but not until he had carried the power of his arms far into the North, where he left a perpetual record of his

¹ *Bede*, II. 3. (Tr.)

² *Ibid.*, II. 14. (Tr.)

³ The beautiful letter of the Pope to Archbishop Honorius is given in *Bede*, II. 18. (Tr.)

⁴ *Bede*, II. 17. (Tr.)

presence in the fortress which he built on the site of the city of Edinburgh (Edwin's-borough).

The Britons of Wales continued to entertain feelings of the most bitter hatred against Edwin; and their leader, *Ceadwalla*, though a Christian, entered into an alliance with *Penda*, the idolatrous king of Mercia, for the purpose of humbling the Northumbrians and their king. They invaded Northumbria, defeated and slew Edwin and his eldest son in the battle of Hatfield, October 11, A. D. 633. *Penda*, though he had sworn to save the life of the youngest son, brutally murdered him as soon as the young prince fell into his hands. The conduct of *Ceadwalla*, though a Christian, was still more barbarous than that of the idolatrous *Penda*. For a whole year he traversed the kingdom of Northumbria from north to south, ravaging the country and putting the inhabitants to the sword. Nearly every vestige of Christianity was obliterated from the soil of this once flourishing kingdom.¹

Paulinus withdrew from his see, leaving it in charge of *James*, the Roman deacon, and conducted Queen *Ethelburga* to her brother in Kent, where, after sending her two sons and one daughter to her cousin, *Dagobert*, king of the Franks, she devoted the remainder of her life to the service of God. The titular bishop of Rochester having been drowned in the Mediterranean while going on a mission to Rome, *Paulinus* was appointed to his place, with the consent of the king, by the Archbishop *Honorius*, whom he had himself consecrated at Lincoln. Here he died, after having spent forty-three years labouring to convert the Anglo-Saxons. But, though the prospects of Christianity now seemed so hopeless in Northumbria, they were shortly to open with greater brilliancy than ever, under a prince whose heroic achievements were destined to eclipse those of the most distinguished of his predecessors.

This was *Oswald*, the son of *Ethelfrid* and of the sister of King *Edwin*. After the defeat of his father, he made his escape, and, in company with many young nobles, sought and obtained protection and hospitality among the Scots, and during his stay among them embraced Christianity.

After the death of *Edwin*, he returned to Northumbria, and with a small, but heroic and resolute band of followers, disputed the sovereignty with *Ceadwalla*. The hostile armies met at *Denisesburn*, near the great wall of the Emperor *Severus*. *Oswald*, on the night before the battle, erected a large cross, before which he and his followers prostrated themselves, and besought the God of battles to favour their cause. He went forth on the next day with his handful of followers against the multitudes of his adversary, and gained a complete and decisive victory. *Ceadwalla* was slain, and the cause of Christianity was once more triumphant to the north of the Humber. *Oswald* at once sent to the monastery of *Iona*, which had been founded

by Columba, to ask for missionaries to convert his people. The abbot first sent *Corman*, a man of austere habits and stubborn character, who made but little progress in his mission, and shortly returned to his monastery. *Aidan* was next chosen and consecrated bishop, and by his prudence, conciliating disposition, and affable manners, won the hearts and gained the souls of this barbarous people.¹ Oswald left him at liberty to establish his bishopric in whatever part of the kingdom might seem best suited for that purpose. *Aidan*, instead of selecting the existing see of York, established himself on the island of *Lindisfarne*, on the coast of *Bernicia*, which, in many respects, bore a striking resemblance to *Iona*. The Irish monks were now to take up, and prosecute with vigour, the work which the Roman monks had commenced. Recruits were constantly arriving from Ireland and Scotland to help on the good word, and share the labours of *Aidan*. The bishop, following the practice of his country, erected a monastery for their accommodation by the side of his cathedral, on the island of *Lindisfarne*. *Aidan* was, in every sense, the model of a true bishop and an apostolic missionary. "He was," says *Bede*, "a pontiff inspired with a passionate love of goodness; and, withal, most gentle and moderate." He was filled with zeal for his holy calling, possessed of unbounded charity towards the poor, self-denying to himself, and tender with others. Between him and King *Oswald*, there always existed the warmest sympathy and the most intimate friendship. The king gave in his conduct an example of every Christian virtue, and did all in his power to second the efforts of the missionaries. He was profuse in his alms, considerate towards the poor, and provided amply for strangers who came in crowds to learn the wisdom of Christ at the feet of *Aidan*. Having, during his long residence among the Scots, acquired a perfect knowledge of the Celtic language, he not unfrequently acted as interpreter between his subjects and the missionaries, who were not yet sufficiently acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon tongue to dispense with such aid. And so great was his influence, not only with his own countrymen, but with the *Picts* and *Scots* also, that he was acknowledged *Bretwalda* by both nations. But all this prosperity was soon to come to an end. *Oswald* perished in battle, fighting against *Penda*, his old enemy, at the head of the *Mercians*, A. D. 642, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. His last words were worthy of a Christian king. "May God," said he, "save their souls."² *Penda* ordered his head and hands to be cut off, impaled, and set up as a warning to others. In this condition they remained for a whole year, when *Oswy*, the brother of the murdered king, obtained possession of them, and had the head conveyed to *Aidan*, at *Lindisfarne*, and the hands to the chapel of the royal fortress, at *Bamborough*. The Church reveres him as a martyr, and the English nation as one of its most glorious saints. After the death of *Oswald*, *Northumbria* was again

¹ *Bede*, III. 5. (Tr.)² *Ibid.*, III. 9, 12. (Tr.)

divided into the two kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, over the latter of which *Oswin*, the son of ill-fated *Osric*, ruled.

Bishop *Aidan* went through both kingdoms, preaching the Gospel of Christ, and while in Deira shared, when practicable, the hospitality of *Oswin*, with whom he was on terms of intimate friendship.

The good feeling which had existed for many years between the two Northumbrian princes, was interrupted by *Oswy*, king of Bernicia. Yielding to the feelings of jealousy, which the greater popularity enjoyed by *Oswin* among the Northumbrian chiefs had excited in his breast, he marched at the head of a powerful army against him. *Oswin*, conscious that his own forces were much inferior to those of his adversary, advised his followers to consult for their own safety. He himself took refuge with one of his nobles, on whom he had lately conferred great favours, and to whose loyalty and honour he thought he might safely commit himself in this emergency. The ungrateful noble had the meanness to betray his king and benefactor into the hands of his enemy, by whom he was put to death, August 20, A. D. 651.

Twelve days after the death of *Oswin*, his friend *Aidan*, during one of his many missionary journeys, fell sick, and died under a tent which he had pitched in haste at the back of a modest church he himself had built. His body was conveyed to Lindisfarne, and buried in the cathedral of the monastery.¹

Finan, also a monk of Iona, was the first successor to the holy *Aidan*. He had the happiness of baptizing *Peada*, the son of *Penda*, the terrible king of the Mercians, or Middle Angles. During one of these intervals of peace, which were rare at that time in the Northumbrian annals, *Peada* came to the court of *Oswy* to ask in marriage his daughter *Alchfleda*.² His request was refused, unless he should renounce idolatry, and become a Christian. He set himself to the study of the Christian religion, and, after he had gained a knowledge of it, declared that he would embrace it, even though his suit should be unsuccessful. This conversion seems to have been principally owing to *Alchfred*, the brother of *Alchfleda*, who had married a daughter of King *Penda*, and between whom and *Peada* there existed a brotherly love. *Peada* returned to his own country with his young wife, and accompanied by four missionaries from Iona, at the head of whom was *Diuma*, who was consecrated first bishop of the Mercians.³

Strange to say, *Penda* did not seem displeased with the conduct of his son, and was so tolerant of the new faith as to allow the missionaries to go through his kingdom and proclaim it to his people. He, however, showed his utter contempt of all Christians who did not practice what they professed.

¹ *Joan. Tynemouth*, ap. *Bolland*, T. IV., Aug., p. 53. (Tr.)

² *Bede*, III. 25. (Tr.)

³ *Ibid.*, III. 21. (Tr.)

Sigebert, the king of Essex, was in the habit of frequently visiting King *Oswy*, by whom he was instructed in the Christian faith. After consulting with the leaders of his nation, according to the Anglo-Saxon custom, he consented to receive baptism, which was conferred upon him by *Finan*, at the village of *Oswy*, near the old Roman wall of the Emperor *Severus*, at the same place where, a short time after, *Peada*, as has been mentioned, was baptized.¹ *Sigebert* applied for missionaries to go with him to his own kingdom, and *Oswy* selected *Cedd*, an Anglo-Saxon monk of *Lindisfarne*, who had been sent into *Mercia* with *Peada*, and afterwards recalled, as the most fitting person for this mission. He afterwards went to *Lindisfarne* to be consecrated bishop of the East Saxons, and, returning, fixed his episcopal see at *London*, formerly occupied by the Roman monk *Mellitus*. King *Sigebert* was slain by his kinsmen, in the year 660, and Bishop *Cedd* survived him only four years. The latter, while on his way to *Lindisfarne*, was seized with a contagious disease, and died at the monastery of *Lastingham*, which he himself had founded.²

The port of *Genoa* was at that time much frequented by Anglo-Saxon traders, from whom some of the inhabitants had acquired a knowledge of the language of the distant islanders. Among these was one *Birinus*, whose origin is unknown, but who, having received a commission from Pope *Honorius I.* to go and labour for the conversion of the countrymen of those traders, was consecrated by the Bishop of *Genoa*. *Birinus* landed in *Wessex* in the year 634, and at once commenced his labours among the people of that kingdom. *Oswald*, king of *Northumbria*, had sought in marriage the daughter of *Cynegils*, king of *Wessex*, and, coming in person to seek his bride, he found *Birinus* at the court of his father-in-law. The two set about converting *Cynegils*, and they were rejoiced to find their labours shortly crowned with success. *Oswald* stood godfather³ to the king of *Wessex*. He was baptized at *Dorchester*,⁴ which afterwards became the episcopal see of *Birinus*. *Birinus* laboured in his new mission with the zeal of an apostle, converting multitudes and erecting numerous churches; and so great was the admiration which the people entertained for one who could voluntarily exile himself from his own country to work for the weal of others, that his praises were, for many years after his death, celebrated in their songs. He died A. D. 650.

Cenwalch, who succeeded to his father, *Cynegils*, refused to accept the teachings of Christianity. Driven from his throne by *Penda*, whose sister he had refused to marry, he sought an asylum with good king *Anna* of *Essex*, through whose influence he was brought into the Church. He again got possession of his kingdom in the year 648,

¹ *Bede*, III. 22. (Tr.)

² *Ibid.*, III. 23. (Tr.)

³ *Ibid.*, III. 7. (Tr.)

⁴ This is not the present city of *Dorchester*, but a place near *Oxford*, on the *Thames*. The see was afterwards transferred to *Lincoln*. *Monks of the West*, Vol. II., p. 284 note. (Tr.)

and, being solicitous to spread the faith among his subjects, named *Agilbert*,¹ a Gaul, who had spent many years studying in the Irish monasteries, Bishop of Dorchester, in place of Birinus. In virtue of a promise made to his father on his death-bed, Cenwalch founded the great monastery of Winchester for his Saxon subjects.

The majority of Cenwalch's subjects could speak neither the Latin nor the Celtic language, and could not, therefore, converse with the missionaries directly. On this account, the king resolved to establish a bishopric at Winchester, and to appoint to it one who understood the Saxon language. Such a one was *Wina*, who, though he had made his studies and had been ordained in France, was perfectly conversant with Saxon, and became the first bishop of Winchester.²

Some years later on (A. D. 686), St. Wilfrid, who was himself in exile in Sussex, met there *Ceadwalla*, a descendant of Cenwalch's, who had been driven from his kingdom. The prince, to whom the saint rendered some kind offices, shortly after came again into possession of his kingdom, and overran Sussex, Kent, and the Isle of Wight. In virtue of a vow which he had made before attempting the reduction of this island, he gave one-fourth of it to St. Wilfrid, to be applied to religious uses. He was, however, still a pagan, and both cruel and vindictive. He ravaged Kent with fire and sword, and, to avenge the wounds he had received in his efforts to reduce the Isle of Wight, put all its inhabitants, consisting of twelve hundred families of Jutes, to a frightful death. But, having returned to Wessex, he began to reflect on the words he had heard from Wilfrid during his exile in Sussex, and, sending for the saint, begged to be more fully instructed in the Christian religion. He was so struck with its truth and the beauty of its moral precepts, in such marked contrast with his own conduct, that he at once set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he was baptized by the Pope,³ and died while still clad in the robes of baptismal innocence.

His successor, *Ina*, after a reign of thirty-seven years, also made a pilgrimage to Rome, and was the first to establish the practice of paying Peter's pence (A. D. 725). Among the Saxons and Franks, long hair was a mark of noble birth; but *Ina*, wishing to indicate that he renounced all worldly honour and distinction, had his long flowing locks cut off. He died shortly after having given these tokens of obedience and humility.

Sussex was the last kingdom of the heptarchy to embrace the Christian religion, which it received from St. Wilfrid, who, exiled from his own see of York, and from the Christian kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex, sought and obtained a secure asylum among the South Saxons, whom, in return for their generous hospitality, he converted

¹ *Bede*, L. c. (Tr.)

² There were in Wessex besides Dorchester two other bishoprics, viz., Winchester and Sherburne; the latter was afterwards transferred to Salisbury. *Monks of the West*, Vol. II., p. 284, note. (Tr.)

³ *Monks of the West*, Vol. II., p. 399 (Tr.)

to the faith of Christ. *Edilwaleh*, the king of Sussex, had already been converted by his wife, a Mercian princess, but the great bulk of the people were firmly attached to their ancient faith, and had obstinately repelled all advances of former Christian missionaries. They reproached those of their nation who had already embraced Christianity with apostasy from the traditions of their fathers and the religion of their ancient gods. To this people, so wedded to their errors and so averse to change, did St. Wilfrid come as an exile and a missionary. He moved the hearts of the king and queen to pity and generosity by the tale of his sufferings, and obtained from them permission to speak of God and His holy Church to their subjects. Strengthened by the good-will of the king, the saint commenced preaching the Gospel of Christ to these heathens. He told them of the power of God, of His goodness and His mercy, and exposed the foolishness of adoring idols. His words soon had their effect. His first converts were two hundred and fifty slaves whom the king gave him, and who, after they had been baptized, were informed by the saint that they were now freemen, because, having become children of Christ, they ceased to be slaves (A. D. 678). These were followed by princes and nobles, and people of lower degree, who came in great numbers to receive baptism at the hands either of the saint himself or one of the four priests who accompanied him. So numerous were the conversions that the king felt justified in compelling the few who held off to follow the example of the body of their fellow-countrymen.¹ Wilfrid also taught the inhabitants the art of taking in nets the fish which abounded in their rivers.² In gratitude for all these benefits, the king gave the apostle and his companions the domain of *Selsey* as a residence during their exile. Here Wilfrid founded a monastery, which became, in the year 711, the most southern bishopric of England.³

The kingdom of Sussex was at first subject to the Bishop of Winchester, but it was finally determined to give it a bishop of its own. The first chosen to fill this office was *Edbert*, abbot of the monastery of Selsey, which had been founded by Wilfrid. After five years of ceaseless labour, this apostle had the consolation of seeing nearly all the Southern Saxons converted to Christianity, and the Church firmly established in their country.

As we have seen, Pope Gregory the Great had intended to establish in England two metropolitan sees—namely, London and York—each of which was to have twelve suffragan bishops. St. Augustine, however, preferred Canterbury to London, and the successors of St. Gregory, while still adhering to the leading idea of their predecessor, acquiesced in the choice. Nevertheless, it was many years before this was carried fully into effect. For a period of seventy years, England

¹ *Bede*, IV., 13. *Ædinus*, C. 39. (Tr.)

² *Ibid.*, Loc. cit. (Tr.)

³ The see was transferred to Chichester in 1070. Monks of the West, Vol. II., p. 398, note. (Tr.)

had only one metropolitan, and his jurisdiction did not extend over the whole island. Deusdedit, the sixth Archbishop of Canterbury, having been taken off by a pestilence, it became necessary to appoint another in his place; and King Oswy of Northumbria, using the privilege in spiritual affairs, which seems to have been accorded to his office of Bretwalda, selected for this important see, Wighard, a Saxon monk of Canterbury, who had been educated in the school founded by the first missionaries sent from Rome by St. Gregory, and was universally esteemed for his learning and virtue.¹ Oswy and the king of Kent, desirous at once of conciliating national prejudice and maintaining a close bond of union with the Head of the Church, sent Wighard to Rome, to be consecrated by the Pope. But as Wighard and nearly all his companions had died shortly after coming to Rome, the two kings left the choice of his successor to the Pope.

Vitalian, who then occupied the papal chair, was slow to make choice of a man to fill so important a position. After casting about for some time, his first choice fell upon *Hadrian*, an African by birth, and abbot of a monastery near Naples. The abbot pleaded his unworthiness, and directed the Pope's attention to a Greek monk named *Theodore*, born at Tarsus, but then residing at Rome, whose knowledge was so profound and varied that he was surnamed the Philosopher. He had already reached the venerable age of sixty-six.² The Pope accepted this choice on condition that Hadrian would accompany Theodore to England, lest the Greek traditions of the latter might tempt him to depart from Roman usage. With this understanding, Theodore was consecrated by the Pope, March 26, A. D. 668, and, in company with Abbot Hadrian, set out for England, where he arrived, May 27, A. D. 669.

Through the co-operation of the powerful king of Northumbria, Theodore was received in England without the slightest opposition from either kings or prelates, and at once assumed the title and exercised the jurisdiction of Archbishop of Britain. This, however, cannot be said to have been an assumption of unwarranted jurisdiction on the part of Theodore, for Pope Vitalian conferred upon him all the prerogatives that had been granted by Gregory the Great to St. Augustine.³

Theodore at first confined his labours to Northumbria and Mercia, and, having provided for the government of the Church in these kingdoms, he set out, in company with Hadrian, to make a visitation of the whole of England. During this journey he settled many sanguinary feuds, reconciled princes and nobles, restored ecclesiastical discipline where it had become relaxed, corrected abuses, introduced the Roman practice in celebrating the Easter festival,⁴ and the parish

¹ *Bede*, Hist. Eccl. III., 29; also, Hist. Abbatum in Wiramutha ad Girvum, n. 3. (Tr.)

² *Ibid.*, Hist. Eccl., c. 3; also, Hist. Eccl. IV., 1. (Tr.)

³ *Ibid.*, IV. 2. See also Diploma of Pope Vitalian in Act. SS. Bolland, T. VI., Septemb., p. 59. (Tr.)

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV., 2. (Tr.)

system instead of the missionary stations which had previously existed, and persuaded princes and nobles to second his efforts by erecting churches on their demesnes.¹

Having thus provided for the establishment of parishes, he next proceeded to the division of dioceses. These were at that time of vast extent; for, with the exception of Kent, each kingdom of the heptarchy had but one bishopric. Theodore therefore called a council at Hereford, September 24, A.D. 673, the first held in the Anglo-Saxon Church, but was unable to carry his measure.² The council, however, passed two decrees of great importance, the first of which provided that bishops should in no way disturb the monasteries; and the second, that monks should not pass from one monastery to another without the permission of their abbot.³ But, though Theodore did not succeed in having his plan of dividing the dioceses adopted in the council of Hereford, he nevertheless persisted in carrying it into effect, which he did with the energy and resolution characteristic of great minds, but which seemed also, at times, closely allied to violence. So thorough and general was his work, that at the close of the seventh century the number of dioceses in England had increased from seven to seventeen.⁴ It is to be regretted that, in carrying this design into execution, Archbishop Theodore became involved in a long and angry contest with the great and saintly prelate, *Wilfrid*, Bishop of York.

Wilfrid had drawn upon himself the anger of Egfrid, king of Northumbria, by advising the princess *Etheldreda*, whom the king had compelled to marry him,⁵ to persist in the resolution of dedicating her virginity to God. An open rupture did not, however, take place until after Egfrid had married the princess *Ermenburga*, to whom Wilfrid gave offence, by reprimanding her for frivolous and improper conduct. She represented to the king, with all the persuasiveness of female eloquence, that the fearless bishop was proud, wealthy, and more powerful than became a subject. To the mind of the king, already irritated against the bishop, these words were galling; but, fearful of making a direct attack upon him, he had the cunning to engage Archbishop Theodore in his designs;⁶ and, it must be admitted, the proceedings of the metropolitan were, in this instance, harsh and unjustifiable. He came to York by invitation from the king, and, in the absence of Wilfrid, divided his diocese into three districts, over each of which he placed a bishop consecrated by himself.⁷ Wilfrid protested, appealed to the Canons, and, finding every-

¹ *Thos. de Elmilan*, Hist. Monast. S. Aug., p. 289. (Tr.)

² *Bede*, IV., 5. (Tr.)

³ *Ibid.*, Loc. cit. (Tr.)

⁴ They were: In Kent, Canterbury and Rochester; in Essex, London; in East Anglia, Dunwich and Helmham; in Sussex, Selsey; in Wessex, Winchester and Sherburne; in Mercia, Litchfield, Leicester, Hereford, Worcester, and Sydnacester; in Northumbria, York, Hexham, Lindisfarne, and Whithorn (*Candida Casa*, the ancient see of Ninian, the apostle of the Southern Picts). *Döllinger*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 51. (Tr.)

⁵ *Thom. Eliens*, c. 4, 8. (Tr.)

⁶ *Eddius*, c. 20, 23. (Tr.)

⁷ *Monks of the West*, Vol. II., p. 376, note. (Tr.)

thing else unavailing, set out for Rome, to lay the matter before Pope Agatho. While at Rome, he received intelligence of the death of the sainted queen Etheldreda (June 23, A. D. 679), whose friend and spiritual father he had been, and by whose advice he undertook the journey to the shrine of the Apostles.

Agatho summoned a synod of the Roman clergy to examine into the case. They gave judgment in favour of Wilfrid, and decided that the bishops appointed by Theodore should be deposed, and replaced by others, to be chosen by the injured bishop.¹

Wilfrid, on his arrival in England with the Papal decree, was seized by Egfrid at the instigation of his wife, and cast into prison. He was released through the powerful influence of the Abbess *Ebba*,² but on condition that he would never again enter the dominions of Egfrid. It was during this exile (A. D. 681-686) that he evangelized the South Saxons. Towards the close of his life, Theodore († A. D. 690), conscious that he had seriously wronged Wilfrid, sent for him, became reconciled with him, and offered to appoint him his successor in the see of Canterbury, because of his great knowledge and acquaintance with the practices of Rome.³ Egfrid having died in the meantime, Theodore wrote to *Aldfrid*, his successor, and persuaded him to reinstate Wilfrid in the see of York, and to restore to him all the rights and prerogatives that had formerly belonged to that bishopric. But though fully reinstated in his diocese, Wilfrid was not free from the persecutions of his enemies. The deposed bishops took every occasion to annoy and harass him; and the king, who was offended by his austere severity, began to entertain a dislike of him, which was assiduously encouraged by his many enemies.⁴ After five years of ceaseless conflict, he was required by royal order to surrender the magnificent monastery of Ripon, which he had been at great pains to beautify and adorn, for the residence of a new bishop, to be appointed by the king.⁵ This he peremptorily refused to do, and, again flying from his diocese, sought refuge with *Ethelred*, king of Mercia, by whom he was appointed to the vacant see of *Litchfield*⁶ (A. D. 692). Here he resided eleven years (A. D. 692-703), during which he appears to have lived a quiet and retired life, waiting for the coming of better days. In the year 692, *Brithwald*, an Anglo-Saxon, who was chosen to succeed Archbishop Theodore in the metropolitan see of Canterbury, also took sides against Wilfrid. He called an assembly of bishops and abbots at *Nesterfeld* (A. D. 703), in Northumbria, near the monastery of Ripon, in which Wilfrid consented to take part, on condition that justice should be done him. But this promise was far from being kept; on the contrary, an attempt was made to obtain his signature to a fraudulent document, by which he was made to resign all claims to the government of any bishopric or monastery whatever.⁷ Fortu-

¹ *Eddius*, c. 28, 30.² *Ibid.*, c. 37.³ *Ibid.*, c. 41.⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 43.⁵ *Loc. cit.*⁶ *Eddius*, c. 43. (Tr.)⁷ *Ibid.*, c. 44. (Tr.)

nately he received friendly warning of this design, and indignantly refused to comply with the wishes of his enemies. This having failed, he was offered the monastery of Ripon, on condition that he should not leave it without the royal permission or exercise any episcopal functions. Wilfrid still more indignantly repelled this attempt "to violate the sacred character with which he was invested;" and added, "I appeal boldly to the Holy See. I invite any of you who desire my deposition to go there with me and receive its decision."¹ He at once set out for Rome.

The papal throne was at that time occupied by John VI., who summoned a council of the Roman bishops and clergy to inquire into the controversy. Archbishop Brithwald also sent envoys to Rome in the name of the assembly of Nesterfeld,² and in this way a fair hearing was given to both parties. Wilfrid read a paper before the council, in which he begged the Pope to enforce the decisions of his predecessors, Agatho, Benedict, and Sergius. Fearful, however, that the king of Northumbria might oppose the full execution of these, and conscious of the necessity of being moderate in his demands, Wilfrid consented to resign the see of York, with all its dependent monasteries, to be disposed of according to the Pope's pleasure, but expressed a desire to retain the monasteries of Ripon and Hexham, with all their possessions. A hearing was next given to the envoys who accused Wilfrid of having treated the assembly of Nesterfeld with contempt. The council, after it had sat for four months and held seventy sessions, declared Wilfrid innocent, and granted his request.

Wilfrid returned to England in the year 705, and had an interview at London with Archbishop Brithwald, who promised to submit to the papal decision, and to recall the decrees of Nesterfeld.³

Aldfrid, king of Northumbria, at first refused to recognise the judgment of the Holy See; but, falling ill shortly after, he came to a better mind, and said, on his death-bed: "I command my successor, whoever he may be, in the name of the Lord, and for the repose of my soul and his own, to make peace with Wilfrid."⁴ The abbess *Ælfleda*, sister of the king, but more distinguished for her exalted virtues than for her noble birth, was a witness of the king's words, and at an assembly called shortly after at *Nid*, by Archbishop Brithwald, testified that it was her brother's last will that the bishops, abbots, and lords assembled should do justice to Wilfrid and render obedience to Rome. The monasteries of Hexham and Ripon were thus given to the holy bishop, and a general reconciliation between him and his enemies took place.⁵

This great bishop and apostolic missionary died at *Oundle*, a monastic foundation near Northampton, which he himself had

¹ *Eddius*, Loc. cit. (Tr.)

² *Ibid.*, c. 47. (Tr.)

³ *Ibid.*, c. 54. (Tr.)

⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 56. (Tr.)

⁵ The *Anglia Sacra* of *Henry Wharton*, in which much historical matter has been carefully and diligently collected, is of great importance on this subject. London, 1791, 2 vols., folio.

dedicated to St. Andrew the Apostle, on the 23rd of June, A. D. 709, at the age of seventy-six, after having been bishop forty-four years.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks and difficulties, it is nevertheless true that the mission of Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian had a great influence in giving organization, unity, stability, and efficiency to the Church in England. They were learned and energetic; equally skilled in theological and secular science, and laboured strenuously to diffuse a knowledge of both among the Anglo-Saxon Christians. Theodore had brought a copy of Homer with him from Rome, and passed some of his leisure moments in the perusal of that great classic. Schools were established, in which, besides the theological branches, Greek, Latin, mathematics, and astronomy were taught. So proficient did the Anglo-Saxons become in these departments of secular knowledge, that they were shortly able to compute the Pascal cycle, wrote Latin verses with correctness, ease, and grace, and spoke both Latin and Greek as readily as their mother-tongue.¹ Music and chant, which up to this time had been confined to the monasteries of Canterbury and York, now became common all over England.²

A reconciliation was also effected between the ancient Britons of Wales and the Anglo-Saxon converts; and, in consequence of the spread of Christianity throughout England by the labours of Roman, Irish, Frankish, and Anglo-Saxon missionaries, the old British Church coalesced with those of Irish and Roman origin. But notwithstanding this friendly intercourse between the two Churches, there existed among the Britons certain practices at variance with those of Rome which they tenaciously clung to, and which for a time they struggled strenuously to maintain. The principal of these were—1. The ancient British rite of administering the sacrament of *Baptism*; 2. The computation of the festival of Easter according to the Jewish cycle; and 3. The form of ecclesiastical tonsure.³ In the administration of baptism, the ancient Britons were accustomed to omit the anointing of the head. But this point was not regarded by the British Church as of so great importance as the difference between the two rules of celebrating the Pascal festival, and was no serious hindrance to an accommodation. The real difficulty lay in the Easter computation.

It may be well to remark that, from the very earliest ages, the question regarding the exact time of celebrating Easter had given rise to many difficulties. It came up at the Council of Nice, and the

¹ Cf. *Freiburg Eccl. Cyclop.* art. Wilfrid. *Bede*, IV., 2.

² *Bede*, Loc. cit. (Tr.)

³ There were at this time three different forms of tonsure: 1. That of *St. Peter*, or the Roman, which consisted in cleanly shaving the top of the head, and leaving a crown of hair at the base, symbolical of the Crown of Thorns. 2. That of *St. Paul*, in which the whole head was shaved. 3. That of the Apostle *St. John*, called by its adversaries that of *Simon Magus*, and in use among the Irish and Britons, in which the front of the head was shaved so as to resemble a crescent, or semi-circle, and the hair allowed to fall down upon the back.

Fathers passed a decree enacting that the celebration of the Easter festival should take place on the first Sunday after the full moon of the vernal equinox. This rule, followed by the Roman Church was introduced into ancient Britain by the early missionaries, and into Ireland and Caledonia respectively by St. Patrick and St. Columba.

In this computation, the Jewish cycle of eighty-four years, which contained an astronomical error, had been followed; and the Alexandrians, having detected the error, introduced a more exact calculation, which was adopted by all the Eastern Churches. In the year 444, a difference of nearly a month intervened between the days on which Easter was celebrated at Rome and at Alexandria, and Pope Leo the Great ordered that the festival should be observed on the 23rd of April, the day on which it fell according to the Alexandrian computation. Towards the middle of the sixth century, the cycle of *Denys the Little*, which exactly corresponded with that of Alexandria, was adopted at Rome, and hence, from that time forward, a complete uniformity existed in the two Churches regarding the celebration of Easter.

The Britons, having been cut off from intercourse with Rome by the Saxon invasion, retained their ancient rule, and it is precisely their fidelity to this rule which proves their fidelity to Rome. When they again came in contact with the Anglo-Saxons after the latter had become Christians, or at least some of them, they found the Roman rule prevailing regarding the celebration of Easter. St. Augustine had introduced it into England, and as he had received from Pope Gregory authority over the British bishops, he made every effort to bring them in accord with the Church of Rome. "As to the British bishops," said the Pope, "we commit them entirely to your care, that you may instruct the ignorant, strengthen the feeble, and correct the evil."¹ Augustine accordingly set to work to carry out the instructions of the Pope. He obtained the favour of a conference with the principal bishops and doctors of Wales on the banks of Severn, which separated the Saxons from the Britons (A. D. 599 or 603). Though he performed a miracle in proof of the divine sanction which was accorded to his authority,² the Britons refused to comply with his request till they should have consulted their people, and obtained their consent to depart from practices of so great antiquity. A second conference was held soon after, but the Britons, dreading the authority of one whom they did not know, and who resided in the territory of their implacable enemies, refused to comply with the Roman usage, or to acknowledge the archbishop's authority.³ The monks of the monastery of Bangor also attended this conference to the number of three thousand, and the holy archbishop, indignant that they would not interest themselves in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, prophesied that punishment would shortly come upon

¹ Epist. IX. 64. (Tr.)

² Bede, II. 2. (Tr.)

³ Ibid., V. 18. (Tr.)

them. This prophecy was fulfilled some years later, when *Ethelfrid*, the Pagan king of Northumbria, marched into their territory, and in one battle slew twelve hundred of them.¹

Although Lawrence, Archbishop of Canterbury, had informed the Irish that they were not observing the Roman rule with regard to the time of the celebration of Easter, they took no steps to correct their error until after Pope Honorius I. had written to them on the subject (A. D. 630). Upon the receipt of this letter, the bishops and abbots of the south of Ireland assembled in Council at Old Leighlin, where the most distinguished of their number argued that, as their ancestors had yielded obedience to the decrees of the Holy See, it was their plain duty to celebrate the Easter festival according to the instructions of the Pope. But, as the decision of this council excited considerable opposition, it was determined to send ambassadors to Rome, who, as *Cummian* says, "should go as children to learn the wish of their parent."² On their return, they reported that they had seen at Rome people from all quarters of the globe celebrating Easter on the same day, and from that time (A. D. 633) forward, the Roman rule was observed in the whole of the south of Ireland.

The great monastery on the island of Iona maintained a close connection with those of the north of Ireland, and seems to have exercised so powerful an influence over them that they continually looked to it for direction and counsel. As the monks of this celebrated cloister were devotedly attached to their traditions, and regarded with religious reverence all the practices of their great founder, they refused to give up their ancient rule of celebrating the Easter festival, and adopt that of Rome; and their example was applauded and followed by the monasteries in the north of Ireland. The Irish rule had been introduced into Northumbria by *Aidan*, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and followed by his successor, Bishop *Finan*, like himself, a monk of Iona. In the meantime, other missionaries, who had learned the Roman rule abroad, came into Northumbria, and, as their practices clashed with those followed by the monks of Iona, that country became the battle-field of the two parties.

Among the most distinguished of those who advocated and adopted the Roman rule were *Nonan*, an Irishman, who had studied on the Continent, the Roman deacon *James* of York, and Wilfrid, who had studied at Rome, and who, on his return, so influenced the mind of *Alchfrid*, one of the kings of Northumbria, in favour of the Roman rule that the latter insisted on introducing it into the monastery of Ripon. The monks of this establishment refused compliance, and declared that they would rather give up this sanctuary than abandon their traditions. Alchfrid accepted their proposal, and installed Wilfrid as abbot.³ *Colman*, who had succeeded Finan as Bishop of

¹ *Bede*, V. 18. (Tr.)

² *Epist.* p. 23. *Bede*, II. 3. (Tr.)

³ *Bede*, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25, v. 19, and *Life of Cuthbert*, c. 8. (Tr.)

Lindisfarne, A.D. 661, and who, like his predecessor, was both an Irishman and a monk of Iona, was the most strenuous advocate of the Celtic rule. He possessed a strong ally in *Cedd*, Bishop of the East Saxons, who, though an Anglo-Saxon by birth, had been educated in Ireland.

The royal family were also divided on this question. Oswy, who had been baptized and educated by the Celtic monks, and who spoke their language with fluency, and the princess *Hilda*, abbess of the double monastery of Whitby, who had received the veil from Bishop Aïdan, naturally enough adopted their rule of celebrating Easter; while his queen, *Eanfleda*, and his son, *Alchfrid*, followed that of Rome. In the royal palace, therefore, there were two celebrations of Easter, and while King Oswy was feasting and rejoicing, Eanfleda and Alchfrid were still fasting and doing penance.

Oswy, in order to bring this tiresome and dangerous dispute to a close, convoked a *Witenagemot*, or parliament, at Whitby (Streones-halch), composed not only of the principal ecclesiastics of the country, but also of all those who had a right to sit in the national councils of the Anglo-Saxons, where it was publicly disputed in his presence. The king opened the conference by saying, that, as they all worshipped the same God, it was but fitting that all should follow the same rule in all things pertaining to that worship. He then called upon Bishop Colman to state his arguments. The bishop stated that he and his followers had received their rule of celebrating Easter from their predecessors, who, in their turn, had received it from St. John the Apostle and Evangelist. "We keep Easter," said he, "as St. Columba of the Cell did—as did *Polycarp* and all his disciples of old. Out of reverence for our ancestors we dare not, and we will not change."¹

Wilfrid replied that he and his adherents "kept Easter as it was kept by all the Christians at Rome—as it was kept in Africa, in Asia, in Egypt, in Greece, and throughout Christendom;" and that "the Picts and Britons foolishly persisted in contradicting all the rest of the world."² He also stated that the example of St. John was not to the point, as he celebrated Easter after the manner of the Jews, on the fourteenth day of the moon, without regard to the day of the week, whereas the Irish always observed the Sunday following.

Colman insisted that St. Columba and his successors, who had given so many proofs of sanctity and divine favour by miracles and holiness of life, could not have been in the wrong; and declared that "he would for ever follow their teaching and example." To this the abbot Wilfrid answered that "he did not deny that these were servants of God, and beloved by Him," but maintained that, as they acted according to their lights at the time, they would, if living, now have yielded obedience to the authority of the Church. "Even admitting," said he, "the sanctity of your fathers, how can you prefer

¹ *Eddius*, c. 10.

² *Eede*, l. c. (TR).

to the Church, spread over the whole earth, this handful of saints in one corner of a remote island?"¹

Wilfrid, in the excessive advocacy of his cause, appealed to the teachings of Holy Writ, and asserted that the present rule had been introduced by St. Peter, both of which assertions are entirely destitute of any foundation. The practice of the Holy See, as he said, was decisive of the question, and he should have rested there. He brought forward the true and insuperable argument at the close of his speech, when he appealed to the authority of the Apostolic See. "However holy or powerful," said he, "Columba may have been by his virtues, can we place him before the chief of Apostles, to whom our Lord Himself said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'"² The king was struck by the force of the argument which placed his choice between the authority of Columba and that of the Prince of the Apostles; and Colman having confessed that he admitted the authority of Peter, and could produce no such sanction for the authority of Columba, the king cried out: "I say, like you, that he is the porter of heaven, and that I will not oppose him, but, on the contrary, obey him in all things, lest, when I come to the doors of the heavenly kingdom, there be none to open them to me, if I am at variance with him who carries the keys. In all my life I will neither do nor approve anything or any person that may be contrary to him."³

When the king had brought his speech to a close, a vote was taken, and the whole assembly expressed their desire to follow the Roman rule. The other questions in dispute did not come up for discussion, as they were regarded as dependent on the issue of the main question. Hence, those who adopted the Roman rule, accepted also the Roman tonsure.

Bishop Colman, however, refused to give up the traditions of his ancestors, and in the year 664 resigned the bishopric of Lindisfarne, and, carrying with him the bones of Bishop Aidan, the founder of the monastery, retired, with those who shared his opinions, to the monastery of Iona.⁴ As *Tuda* and *Ceadda*, his successors in the see of Lindisfarne, adopted the Roman Easter, Iona, the Pictish nation, and the north of Ireland, were the only places that still held out and refused to give up the traditions of St. Columba. But *Adamnan*, the biographer of this saint, whose countryman he was, having become abbot of Iona in the year 679, laboured strenuously to induce the monks to forsake their error. His efforts, however, were unavailing, and, passing over to Ireland, where he died in either 704 or 705, he succeeded in bringing back the people of that country, who still

¹ *Bede*, III. 25. (Tr.)

² *Eddius*, c. 10. *Bede*, L. c. (Tr.)

³ *Ibid.*, III. 25. (Tr.)

⁴ *Bede*, III. 26. (Tr.)

celebrated Easter according to ancient computation, except a few who were under the immediate influence of Iona, to the Roman rule.

The Picts, yielding to the energy and persuasions of their king, *Nechtan*, and to the arguments of the abbot *Ceolfrið*, who had been trained in the school of St. Wilfrid, gave up their error about the year 710.¹ The monastery of Iona still held out, but what *Adamnan*, their own countryman, was unable to effect, was accomplished by *Egbert*, who, though an Anglo-Saxon, had resided many years in Ireland. He was gentle in disposition, suave in manner, and of remarkable holiness of life. He accomplished, by sweetness and kindness, a task in which Adamnan had failed, and having, in the year 716, prevailed upon the sons of St. Columba to accept the Roman rule, he passed out of this world, thirteen years later, on Easter Sunday, the very feast which he had laboured so strenuously and effectually to establish among his sons of Iona.² He went to enjoy his Easter in heaven.

It is true, the Britons of Cambria still clung to their old traditions, notwithstanding the many efforts of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries to bring them into harmony with the rest of the Church. But this obstinacy should be attributed to a jealousy of their Anglo-Saxon conquerors, whom they hated with an inveterate hate, which did not cease even after they had renounced their errors, rather than to any schismatical leaning. After considerable resistance, *Elbod*, Bishop of Bangor, and a Briton by birth (A. D. 770), induced his countrymen to lay aside their ancient practice and accept the rule of the universal Church, and towards the close of the eighth century was equally successful with the inhabitants of South Cambria.³

Such was the termination of the controversy which had so long disturbed the peace of the Church in the British islands—a controversy which, though it excited many passions and was maintained with bitterness and obstinacy, cannot be said to have originated from any spirit of schism or dislike towards Rome. We have seen all along how close a connection was maintained between Rome and both the contending parties; how each appealed to the authority of the Apostolic See and accepted its decision; how the Irish, in obedience to the instructions of Pope Honorius I., set about correcting their calendar; and how the king and Bishop Colman admitted the authority of the Roman rule, and accepted it as decisive of the Easter question.

The Cambrians, away off in a distant corner of Britain, had no opportunity of communicating with the Holy See, and hence some modern writers, such as Gieseler and others, have sought to account for this by asserting that they did not acknowledge its authority. But their efforts have utterly failed.⁴

¹ *Bede*, Hist. Eccl. V. 21. (Tr)

² *Ibid.*, V. 22.

³ Anno DCCLXX. Pascha mutatur apud Britones, emendante Elbod, homine Dei Ann. Eccl. Menevensis, in *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. II., p. 648

⁴ An effort has been made by *Gieseler* to prove that the principal point of controversy

§ 157. *Christianity in Germany and the Adjacent Countries.*

†*Hansizii*, S. J., *Germania sacra*. T. I. (Metropol. Laureacens. cum Episcopat. Pataviensi.) T. II. (Archiepisc. Salisb.) T. III. *Prodromus* (Archiepisc. Ratisbon.) Augustæ Vindelicor. 1729, et Viennæ, 1755. *Sig. Calles*, S. J., *Annales eccl. Germ.* (T. I., II. Viennæ, 1756, sq. 6 T. fol.) *Rettberg*, Ch. H. of Germ., Vol. II. (to 814); giving the *special Literature on the particular bishoprics*. †*Friedrich*, Ch. H. of Germ., Vol. II., p. 392-666. †*Hefele*, Hist. of the Introduction of Christianity into South-western Germany. Tübg., 1837. †*Hiemer*, Introd. of Christ. into the German countries, I., II., Schaffh., 1858. Tr.'s Add.: *Heber*, The Ante-Carlovian Heroes of the Faith on the Rhine, Erfft., 1858, 2nd ed. Götting. *Rudhart*, The most ancient Hist. of Bavaria, Hambg., 1841. **Ozanam*, Establishment of Christ. in Germ., transl. from the French into German, Munich, 1845. **Seiters*, St. Boniface the Apostle of the Germans, Mentz, 1845.

While the Germans, who had settled within the borders of the Roman Empire, and who had long since been converted to Christianity, were enjoying its blessings and consolations, those who inhabited the country beyond these limits, and who were destined during the present period, to play so important a part in the history of the Church, were still shrouded in the darkness of Paganism. It was with extreme difficulty that the new faith forced its way into the countries beyond the Danube and the Rhine, where the German tribes, which had not yet come into contact with the superior civilization of southern and western nations, were still attached to the traditions and customs of their ancestors. The difficulties which missionaries had here to encounter and overcome, before any measure

between the Britons and St. Augustine arose from the fact, that the former did not recognise the supremacy of the Pope. He adduces, in proof of the statement, a document written in the British language, and brought to light by Spelman, in which *Dinoth*, abbot of Bangor, is represented as declaring to St. Augustine that the Pope is not Supreme Ruler of the Church.

Döllinger has shown that this document is of a later date than that ascribed to it, and that it bears intrinsic evidence of being a forgery. His chief arguments are: 1. Augustine could not have been acquainted with the British tongue, and hence *Dinoth* could not have made the alleged declaration to him. 2. The language of this pretended ancient document is *modern*, and contains an Anglo-Saxon word. This has been proved by many English scholars, and Spelman, who discovered it, admits that the manuscript is modern, but thinks it possible that it might have been copied from one of earlier date. 3. It contains an anachronism. Bishop of *Cüerleon*, on the *Osea*, is represented as metropolitan of the British Church, whereas the Bishop of *Menevia* had long before been raised to that dignity. 4. It is certain that British churchmen acknowledged the Supremacy of Rome, for *Gildas* says that many of them, when contending for ecclesiastical preferments, referred their quarrels to Rome for arbitration. "Etenim eos," he says, "si in parochia nonnullis resistentibus sibi et tam pretiosum quæstum severe denegantibus commessoribus, hujusmodi margaritam invenire non possint, præmissis ante sollicitè nuntiis, transnavigare maria, terrasque spatiosas transmeare non tam piget quam delectat, ut omnino talis species . . . comparetur. Deinde, cum magno apparatu magnaque phantasia, vel potius insania, repedantes ad patriam . . . violenter manus . . . sacrosanctis Christi sacrificiis extensuri." *Gildas* Epist., p. 24. See *Döllinger*, Ch. H. English trans., Vol. II., p. 61 et seq. "It may be said to have been annihilated," says *Count Montalembert*, "by the two memoirs of *M. Varin*, On the Causes of the *Dissension between the British and Roman Church*, published by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, 1858." *Monks of the West*, Vol. II., p. 175, note. (Tr.)

of success could attend upon their labours, were of a character peculiar to the people, and more numerous and appalling than those of any nation. Among these were the deadly feuds and hereditary hatred of tribe against tribe; the apprehension, not unfrequently well founded, that foreign missionaries might disguise hostile intentions under pretence of a holy zeal; their aversion to everything Roman—a name which they associated with all that is vile and base; and finally, their peculiar notions of morality and personal liberty. They carried their notions of personal liberty to such a length that they esteemed the privilege of bearing arms the most sacred of human rights, and felt bound, as a matter of honour, to take a bloody revenge on any one who should give them offence. Hence they could not comprehend and fully appreciate how one who suffered patiently, and met death willingly and without resistance, could become the Saviour of mankind. The conversion of Germany was, therefore, a labour requiring time and patience, accompanied with many difficulties and doubtful struggles, and was not brought to a successful issue till near the close of the eighth century. It is more than likely, too, that policy was no inconsiderable motive with the Germans in taking this step; and it must be confessed that the interference of the Merovingian, and, notably, of the Carlovingian princes, in the work of conversion, was, according to our notions at least, violent and unwarranted. The Germans received the knowledge of Christianity from various sources. The first seeds of Gospel truth were sown in German soil by *Irish* and *Scotch* missionaries; and, side by side with them, the Frankish missionaries laboured successfully to spread the faith in Bavaria. But the *Anglo-Saxons* were the true apostles of Germany; and among these, *St. Boniface* is, beyond all comparison, the most distinguished, and is justly called the Father of the Church in Germany. The individual efforts of these men were, after all, no more than a commencement. They, indeed, laid the foundation deep and wide, but the work of completing the superstructure was reserved to Charlemagne, through whose exertions the Church in Germany was placed upon a permanent basis. This victory over Paganism was not, however, achieved without a certain measure of violence and the shedding of blood.¹

Christianity had been introduced into the countries along the Danube, such as *Helvetia*, *Rhætia*, *Vindelicia*, and *Noricum*, as early as the second and third centuries, as well as into those bordering on the Rhine, where the Church had already reached a certain degree of prosperity; and also into the districts of Upper and Lower Germany.² But the wars, consequent upon the migration of nations, which, towards the close of the fourth century, desolated these countries, swept away, in their destructive course, cities and churches and people; and

¹ This Introd. to the Early Hist. of the Church is taken substantially from *Kraus's Ch. H.*, Vol. II., p. 222. (Tr.)

² See Vol. I., p. 172 sq.

if Christians here and there escaped the violence of these ravages, and survived the evils of the times, no record of their history has come down to us. Hence, the only authentic monuments of the early history of Christianity in Germany are confined to scattered and scanty allusions in the lives of her saints, and to the subscriptions of her bishops to the acts of councils.

No full, satisfactory, and precise account of the conversion of the German people exists of a date anterior to the seventh century.¹ While these countries were in a state of anarchy and seemingly hopeless confusion, our Divine Saviour, *Jesus Christ, who ever watches with providential care over the destinies of His Church*, had so ordained that Christianity should be introduced into *Ireland and Britain*, where it spread with remarkable rapidity, and attained a strong and vigorous development, to the end that Christian missionaries might, *in their turn*, go forth from these peaceful shores for the twofold purpose of carrying the light of faith into the wilds of Germany, and restoring the Church of France to her former glory.²

As was fitting, most of these devoted missionaries directed their steps to *Rome*, before beginning their labours, to secure the requisite authority and obtain the apostolic blessing upon their work. By thus placing themselves under the immediate authority of the Holy See, they secured the double advantage of an apostolic commission and an intimate union with the Head of the Church, which was a source of comfort and hope when their energies flagged or mishaps came upon them.

Although the bishopric of *Vindonissa*,³ in Helvetia, had existed from the earliest times, no account has reached us of those bishops who filled the see previous to the time of *Bubulcus*, who was present at the synod of *Epaon*, held A. D. 517. He was succeeded by one *Grammaticus*, whose name is found among those who attended the council of *Auvergne*, held A. D. 535, and the two councils of *Orleans*, held respectively A. D. 541 and 549. *Maximus*, his successor, transferred the see to *Constance*, a change which was of immeasurable advantage to *Alemannia*, as it was the means of effecting the conversion of the entire people.

In the year 630, the Frankish king *Dagobert I.* extended the boundaries of this diocese so as to include the cities of *Strasbourg*, *Basle*, *Augsburg*, *Lausanne*, and *Coire*.⁴

There were also Bishoprics at *Aventicum*⁵ and *Geneva*, at *Octodurum*,⁶ in the Valais; at *Coire*, in *Rhætia*; and at *Basle*; but these

¹ Cf. *Döllinger*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 72. (Tr.)

² † The Irish Missionaries in Germany (*Bonn Periodical*. New Series, year IV., n. 1, pp. 19-56; n. 3, pp. 28-48.)

³ Windisch, in the Canton of Argovia. (Tr.)

⁴ *Neugart*, Episcopat. Constant., St. Blasii, 1803, T. I., Freiburg, 1861; T. II., ed. Mone; *Eichhorn*, Episcopat. Curiensis, St. Blas., 1799; *Friedrich*, Vol. II., p. 439 et sq.

⁵ Avenche, near Bern, afterwards transferred to *Lausanne*.

⁶ From the year 584 called *Sitten*.

were mostly destroyed during the migrations of the Huns and *Alemanni*, who settled about these cities and in the adjacent territories.

It would seem to be established, beyond all reasonable doubt, by the authority of several legends of saints, and certain sepulchral inscriptions, that the *Alemanni* of South-western Germany,² who dwelt in the countries of Alsatia, Switzerland, Brisgovia, and Württemberg, had received a knowledge of Christianity as early as the times of the Romans.

After the battle of Zulpich (A. D. 496), the *Alemanni* became subject to the king of the Franks, a circumstance which contributed materially to bring about their conversion. The *Alemannian Law*, enacted by Theodoric in the year 511, produced a salutary influence in the same direction. Its rigorous injunctions with regard to morality were in harmony with the teaching of the Gospel, and conduced to the formation of Christian habits and conduct among the people.³ Finally, the translation of the episcopal see from Vindonissa to Constance, a city situated in the very centre of the countries occupied by the *Alemanni*, was, as we have stated, an event, the importance of which cannot be overrated, in taking into account all the circumstances that contributed to the conversion of this people. Missionaries began now to come in from the distant shores of Ireland and Scotland, for it is a noticeable fact that these early pioneers of the faith were, without exception, either Irish or Scotch.

The first of those apostolic men to appear in Germany was *Fridolin*, an Irishman by birth, who had already spent many years of his laborious life at Poitiers, near the tomb of *St. Hilary*, whose virtues he admired, and for whom he had a very special devotion. In the year 511, he arrived on the banks of the upper Rhine, and founded at Säckingen, a town situated on an island of that river, above Basle,⁴ a nunnery and a monastery of monks. He issued forth from this retreat to preach the Gospel to the inhabitants of both banks of the river.

St. Trudpert evangelised that part of the country of *Breisgau* lying to the south of Freiburg and extending to the north as far as Schutern; but he was, unfortunately, murdered by a slothful and treacherous servant, while resting from his arduous labours († A. D. 643).

St. Columbanus, a native of Ireland, was born in the year 543. He had been early instructed in literature and the liberal arts, and,

¹ † *Scheerer*, Swiss Heroes and Heroines of the Christian Faith, Schaffh., 1857; †* *Lütolf*, Apostles of Switzerland before St. Gall, Luzerne, 1871, 2 vols. *Gelpke*, Ch. H. of Switzerland, Bern, 1856 (see *Tüb. Quart.*, 1859, p. 465-471).

² *Agathias*, Hist. ed. Bonn. *Columbani*, Opp. Bibl. max. PP. XII. *Jonæ*, Vita S. Columb. by *Maillon*, Act. Bened. sæc. II., P. 1. Vita S. Galli, *Pertz*, II. 1.

³ *Hefele*, L. c., p. 211-240. *Friedrich*, Vol. II., p. 190 et sq.

⁴ The oldest biography of St. Fridolin is to be found in the *Mone* Collection of the sources of the Hist. of Baden, Carlsruhe, 1848, Vol. I., *Scharbinger*, Hist. of the Monastery of Säckingen, and of St. Fridolin, Our Lady of Hermits, 1852. *Friedrich*, Vol. II., p. 411-439.

possessing a handsome person and strong passions, was subject to many temptations, which he set himself resolutely to overcome. He at first intended to remain in his own country, and, in the hope of subduing the incessant solicitations of the flesh, applied himself to the study of Holy Scripture. But it was all in vain; and he determined, notwithstanding the tears and entreaties of his mother, to leave the country he loved so well. He went thence to the monastery of Bangor, where he spent many years under the abbot Cungall. Some time before the year 590, he and twelve companions were sent into Gaul, where, owing to the fury of war and the negligence of bishops, ecclesiastical discipline had become greatly relaxed, and Christian morality almost unknown. He went up and down the country, for several years, preaching the Gospel and leading both clergy and laity back to the practices of Christian virtue, of which he gave so many examples in his own life.

King *Gontran*, one of the grandsons of *Clovis*, fearing that Columbanus might be tempted to leave the country, offered him a place of residence if he would consent to remain. Columbanus, yielding to the royal wish, selected as the place of abode for himself and his numerous following of disciples the ancient Roman castle of *Annegray*, where he lived for entire weeks without other food than the grass of the fields, the bark of the trees, and the berries which the neighbouring wood supplied. But his disciples increased so rapidly, that, in a few years, he was obliged to look about for a larger residence. *Gontran* then presented him with another strong castle, named *Luxeuil*, in the Vosges mountains, at the northern extremity of the kingdom of Burgundy.

Thierry governed Burgundy at this time, and with him resided his grandmother, *Bruneault*, who, though far advanced in age, still loved power and authority, and, fearing that if her grandson should marry, she should no longer retain her influence, advised him to keep concubines instead of entering into lawful wedlock. St. Columbanus reproached both her and *Thierry*, with the freedom and boldness characteristic of apostolic men, for this shameful conduct. He thus drew upon himself the anger of *Bruneault*, who ever afterwards pursued him with inveterate hostility. At her instigation, *Thierry* expelled the abbot from *Luxeuil*, A. D. 610, and had him conducted to *Besançon*. But escaping the vigilance of his guards, Columbanus returned to *Luxeuil*, whence he was again expelled and conducted to *Besançon*, thence to Orleans and Nantes, where he was finally put on board a vessel, with orders to return to his own country. The vessel, however, having been driven back by contrary winds, went ashore, and remained on the beach for three successive days; and at the end of that time, Columbanus and his companions were permitted to disembark, and go whither they listed. Columbanus returned through Gaul to the kingdom of Austrasia, where he was well received by *Theodebert*, who was at that time engaged in a war against his brother *Thierry*. After preaching the Gospel for some time to the

Pagan inhabitants of this kingdom, he ascended the Rhine from a point below Mayence, till he reached the lake of Zurich, made a short stay at *Thurgau* and *Arbon*, and finally established himself at *Bregenz*, on the lake of Constance. His chief assistant in these missionary labours was another Irishman by the name of *Gall*, as daring and resolute as Columbanus himself, well educated and eloquent and able to preach in the German as well as in the Latin language.

By the battle of *Tolbiac* (A. D. 612), where his grandfather Clovis gained the important victory over the Alemanni over a century before, Theodebert lost his kingdom of Austrasia. As the country in which Columbanus had taken refuge fell by this battle into the hands of his enemy, Thierry, he resolved to leave this new field of labour, and cross the Alps into the kingdom of the Lombards. His companion Gall remained in Helvetia, continued his apostolic labours, and founded there one of the most celebrated monasteries in Christendom.

Having crossed the Alps with only one companion, Columbanus was well received by *Agilulf*, the Lombard king, who bestowed upon him a territory called *Bobbio*, situated in a gorge of the Apennines, between Genoa and Milan. There was an old church in this territory dedicated to St. Peter, but very much out of repair. Columbanus notwithstanding his age and infirmities, set to work to repair it, and erect a monastery by its side. But not satisfied with the solitude which this retired spot afforded, he transformed a cavern in the side of a great rock, on the opposite shore of the *Trebbia*, into a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and here he spent his last days in fasting and prayer. He died November 21, A. D. 615.

As has been stated, Gall, the companion and disciple of St. Columbanus, did not go with his master into Lombardy. He was stricken down with a fever, and having been restored to health through the tender care of *Willimar* of Arbon, he laid the foundations of the celebrated monastery of *St. Gall*, at a short distance from the spot where the Rhine falls into the lake of Constance, in the small and secluded valley where the torrent of Steinach makes its way among a bed of rocks. He was assisted in the foundation of this monastery, which was destined to exercise so beneficial an influence throughout Helvetia, by Gunzo, Duke of Ueberlingen, whose daughter, *Friedeburga*, he had freed from the possession of a demon. This princess, who was singularly beautiful, though affianced to Sigebert, the eldest son of Thierry II., withdrew to the church of St. Stephen, and there clinging to the altar, and covered with a nun's veil, declared, in presence of her betrothed, her intention of dedicating her virginity to God. The prince generously waived his claim, saying: "I yield thee to my Lord Jesus Christ, the bridegroom whom thou preferrest to me."

Gall refused the bishopric of Constance, which the Duke Gunzo pressed upon his acceptance. He also refused the prayer of a deputation of Irish monks from Luxeuil, who, in the year 625, on the death of Eustace, requested him to become abbot of that great monas-

tery; because, as he said, he was a stranger to them, and if he accepted their offer, he should be obliged to forsake the Alemanni, who were as yet Pagans, or only partially converted.

He continued to preach the Gospel to the inhabitants of the country about the monastery of St. Gall, and at the time of his death, which occurred at Arbon, October 16, A. D. 646, when he was in the ninety-fifth year of his age, the entire country of the Alemanni had become a Christian province.¹

Still later on, St. Pirminius founded the famous monastery of *Reichenau* (Augia Dives), on an island in the lake of Constance² (A. D. 720). *St. Boniface* completed the conversion of the inhabitants of these districts. For centuries after their foundation, both St. Gall and Reichenau continued to be nurseries of art, learning, and piety, and from their cloisters numbers of bishops and ecclesiastics went forth to teach and govern the Church. The names of *Hatto* (afterwards Bishop of Basle), *Reginbert*, *Waldfried Strabo*, *Herman the Contracted*, and others equally illustrious, shed a halo of enduring lustre about these monasteries.³

Churches had also been established at a very early period in many of the municipal cities of Austria and Bavaria, such as *Salzburg* (Juvavia), *Passau* (Castra Batava), *Lorch* (Laureacum), *Ratisbon* (Reginum), *Petau* in Styria (Petavium), *Sabionæ* (Säben-Brixen), and *Trent*; but these were all either entirely destroyed or defaced, and plundered, during the incursions of the Barbarians.

St. Valentine, a Belgian by birth, having first gone to Rome and obtained the apostolic sanction, began, about the year 440, to preach the Gospel to the inhabitants of Passau, composed partly of Pagans and partly of Christians who had fallen into the Arian heresy. Unable to overcome the enmity of both of these classes, he was forced to withdraw from their territory, and to give up, for the present, all hope of their conversion. He again went to Rome, where he was consecrated bishop by the Pope, with instructions that, if he should be unable to return to Passau, he might preach the Gospel to the inhabitants of any other province accessible to him. He is on this account surnamed *Regionarius*. He again made his appearance at Passau; but, having been treated with great cruelty and expelled the

¹ His oldest Biography, ed. by *Jld. v. Arx*, in Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ*, T. II., and most recently by *Meyer v. Knorau*; treated by *Waldfried Strabo*, *vita St. Gall.* (*Mabillon*, Acta SS. ord. St. Bened. sæc. II. and *Migne*, Ser. lat. T. 114); the discourse of St. Gall, delivered at Constance, at the consecration of John, in *Galland. Bibl. T. XII.*, p. 751; on the fluctuations of writers in fixing the year of his death, conf. *Hefele*, p. 296-304. *Rettberg*, Vol. II., p. 46 sq. *Jld. v. Arx*, Hist. of the Canton St. Gall., *ibid.* p. 810-813, in 3 vols.; (*Bp. Greith*) St. Gall, the Apostle of the Alemanni, St. Gall, 1864. By the same, *The Old Irish Church*, Freiburg., 1867, p. 271 sq.

² On the lake of Zill, according to *Kraus*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 223. (Tr.)

³ The *Vita St. Pirmini* in *Mone*, L. c., Vol. I.; *Schönkuth*, Chronicle of the former Monastery of Reichenau, Freib., 1836. *Staiger*, The island of Reichenau, with its Imperial Abbey, Constance, 1860. *Koenig*, *Walafrid Strabo* (Freibg. Diocesan Archives., Vol. III., year 1868)

city, he directed his steps towards the highlands of the Rhætian Alps, and, near the town of Meran, in the Tyrol, converted many to Christianity. He died full of merit, and went to receive the crown of his labours, in the year 470.¹

Towards the close of the sixth century, *Ingenuinus* of Sabionæ carried the light of faith into the countries lying still farther to the North.

St. Severin made his appearance in Pannonia and Noricum almost contemporaneously with *St. Valentine*, and by his presence brought hope and comfort to the harassed and scattered Christians of these countries. This wonderful and self-denying apostle had acquired so great a reputation for holiness of life that he commanded the respect and reverence of the Barbarians themselves, and by his miracles and prophecies inspired in the inhabitants of the country about *Passau* and *Fabiana* (Vienna), the theatre of his labours, an abiding belief in the power of an overruling Providence. *Odoacer*, the leader of the Heruli, learned from the words of the saint that he should one day reign upon the throne of the Cæsars, and *Theodoric*, king of the Ostrogoths, on his way through the country, turned aside from his direct route to implore the blessing of this man of God. *St. Severin* died A. D. 482.

The bishoprics of Salzburg, Ratisbon, and Lorch were among those which suffered most from the incursions of the Barbarians.

The Frankish missionaries appear to have been the first to announce the Gospel to the *Bojovari*, or Bavarians, who had settled in *Noricum* and *Vindelicia*.² At the close of the sixth century, their chief, *Garibald*, the father of *Theodolinde*, had already become a Christian. About the year 580, his relative, *Theodo* the Elder, also a Bavarian chief, while both he and his people were yet Pagans, invited *Rupert*, Bishop of *Wormatia* (Worms), to his court at Ratisbon. When the holy bishop had arrived, he commenced to preach the Gospel, and had shortly the happiness of receiving into the Church the duke, with many of his nobles and people. At *Juvavia*, which was again revived under the name of Salzburg, *Rupert* built a church dedicated to *St. Peter*, to which he afterwards added a monastery, and by this means secured the permanency of the infant Church.³ But,

¹ Cf. *Döllinger*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 77 et sq. (Tr.)

² *Monumenta Boica*, Monac., 1769-1861, in 37 vols. *Rudhart*, Most ancient Hist. of Bavaria, Hambg., 1841; *Contzen*, Hist. of Bavaria, Münster, 1853, with copious Literature. *Schneegrat*, Hist. of the Cathedral of Ratisbon, 2 Pts., Ratisbon, 1848. *Niedermayer*, Monasticism in Bajuvaria, Landshut, 1859.

³ *St. Rupert*, according to the Salzburg tradition, came to Bavaria in the first half of the sixth century. Since the times of **Mabillon* and **Hansiz*, it is generally assumed that he came to Ratisbon in 696, on the invitation of Duke *Theodo* II., in the second year of the reign (695-711) of King *Childebert* III., and that he died between 705-710; according to others, 718. *Koch-Sternfeld* (On the True Age in which *St. Rupert* lived, 1850,) and **Friedrich* (The True Age of *St. Rupert*, Bamberg, 1866,) have lately defended the tradition. But *Gfrörer* (Hist. of the Religion of the People, I., p. 280 sq.) and *Wattenbach* have taken sides with *Mabillon*. *Gfrörer* has adduced good reasons for his view, that *Rupert*—who, after *Pepin's* death (714), on a sudden left Bavaria (716), and returned to

notwithstanding the labours of these missionaries, *Emmeram* of Poitiers, who had formerly been a chorepiscopus, must be regarded as the true apostle of Bavaria. Having started from his home in the year 652, with the purpose of preaching the Gospel to the Avari, the Pagan inhabitants of Pannonia, he arrived, in the course of his journey, at Ratisbon, where the duke Theodo was then residing. The duke besought the missionary, instead of proceeding further, to undertake the labour of instructing the inhabitants of Bavaria, some of whom had but lately embraced the faith, while others still refused to give up the errors of Paganism. After three years¹ of unceasing toil, the holy bishop resolved upon making a pilgrimage to Rome; but, before setting out, he made an effort to reclaim *Ota*, the daughter of the duke, from a life of shame. These kind offices brought upon himself the anger of her in whose behalf they were tendered. *Ota* represented to her brother, Landpert, that she had become pregnant by the bishop, and this information so incensed the young prince that he took a bloody vengeance upon the supposed author of his sister's shame.² But, his innocence having been clearly established, his body was at once brought back to Ratisbon and placed in a monastery founded in his honour and bearing his name.

The Frankish monk, *Corbinian*, founded the church of Freisingen, and became its first bishop. He died A. D. 730.³

St. Boniface completed the conversion of Bavaria, and introduced into the Church of that country a permanent ecclesiastical organization.

After the erection of the kingdom of Thuringia by the Franks, in the year 527, the seeds of the Gospel were sown in the country now known as *Franconia*,⁴ by the Irish missionary, Bishop *Kilian* (Kyllena) and his companions, the priest *Coloman* and the deacon *Totnan*. Duke Guzburt and his retainers embraced the faith at Würzburg; but Kilian, like another St. John the Baptist, having courageously rebuked the duke for incestuous intercourse with Geilana, his brother's widow, so incensed this woman against him that she contrived the death of both him and his two companions (A. D. 689). Between this time and the year 742, when St. Boniface erected the see of Würzburg, nearly every vestige of Christianity disappeared from the land.

Worms, where he died—had been forced by the Majordomus upon the Bavarian duke. Conf. *Kraus*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 224. (Tr.) There is a full account of this controversy in *Möhler's Ch. H.*, ed. by *Gams*, Vol. II., p. 60-67. *Zeissberg*, Arno, First Archbishop of Salzburg (785-821), Vienna, 1863.

¹ According to *Kraus*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 224, and *Döllinger*, L. c., p. 80. (Tr.)

² Vita St. Emmerani episcopi Frisingens. auctore *Aribone* in Bolland. acta SS. mens. Sept., T. VI., p. 474-486; *Arnolfus Vohburg*, De miraculis beati Emmerani libb. II. (*Canisius-Basnage*, L. c., T. III., Pt. 1, p. 105 sq.) in *Pertz*, monum. Germ., T. IV., p. 543-574. Conf. *Retberg*, Ch. H. of Germ., Vol. II. *Friedrich*, Ch. H. of Germ., Vol. II.

³ *Aribo* (fourth bp. of Freisingen. 764-784), Vita St. Corbiniani (*Bolland.* Acta SS. d. 8. m. Sept.); according to these and other sources: *Sulzbeck*, Life of St. Corbinian, Ratisbon, 1843.

⁴ *Sagittarii*, Antiquitates Gentilismi et Christianismi, Thuring. Jen., 1685, 4to. The Vita St. Kiliani (*Canisius-Basnage*, L. c., T. III., Pt. 1., p. 163 sq.)

From the fourth century onwards, there were many episcopal sees existing, and in a flourishing condition, on the banks of the Rhine; as, for example, those of *Cologne, Mentz, Worms, Spire, and Strasburg*, then known as *Argentoratum*; on the banks of the Moselle and Meuse, those of *Treves, Metz, Toul, and Verdun*; and in Belgium, those of *Tongres*, which was transferred to Maestricht, A. D. 452; *Tournay* and *Arras*, the latter of which was, in 545, transferred to Cambrai.¹ All these suffered more or less from the incursions of the Barbarians, and some so severely that they ceased to exist.

About the year 600, St. Goar, a hermit of Aquitaine, in whose honour the monastery of St. Goar was built, set to work to restore Christianity along the banks of the Rhine, and achieved considerable success in his undertaking.

Between the years 623 and 663, Bishop *Cunibert*, whose efforts were ably seconded by King Dagobert I., laboured with marked success at Cologne. In the reign of Charlemagne, this bishopric passed from the jurisdiction of Mentz, and was raised to the dignity of a metropolitan see.

In the year 630, St. *Amandus*, Bishop of Strasburg, undertook the conversion of the Pagan inhabitants of Belgium; but, as they stubbornly and persistently repelled every attempt of the missionary, he had recourse to a more summary, if a less convincing method, and obtained from Dagobert I. a decree by which all were commanded to receive baptism and embrace the faith. But Amandus, wisely judging that no success could be permanent which was obtained by force, made no further use of the royal decree than to secure a respectful hearing; and, by dint of ceaseless toil, enduring patience, and indomitable perseverance, combated single-handed among the rude Barbarians till he finally, after having borne all manner of indignities and cruelties with heroic fortitude, overcame the most obstinate resistance, and converted to the true faith the inhabitants of the countries about Tournay and Ghent.

In the year 646, he undertook, in obedience to the wish of King Siegbert II., the government of the diocese of Maestricht; but, disheartened by the opposition of his clergy, who refused to submit to the salutary discipline which he had introduced, he, three years later, requested permission from Pope Martin to resign his office. His request was at first denied. He then set out for Rome, where he was more successful. Leaving Rome, he visited other countries, and finally returned to the monastery of Elnon, near Tournay, where he died, A. D. 679 or 685.

St. Omer, or Audomar, by birth an Aleman, a contemporary of

¹ For full details on all these bishoprics, see *Friedrich*, Ch. II of Germ., Vol. II., p. 167-391. † *Geissel*, The Cathedral of Spire (surnamed the "Emperor's Dome"), being a topographical and historical monograph, with two lithographs, 3 vols., Mentz, 1826 (containing also the Hist. of the bishopric). *Remling*, The Bishops of Spire, Mentz, 1852. † *Werner*, The Cathedral of Mentz, together with the Hist. of the Bishops of Mentz, Mentz, 1827, sq., 3 vols.

Amandus, preached the Gospel to the idolatrous Morini, many of whom he baptized, and founded among them the Abbey of St. Bertin. Contemporary with these two saints were *St. Livin*, an Irishman, who spread the faith among the *Brabantins*, by whom he was martyred (A. D. 656), and Bishop *Eligius* of Noyons, who had previously been a goldsmith.

§ 158. *Christianity among the Frisians—Reverses of the Christians in Spain.*

The work of converting this rude and savage people was attended with almost insuperable difficulties. It was first undertaken by the noble *Eligius*¹ († 659), and, later on, by the Anglo-Saxon *Wilfrid*, Bishop of York,² who, in one of his journeys to Rome, was carried to the North by an adverse wind, and landed on the shores of the low and marshy country of the Frisians, among whom, with the consent of their king, Adalgisus, he immediately commenced to preach the faith of Christ. He remained with them during the winter of 678-679, and was amply repaid for his toil; for, before his departure, he had the happiness of baptizing nearly all the chiefs and thousands of the people. This mission, however, became still more successful, after Pepin of Heristal had reduced the Frisians to the authority of the Frankish rule.

Willibrord,³ an Anglo-Saxon priest, who had been educated in Ireland, assured of the protection of Pepin, was sent to labour as a missionary among the Frisians by Pope Sergius, in the year 692. He established the bishopric of *Utrecht* (Wiltaburg), and was consecrated bishop at Rome under the name of *Clement*. *Suidbert*, one of the most zealous and energetic of his fellow-labourers, preached the Gospel to the *Boructuarians*, who dwelt along the right bank of the Rhine. But, being obliged to give up this mission when the country was invaded by the Saxons, he withdrew to an island in the Rhine, near Düsseldorf, presented to him by Pepin, and there founded the monastery *Kaiserswerth*. He died A. D. 713.

In the year 712, *Wulfram*, Archbishop of Sens, encouraged by the success which followed the labours of Willibrord, undertook the conversion of those portions of the territory of the Frisians that had not yet been subjected by the Franks. *Radbot*, their barbarous chief, having been informed, that, if he were fortunate enough to get to

¹ *Neander*, Memorab. III. 1, p. 108 sq. His biography by his scholar, *Audoen* (*d'Achéry*, Spicileg., T. II.)

² *Vita St. Wilfridi ab Eddio conscript.*, c. 27. Conf. *Beda Venerab.*, H. e., V. 10. *Eddius*, c. 25. (Tr.)

³ *Alcuin's Life of Willibrord in Mabill.*, Acta SS. ord. St. Bened. sæc. III., Pt. I., p. 601. *Beda*, L. c. V. 12. Conf. *Bolland*, Acta SS. ad 1. m. Martii. *Alberd. Thijm*, Life of St. Willibrord, transl. from the Dutch into German, by *Tross*, Münster, 1864. Conf. *Tüb. Quart.*, 1864, n. 2. *Rettberg*, Vol. II., p. 517.

heaven, "he should not enjoy the company of his Pagan fellow-countrymen," refused to receive baptism.¹

Willibrord, who, though he laboured with the zeal of a true apostle, and had already pushed his conquests as far as Denmark, did not succeed in bringing his work to a successful conclusion till after the death of this chief, which occurred in the year 719, when Charles Martel subdued the remaining portions of the Frisian territory heretofore independent of Frankish authority. This event facilitated the work of the missionaries, who shortly enjoyed the happiness of seeing all the Frisians pass into the one fold of Christ. Bishop Willibrord died A. D. 739.

Charles Martel also enjoys the honour of having, by his heroic bravery and dauntless courage, checked the rapid conquests and broken the menacing domination of Islamism.

The Arabs, inspired by a blind fanaticism, went on in a destructive career of conquest, till they finally subdued and took possession of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and in the year 707, under the Ommiades, of the north-western provinces of Africa. The Crescent now seriously threatened Christian Europe. The sons of king *Witiza* (A. D. 701-710), after their father had been dethroned by a number of powerful and discontented nobles, and *Roderic* set up in his place, formed with their uncle *Oppas*, Archbishop of Seville, Count Julian, whose family Roderic had dishonoured by his dissoluteness, and their numerous partisans, a formidable coalition against the intruded prince, and, in order the better to carry out their designs, called to their aid the Arabs of Africa. Musa, the Saracen governor of Mauritania, readily acceded to their wishes, and sent into Spain an army of Arabs and Moors, under the command of Tarik, one of his ablest generals. Roderic collected all his available forces, and met the enemy at Xerez, in Andalusia, where he was completely defeated (A. D. 711). Musa, having shortly after arrived in Spain with fresh forces, took the command in person, and, dividing his army into three bodies, overran and subdued the whole country, with the exception of the northern provinces (A. D. 712-714).

Abderrahman, the Viceroy of Spain, entertaining the idea of uniting both the East and the West under one government, crossed the Pyrenees at the head of the Arabs, and descended into the plains of Burgundy and Aquitaine. He had already subjugated the southern portions of France, and pushed his conquests as far north as the river Loire, when Charles Martel, who came up with the invader between Tours and Poitiers, totally defeated him in a pitched battle (A. D. 732), put an end to his victorious career, and dealt a death-blow to the power of the Arabs in France.

In Spain, those of the Christians who still continued to live among the Arabs, and hence called Mozarabians, or Mixed Arabs, were

¹ *Krauss* states (Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 226) that this assertion is probably an invention of some of the later Predestinarians.

barely tolerated, always regarded with distrust, and compelled to submit to the most severe exactions.¹ Those Christians, on the contrary, who had retired into the mountains of Asturias and Biscay, early asserted their independence, and little by little founded commonwealths and kingdoms, which at first defied, and then gradually and successfully contested the Arab domination in Spain.

§ 159. *Labours of St. Boniface.*

Bonifacii, Epp. ed. *N. Serarius*, Mogunt. 1605 and 1609, max. bibl. T. XIII., p. 70 sq.; ed. *Wüdrwein*, Mogunt. 1789 fol.; ed. *Giles*, Oxon. 1846, 2 T., very defective—as, like wise, in *Migne*, Ser. lat. T. 89; now with greater critical accuracy—along with the *Vita et passio Bonifacii*, *Lulli*, Epp., and many other items in **Jaffé*, *Monumenta Moguntina*, Berol., 1866 (T. III. of the *Bibl. rer. Germ.*), letters, in German, with the *Life of St. Boniface*, Fulda, 1842; complete works transl. into German and illustrated, by *Küllb*, Ratisbon, 1856, 2 vols. *Willibaldi* (about 783), et *Othlonii*, *Vita St. Bonifacii* (about 1100), (*Mabillon*, *Acta SS. ord. St. Bened.*, T. II., III.; *Bollandi*, *Acta SS. m. Junii*, T. I., p. 452 sq.; *Pertz*, *Monum.*, T. II., p. 331 sq.) *Serarii*, *Res Moguntiaccæ*, Mogunt., 1604, ed. *Johannes*, Fref., 1722. †**Seiters*, *Boniface, Apostle of the Germans*, Mentz, 1845. †*Reinerting*, *St. Boniface, Würzburg*, 1855. *Müller*, *Bonifacius, eene kerk-historische studie*, Amsterd., 1869 sq., 2 vols. See *Reusch's Theological Journal of Literature*, nro. 25, year 1870. *Rettberg*, Vol. II., p. 307-372. †*Binterim*, *Hist. of Germ. Counc.*, Vol. II. **Hefele*, *Hist. of Counc.*, Vol. III., p. 458-549. *Oelsner*, *Annals of the Frankish Kingdom under Pepin*, Lps., 1871.

The many and various efforts to introduce Christianity into Germany, and to establish it upon a permanent basis, would never have been crowned with complete success, had there not existed some common bond of union among the different churches scattered up and down the country, and some common centre to give unity and system to individual exertion. To this end, God raised up a man, distinguished for force of character and gentleness of disposition, and remarkable for prudence and patient perseverance, who not only gave to the Church in Germany a complete organization and insured her permanence, by establishing the most intimate relations between her and the Supreme Head of Christendom, but also carried the light of the Gospel among those German tribes which had hitherto remained both Pagan and barbarous. This was the Anglo-Saxon priest *Winfried*. Born of respectable parents, at Kirton, in Devonshire, in the kingdom of Wessex, in the year 680 (685?), he was, from his tenderest years, drawn to a monastic life, and was educated and trained in spiritual life in the monasteries of *Exeter* and *Nutcell*, then the most flourishing of the monastic establishments of England. Feeling that it was his vocation to spend his life among Pagans, labouring for their conversion, he set out, in the year 716, upon his first voyage as a missionary, and landed in the country of the *Frisians*. But war having broken out between King Radbot and Charles Martel, it became impossible for him to prosecute his designs, and he again crossed the sea, and returned to his monastery. Having, however, firmly resolved to spend his life as a missionary, labouring for the

¹ *Aschbach* *Hist. of the Oummaiades in Spain*, Frankfort, 1829, 2 vols.

weal of others, he again crossed the channel in the year 718, and, following the example of so many of his Anglo-Saxon predecessors, set out for Rome, with letters of recommendation from Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, to obtain from Gregory II., the then reigning Pope, his authority¹ to preach the Gospel among the heathens. He gave the first proofs of his devotion to the Church, and to the cause in which he was embarked, in *Thuringia*; but, after the death of Radbot, he returned to the *Frisians* (A.D. 719), and having placed himself under the authority of Willibrord, Bishop of Utrecht, set to work with enthusiastic zeal, and had the gratification of seeing his labours crowned with complete success. But, as the Papal appointment indicated Germany as the theatre of his labours, Winifried returned to *Hesse* and *Thuringia*, in 722, and, passing through Treves, turned aside from his direct route to visit *St. Adele*, at Pfalzel (Palatiolum), a short distance from that city, where he fell in with *Gregory*, a kinsman of the saint's, and a worthy descendant of King Dagobert III., whose services he secured for the Church. At *Amoeneburg*, in Upper Hesse, he received into the Church the princes Dierolf and Detdig, and founded a monastery on the banks of the Ohm, where he also baptized many thousands of the Pagan inhabitants.

Having sent a report of his progress to Pope Gregory, he was called to Rome by that pontiff (A.D. 722), where, having made his Profession of Faith and taken the oath of *allegiance*² to the Roman Catholic Church, he was consecrated bishop of all the churches of Germany (episcopus regionarius), and provided with letters recommending him to the good offices of Charles Martel (A.D. 723). It was on this occasion that he received from the Pope the name of Boniface. Thus, having received for his mission the sanction of the Apos-

¹ This authorization is given in *Wüdrteuin*, Ep. 2, and in *Serarius*, Ep. 118.

² This oath, which is given in *Othlo*, Lib. I., cap. 19, is similar to that taken by the suburbicarian bishops: "Promitto ego Bonifacius, Dei gratia Episcopus, tibi beate Petre, Apostolorum princeps, Vicarioque tuo beato Gregorio Papæ, et successoribus ejus per P. et F. et Sp. St., Trinitatem inseparabilem, et hoc sacratissimum corpus tuum, me omnem fidem et puritatem sanctæ fidei cathol. exhibere, et in unitate ejusdem fidei, Deo operante, persistere, in quo omnis christianorum salus esse sine dubio comprobatur, nullo modo me contra unitatem communis et universalis ecclesiæ, suadente quopiam, consentire, sed, ut dixi, fidem et puritatem meam atque concursus tibi et utilitatibus tuæ ecclesiæ, cui a Domino Deo potestas ligandi solvendi que data est, et prædicto Vicario tuo atque successoribus ejus per omnia exhibere. Sed et si cognovero Antistes contra instituta antiqua SS. Patrum conversari, cum eis nullam habere communionem aut conjunctionem; sed magis, si valero prohibere, prohibebo; si minus, hoc fideliter statim domino meo Apostolico renuntiabo. Quod si, quod absit, contra hujus professionis meæ seriem aliquid facere quolibet modo, seu ingenio, vel occasione tentavero, reus inveniar in æterno judicio, ultionem Ananæ et Saphiræ incurram, qui vobis etiam de rebus propriis fraudem facere præsumserunt. Hoc autem indiculum Sacramenti ego Bonifacius exiguus Episcopus manu propria scripsi, atque ponens supra sacratissimum corpus St. Petri, ita ut præscriptum, Deo teste et iudice, feci sacramentum, quod et conservare promitto." This solemn engagement did not prevent Boniface from being fearless and outspoken when there was a proper occasion, or others from finding fault with what displeased them at Rome. Boniface, for example (Ep. 51, ad Zachar.), complains that at Rome the ecclesiastical canons are not observed; that superstitious and sacrilegious practices are not suppressed; and affirms that such negligence cools the love and weakens the obedience due to the Apostolic See.

tolie See, and assured of the protection of Charles Martel, he commenced his labours, and in a short time succeeded in converting nearly all the inhabitants of *Hesse* and *Thuringia*.

The "Thunder Oak of Geismar," near Fritzlar, had been long an object of religious reverence among the Germans, and was regarded as a symbol of their heathen worship, and an abiding evidence of their faith in their gods. They were appalled, when they beheld Boniface fearlessly attacking it and felling it to the ground, that Thor, to whom it was dedicated, did not avenge the insult; and, reasoning as rude and primitive people are apt to do, that a god who was helpless in his own defence, could scarcely be relied on by others, entirely gave up faith in the deities they had so long and so abjectly honoured. Boniface constructed of the wood of this oak a chapel, which he dedicated to St. Peter. He made strenuous and assiduous efforts to efface every trace of Paganism, and combated the heretics *Adelbert* and *Clement*, who were engaged in spreading error and unbelief wherever an occasion offered. He gave his chief care to the establishment of monasteries,¹ that of *Ohrdruf* being one of his first foundations. As the labours of his new missions were daily increasing, he called upon his friends in England to come to his assistance, and of those who answered his call, *Burchard*, *Lullus*, *Willibald*, his brother *Wunibald*, and *Wita* are the best known. Many female religious also came over, among whom were the learned *Cunigilde* and her daughter *Berathgit*, *Cunitrude*, and *Thecla*, who belonged to the nunneries of *Kitzingen* and *Ochsenfurt* on the *Main*; *Lioba*, who was at *Bischofsheim*, on the banks of the *Tauber*; and *Walpurgis*, at *Heidenheim*, in the *Saulfeld*.²

In the year 731, he sent a messenger to Rome to signify his submission and allegiance to the new Pope, *Gregory III.*, the successor of *Gregory II.* The same messenger carried back to Boniface the *archiepiscopal pallium*, with instructions from the Pope to consecrate new bishops wherever the number of the faithful should have so increased as to require them.

Boniface, after having erected churches at *Fritzlar* and *Amoenburg*, and made a pastoral visit through *Bavaria*, in the course of which he fell in with his excellent disciple, *Sturm*, journeyed to Rome for the third time (A. D. 738). Having returned from Rome invested with increased powers, he paid a second visit to *Bavaria*, in the year 739, and, at the request of Duke *Odilo*, completed the organization of the Church of that country, and established the four bishoprics of *Salzburg*, *Freisingen*, *Ratisbon*, and *Passau*. *Nivilo* was already the legally constituted Bishop of *Passau*, and Boniface appointed to the other three sees occupants in every way worthy of their exalted dignity. He also created a fifth bishopric at *Eichstädt*, to which he

¹ *Othlo*, L. c. I. 30; also in *Willibald*, c. 8, it is reported: Ex Britanniae partibus servorum Dei plurima ad eum tam lectorum quam etiam scriptorum (copyists) aliarumque artium eruditorum virorum congregationis convenerat multitudo.

² † *Zell*, *Lioba* and the pious Anglo-Saxon women, *Freiburg*, 1860.

appointed *Willibald*. The *Bavarian Synod*, convoked by Boniface in the year 740, contributed materially to strengthen this ecclesiastical organization.

Boniface now established bishoprics at *Würzburg* in Franconia, at *Buraburg* in Hesse, and at *Erfurt* in Thuringia, to which he appointed respectively Burchard, Wita, and Adalar.

After the death of Charles Martel (A. D. 741), the administration of the kingdom devolved upon his two sons, Carloman and Pepin, under whom the Church increased in prosperity in Austrasia, Alemannia, and Franconia.

Archbishop Boniface, availing himself of this favourable state of affairs, and acting on the instructions of Pope Zachary, and at the request of Carloman, convoked, A. D. 742, the first so-called *German Synod*, at which seven canons were passed for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, which had been very much relaxed, particularly among priests, monks, and nuns, and for the suppression of Pagan practices. It was enacted that in future synods should be held annually. Hence, we hear of a second one having been held in either the year 743 or 745, at *Liptinæ* (Liftinæ, Lestines in Hainault), at which Boniface again endeavoured, with characteristic energy, to provide measures for the suppression of Pagan practices, a long list of which is given in the profession of faith and formula of abjuration. This instrument prescribes "a renunciation of the gods Thunar and Wodan, of the Saxon god Odin, and of all sorcerers and their associates."¹

Boniface also instructed the clergy to use the *German language* upon certain occasions; as, for example, in teaching the people particular prayers, in reading the epistles and gospels, and in giving homilies on them, and in reciting such of the prayers belonging to the administration of the sacraments as are not deemed of essential importance.

So great was the influence and authority of Boniface at this time, that Pepin requested him to restore faith and morality to the Church of *Neustria*, or the western kingdom of the Franks, where ecclesiastical discipline had been greatly relaxed and serious errors crept in. Boniface commenced his work by convoking the *Synod of Soissons* (A. D. 744), one of the canons of which prescribes that synods shall be annually held, that thus measures may be provided to secure the salvation of the people, and to prevent the rise of heresy. The reformation so auspiciously commenced was still further advanced by a general synod of the whole Frankish kingdom, in the year 745, but at what place is not known, which deposed *Gewilieb*, Bishop of Mentz, because he had assassinated a Saxon,² and condemned *Clement* and *Adelbert* as heretics.

¹ *Binterim*, German Councils, Vol. II., p. 17 et sq., and 117 et sq. *Hefele*, Vol. III., p. 464.

² *Gewilieb*, like Milo of Treves, was raised to the episcopal office and dignity, though he was but a rude soldier, and spent his days of leisure in following the chase. *Kraus*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 228.

In the year 742, Boniface commenced a work which he had very much at heart, and in which he was ably seconded by *Sturm*, a young Baravian, whose education had been entrusted to him, and who was the most beloved of all his disciples. This was the erection of the monastery of Fulda, which, when completed, was placed under the charge of Sturm, and, like St. Gall and Reichenau, was for a long time the nursery in which the bishops of Germany were educated and trained, and the home of the arts and sciences. It was the custom of Boniface to visit this establishment yearly, and to spend here a few days of quiet and relaxation from his great labours.

Boniface clearly foresaw that the permanency and good order of these institutions required some central authority, and, as he had already received the archiepiscopal pallium from the Pope, though he had not yet fixed upon a place of residence, he resolved to establish his metropolitan see at *Mentz*, rendered vacant by the deposition of *Gewilieb*. Had he not been called to this see by an assembly of the nation, he would very probably have fixed his residence at Cologne, which he much preferred to *Mentz*, on account of its proximity to his beloved Frisians. Pope Zachary confirmed this choice, and raised *Mentz* to metropolitan rank, with authority not alone over those sees established by Boniface himself, such as *Würtzburg*, *Eichstädt*, *Buraburg*, and *Erfurt*, but also over those of *Utrecht*, *Tongres*, *Cologne*, *Worms*, and *Spire*. But the sees of *Buraburg* and *Erfurt* did not retain long their importance, and finally became parts of the dioceses of *Paderborn* and *Mentz*; while *Cologne*, on the contrary, was raised to metropolitan rank, and *Utrecht* made suffragan to it.

Boniface, though giving much time and thought to the administration of these dioceses, and to the holding of councils,¹ did not neglect other affairs of importance. He clearly saw that bishops, to possess some sort of protection against the violence of kings and the insolence of nobles, should enjoy a certain political consideration and prerogatives which all would recognize and respect, and hence, he exerted himself successfully to have them created spiritual *peers of the Empire*. Shortly after this event, *Childeric III.*, the last of the worthless Merovingian kings, was deposed by an assembly of the nation, held at *Soissons*, and retired into a monastery. *Pepin*, who already possessed and exercised the power and authority, if he did not enjoy the title of king, was chosen to succeed him, and was consecrated by Boniface, who had been commissioned by the Pope to perform the office (A. D. 752).²

Boniface was not, indeed, insensible that years of toil and hardship were beginning to tell upon him; but, for all that, he still possessed all the ardour and generous resolution of younger days, and now, in

¹ Those at *Düren*, A. D. 747 and 748. It is also probable that the Synod of *Cloveshove*, in *England*, A. D. 747, was held at his suggestion.

² It has, however, been conclusively proven that Boniface had nothing whatever to do in this matter. *Kraus*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 228, (Tr.)

his old age, determined to carry out the vow he had made in his youth, of converting the Frisians to Christianity. For this purpose, he sought and obtained permission from the Pope to resign his archiepiscopal see in favour of *Lullus*, one of his most distinguished disciples, and, in the year 755, set out on his journey to Friesland, with the conviction strong upon him that he should never again return to the friends with whom he was parting. He was accompanied by *Eoban*, Bishop of Utrecht, three priests, three deacons, and four monks. They had already baptized many thousands of the Frisians and formed some Christian communities, when an end was put to their labours by the barbarity of some pagan Frisians. Boniface had taken a position at Dokkum, beyond the Zuyder Zee, where he had made arrangements to administer the sacrament of confirmation, on the great feast of Pentecost, to those who had already been baptized. While awaiting their coming, he and his companions, to the number of fifty-two, were surrounded and put to death by a band of unconverted Frisians (June 5, 755). Boniface had forbidden his followers to make any resistance, and all quietly awaited their fate, and went to obtain the martyr's crown. Boniface was in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the greater part of his life had been spent in the service of Him to whom he gave this last and supreme token of his love.

The churches of Utrecht, Mentz, and Fulda disputed for the possession of the body of this glorious martyr, which, according to his own request, was buried in the monastery of Fulda, the most cherished of all his religious foundations.¹

The Roman name of *Bonifacius*, bestowed by the Pope upon the Anglo-Saxon, Winfried, at his consecration, has been one of incalculable import to Germany. The Protestant professor *Leo* has a very just remark relative to St. Boniface. "Boniface," says he, "has contributed incomparably more to intellectual development in Germany, and, as a consequence, to Germans, than any single one of all the later German kings."

The spirit of Boniface, which his disciples *Sturm*, abbot of Fulda; *Gregory*, abbot of Utrecht, and *Burkhard*, Bishop of Würzburg, had inherited, long continued to exercise a marked and beneficial influence upon the destinies of this great church.

§ 160. *The Conversion of the Saxons.*

Annales Guelferbytani (769-805) in *Pertz*, II. *Altfridi Vita Ludgeri, eppi. Meme-gardefordensis*, †809. *Poëtæ Saxonis, Annales de gestis Karoli M. (771-814), Einhardi Annales.* (Tr.)

Meinders, De statu rel. et reip. sub Carolo M. et Ludov. Pio in Saxon. Lemg., 1711, 4to. *Clavör*, Saxonia inferior antiqua, gentilis et christiana, i. e. Ancient, Pagan, and

¹ Codex diplomaticus Fuldensis, ed. *Dronke*, Cassel, 1850, with Register by *Schminke*, Cassel, 1862. *G. Zimmermann*, De rerum Fuldensium primordiis dissertatio, Gissæ, 1841. Cf. *Reitberg*, Vol. I., p. 370 sq. *Schwarz*, On the Foundation and Primordial History of the Monastery of Fulda, Programme of Fulda, 1856.

Christian Lower Saxony, etc., Goslar, 1714 fol. *Strunk*, S. S., Westphalia sacra, ed. *Giefers*, Paderborn, 1854 sq. *Zimmermann*, De mutata Saxonum religione, Darmst., 1839. † *Wolter*, Introd. of Christianity into Westphalia, Münster, 1838. Monumenta Paderbornensia, etc. (by Liber Baro de Fürstenberg, Prince-Bishop there), Amst., 1672; in German, Denkmale des Landes Paderborn von Ferd. Freiherr von Fürstenberg, Paderborn, 1844. *Erhard*, Reg. hist. Westfal. Monast., 1847-1851. *Böttger*, Intr. of Christ. into Saxony by Charlemagne, Hanover, 1859. *Retberg*, Ch. H. of Germ., Vol. II., p. 382-485. *Hiemer*, L. c., Vol. VI.

The Saxons, a brave and warlike people, possessing neither kings nor cities, and embracing the *Westphalians, Angles, and Eastphalians*, opposed a long and most determined resistance to Christianity. Moreover, the means employed to effect their conversion retarded rather than accelerated it. The first attempt to convert them was made, towards the close of the seventh century, by the two Anglo-Saxon brothers *Ewald*, surnamed the Black and the White. If they did not reap a harvest of souls as the fruit of their labours, they obtained for themselves the reward of the martyr's crown.

A doctrine which taught them to despise the world and its pleasures, and coming to them through the Frankish Empire, which they thoroughly hated, found but little favour among this rude and licentious people. However, the efforts of a few missionaries were crowned with partial success. Such were *St. Lebuin*, who died A. D. 773,¹ and *Gregory of Utrecht*, whose work was considerably facilitated by the victories of Pepin the Short, who conquered the Saxons in the year 753. But, as the Saxons still continued to make predatory incursions into the territories of the Empire of the Franks, the latter determined to complete their subjugation by force of arms. Sensible, however, that as long as this rude people remained attached to their errors, their promises of peace would be precarious and their acts of submission delusive, the Franks forced them to profess Christianity and receive baptism. After the year 772, when Charlemagne entered seriously upon the work of subjugating them, this policy was again taken up and prosecuted with renewed vigour. It was continued, without interruption and with untiring perseverance, for a period of thirty-three years, and was uniformly resisted with the most hearty and determined obstinacy.²

Charlemagne inaugurated this religious war by demolishing the *Irmisul*, or Column of Irmin,³ in which Irmin was represented as

¹ Passio SS. Ewaldorum, auct. Beda Venerab. in h. e. Anglor. V. 10.—Vita St. Lebuini! Frisor. et Westfal. apostoli auct. Huibaldo (anno 918-976). *Strunk-Giefers*, T. II., p. 19 sq. *Retberg*, Vol. II., pp. 405, 536.

² *Funk*, On the Subjugation of the Saxons under Charlemagne. (*Schlosser*, Archives of Hist. and Lit., 1833, Vol. IV., p. 293 sq.) *Justus Möser*, Hist. of Osnabrück, § 34, Vol. I., p. 198. Compare also *Leo*, Lectures on German History. He says: "Charles raged against Saxon Paganism, not because it was a religion altogether different from the Christian, but because it was associated with the most atrocious horrors, and because its followers were irreconcilable adversaries of the Frankish Empire." Vol. I., pp. 503, 498.

³ *Jacob Grimm*, Irmenstrasse and Irmensäule; or, The Road and Pillar of Arminius, Vienna, 1815. *Hagen*, Irmin, Breslau, 1817, in *Clavör*, L. c. fol. 35 sq. *Retberg*, Vol. II., p. 385. *Hoelscher*, De Irmis Dei natura nominisque origine, Bonn, 1865. According

sustaining the universe. The figure was likely meant to combine the idea of God, *one* and invisible, and the memory of the popular hero, *Herman*. Charlemagne, being possessed of an idea that he was an instrument in the hands of God, and had a duty to avenge the insults offered to His Church, refused to listen to the prudent counsel of his friend *Aleuin*, and of *Arno*, Archbishop of Salzburg, who told him that the "Saxons should be persuaded to enter the Church from motives of conviction, and not be forced to do so by violence," and that it would be more becoming in him "to conduct himself as an Apostle than as a gatherer of tithes." He refused to give up the policy he had adopted, but it is more than likely that his desire to rid himself of an implacable enemy and a dangerous neighbour may have given an impulse to religious zeal.

Some hopes were entertained of the conversion of the entire nation when the chiefs *Wittekind* and *Alboin*, after their defeat in 785, consented to receive baptism. But this hope, never very full of promise, vanished entirely after the year 793. The rule of the Franks was so harsh and oppressive, and the *ecclesiastical tithes collected* with such exactness and rigour, that the Saxons rose in open revolt, and put an end, for the time being, to all hopes of converting them to Christianity. Charles was under the impression that the tithes could not be remitted, because their payment was *prescribed by divine ordinance*.

But, in the year 805, when the Saxons were completely subdued, and submitted, once for all, to the rule of the Franks, there was a reasonable ground of hope that now, at least, the Church had obtained a solid and permanent footing in the north of Germany. But if Christianity finally secured a triumph, it was a triumph which cost many a bloody struggle and called forth all the genius and energy of Charlemagne.

It was amid such difficulties as these that churches were set up, monasteries and convents founded, and bishoprics established. Among the bishoprics were *Osnabrück*,¹ *Münster*, *Paderborn*, *Minden*, *Bremen*, *Verden*, *Halberstadt*;² to which may be added those that came into existence later on, under Louis le Debonnaire, as the bishopric of *Hildesheim*³ and the important monastery of *Corvey*, on the banks of the Weser (a branch of the Frankish abbey of Corbie). This monastery effected a great work: for to the apostolic men who went forth from its cloisters is due the honour of having brought about the *true* and *interior* conversion of the rebellious and obstinate Saxons—the conversion of mind and heart, without which all professions are empty

to the Journal of the Westphalian Historical Society, Vol. VIII., the column of Irmin, destroyed by Charlemagne in 772, was no more than the trunk of a tree remaining of the sacred grove of Tanfana.

¹ *Erhwini Erdmanni*, Chronicon episcoporum Osnabrug, in *Meibom. Rerum Germanicar. scriptores*, T. II. *Giefers*, Origin of the See of Paderborn; in the same place, 1860. *Bessen*, Hist. of the See of Paderborn; same place, 1820, 2 vols.

² Probably transferred from Heiligenstadt, also known as Osterwick.

³ Conf. *Freiburg*, Eccl. Cyclop., Vol. V., p. 190 sq.

and delusive. The noble men engaged in this apostolic labour have all a place in history, but there is one who stands out with marked prominence above the rest. This is *Ludger*,¹ a Frisian by birth, but a disciple of Gregory of Utrecht and of Alcuin, who, from the year 787 till his death, which occurred A. D. 809, did not cease to labour with indefatigable zeal and heroic fortitude for the conversion of the Westphalians. He was the first bishop of *Mimigardeford* (Münster), and a judgment of his usefulness and his holiness of life may be had from the fact that his memory is still cherished with reverence among the inhabitants of that city. His tomb, in the Abbey of Verden, was the scene of many miracles, and was frequented by numbers of pilgrims.

The labours of *Willehad*, an Anglo-Saxon priest, were scarcely less conspicuous and fruitful. At the request of Charlemagne, and protected by his authority, Willehad established and organised the bishopric of *Bremen*. He died A. D. 789, and his biography was written by *St. Ansgar*, Archbishop of Hamburg,² to whom it was a work of love. The names of *Viho*, *Hadumar*, *Heribert*, and *Patto* (?), the first bishops of Osnabrück, Paderborn, Minden, and Verden, on the banks of the Aller,³ are equally well and favourably known.

RETROSPECT.

It is evident, from the outline given above, of the efforts made to spread the light of the Gospel in Germany, and of the triumphs achieved, that, in the reign of Charlemagne, Christianity had already extended as far as the Elbe. In Germany, as in the Roman Empire, Christianity met with a very determined opposition, and was forced to contend against almost insuperable obstacles; but now, as then, God raised up in His Church a band of devoted and faithful workers, *heroic bishops and zealous priests*, who went forth joyfully to announce the tidings of the Gospel to these poor people, and who proved, by the *gift of miracles* which accompanied them, that their work had the sanction of heaven. And, in speaking of these devoted men, it is worthy of remark that, while they were engaged in preaching the Word of God, many pious *princesses* and well-born ladies provided for their wants. We have seen that the religious notions of the early Germans predisposed them favourably to Christianity, while their minds were altogether alienated from their idols when they beheld the missionaries dash them to the ground with impunity. The missionaries also practised towards the Germans the prudence and moderation so warmly recommended by Gregory the Great, and, instead of

¹ His Life, by *Alfridus*, second successor of St. Ludger in the see of Münster, in *Pertz*, monumenta, T. II. *Behrends*, Life of St. Ludger, Apostle of the Saxons, 1843.

² In *Pertz*, Monumenta, T. II., p. 378 sq.

³ On *Verden*, cf. *Freiburg*, Eccl. Cyclop., Vol. XI., p. 582 sq.; French transl., Vol. XXIV., p. 525 sq.

frightening away, by unnecessary severity, either those who had already come into the Church, or such as were preparing to do so, they adjusted, where such a course was possible, the requirements of Christian law, and tempered its severity so as not to do unnecessary violence to the prejudices and practices of those idolators. The feasts of the saints came in place of their Pagan orgies; the Cross was set up on the altar from which an idol had been cast down, and Pagan temples became the dwelling-places of the Most High God.

CHAPTER II.

MODIFICATIONS IN THE RELATIONS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH.

Capitularia regum Francor, see Vol. I., p. 23, n. 3. ed. *Baluzi*, Venet., 1772-1773, 2 T. fol., and in *Pertz*, Monumenta, T. III., with valuable chronological disquisitions. We quote from the one more spread about, ed. *Baluzi*. *Friedrich*, Three unpublished Councils of Merovingian Times, Bamberg, 1867. *Maassen*, Two Synods under King Childeric II., according to a Manuscript of the City Library of Albi, Gratz, 1867.

† *Thomassini*, Vetus et nova eccl. disciplina. *Plank*, Hist. of the Organization of Eccl. Society, Vol. II. *Grimm*, Antiquities of German Law, Götting., 1828. *Phillips*, C. L., Vol. III., "The Church and the Germanic Kingdoms," p. 61-118. † *Binterim*, Philosophical Hist. of the German National Councils, Pts. I. and II.; Succession of all the Bishops and Archbishops of Germany, Pt. I., p. 282-340. * *Lau*, On the Influence of the Feudal System upon the Clergy and the Papacy. (*Jlgen's* Hist. Journal, year 1841, nros. 1 and 2.) Thereto, *Phillips' German Hist.*, Vol. I., p. 506 sq. *Zöpfl*, Hist. of German Law, 3rd ed., Stuttg., 1858, and the writings of *Rettberg*, * *Fehr*, *Rückert*; * *Gfrörer*, On the Hist. of German Popular Rights, in the *M. A.*, 2 vols., Schaffh., 1865.

§ 161. *The Church in Her Relations to the Germanic States—Close Alliance of Church and State.*

The essential elements of ecclesiastical polity, as developed among the Greeks and Romans, now passed, without material change, over to the Germanic people, who, after their conversion, regarded Roman law as inseparably connected with the Church. Hence, as "every one," according to an axiom of German jurisprudence, "preserves intact his hereditary rights,"¹ so did the Church and her ministers continue to follow the Roman civil law and the Dionysian or Spanish

¹ *Walter*, Corpus juris German. antiqui., Berol., 1824, sq., 3 T. *Pertz*, Monumenta Germ., T. III. and IV. (containing leges.) Cf. *Regesta Carolorum*, Documents of all the Carolingians (752-918), epitomised by *Böhm*, Frkf., 1834, 4to.

collection of canon law.¹ It is especially noticeable, and perhaps more so in the Frankish Empire than elsewhere, that these canons passed, though insensibly, yet definitely, into the public law and the Capitularies. It could not be expected that the Church would maintain precisely the same relations with a rude and barbarous people which she had with nations of a more *advanced and refined civilization*. Before such a state of things could be brought about, a *certain amount of teaching and a thorough reformation of manners* were necessary, and it was the Church's duty to impart the one and effect the other. Faithful to her mission, she did not shrink from the task; but, to accomplish it successfully, she was obliged to adopt, in a great measure, a new system and a novel policy in her *external relations* to the State and to society. On the one hand, it was necessary to obtain *greater political independence*, and, on the other, to rise to civil influence and importance, in order that she might be in a position to widen the sphere of her jurisdiction and infuse Christian ideas into the masses of the people.

Ecclesiastics, who spent their days in the contemplation of things human and divine, seemed at least as well qualified to administer justice intelligently and impartially as persons who have passed their lives in the profession of arms; and the more so as they *alone possessed all the knowledge and culture of the age*. Hence—1. In Spain, Reccared commanded the judges to *attend the ecclesiastical synods, in order that they might there learn the law*;² while, on the other hand, he instructed the bishops to watch over the administration of justice. Similar provisions were made in the Frankish kingdom in the year 585. 2. To render judgment in *all matrimonial causes* was regarded among the Burgundian Germans, more positively even than among the ancient Romans, as a distinct and peculiar office of the priesthood, inasmuch as these were considered as belonging to the category of things sacred. 3. *Last wills and testaments*, especially when there was question of goods bequeathed to the Church, were always submitted to the bishops. 4. Under the Frankish, as under the Roman law,³ ecclesiastics enjoyed certain *privileges and immunities*; for example, they

¹ Conf. *Conc. Aurel.* I. (A. D. 511) can. 1: Id constituimus observandum quod ecclesiastici canones decreverunt et lex Romana constituit. (*Harduin*, T. II., p. 1009). The principle is enforced: *Ecclesia vivit lege Romana* (Leg. Ripuar tit. LVIII. 1); see *Maassen*, *lex Rom. canonice compta*, Vienna, 1860. *Friedberg*, *De finium inter et ecclesiam et civitatem judicio*, qui mediæ ævi doctores et leges statuerint, Leips., 1861.

² *Concil. Toletan.* III. a. 589, capitul. 18: *Judices vero locorum, vel actores fiscalium patrimoniorum ex decreto gloriosissimi domini nostri simul cum sacerdotali concilio—in unum convenient, ut discant, quam pie et juste cum populis agere debeant.—Sunt enim prospectores Episcopi secundum regiam admonitionem, qualiter judices cum populis agant, ita ut ipsos præmonitis corrigant, aut insolentias eorum auditibus principis innotescant.* (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 482.) The Frankish ordinance by Chlotar: *Si judex aliquem contra legem injuste damnaverit, in nostri absentia ab Episcopis castigetur, ut quod perpere judicavit, versatim melius discussione habita emendare procuret.* (*Baluz.*, T. I., p. 7.)

³ The Druids likewise, as we learn from *Cæsar* de bello Gallico, enjoyed *immunity*: *Druides a bello abesse consueverant, neque tributa cum reliquis pendunt, militiæ vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem.* (VI. 14.)

were considered as wholly under the jurisdiction of the bishop, and not within the competence of civil tribunals, unless when guilty of atrocious crimes; and then only *after* they had been degraded from their dignity and office.¹ It is clear, therefore, that there were circumstances in which the power of the Church and that of the State were in such harmonious accord that it was difficult to say precisely where one ended and the other commenced. The ceremony of the *coronation of kings*,² which was at this time being gradually introduced, is a most striking evidence of this coalition of the two powers. The Church imparted to the State a divine blessing, and invested it with an authority which, bearing the sanction of religion, inspired both reverence and awe, and was alone capable of preserving civil order and restraining the pride and insolence of a barbarous people. There were many other instances of the coalition or harmonious action of the civil and ecclesiastical orders—such, for example, as the participation of the State in the election of bishops; in the holding of ecclesiastical synods, and the ratification of their decrees; in the institution of ecclesiastical circuit courts or diocesan visitations;³ and, particularly, in the readiness with which the civil authority lent its aid to the

¹ Capitular., lib. VII., c. 422: Placuit, ut Clerici non distringantur vel dijudicentur nisi a propriis Episcopis. Fas enim non est, ut divini muneris ministri temporalium potestatum subdantur arbitrio. Nam si propriorum Episcoporum jussionibus inobedientes extiterint, tunc juxta canonicas sanctiones per potestates externas adducantur, i. e. per judices sæculares. (*Baluz. T. I.*)

² "The religious consecration of the new sovereign was introduced first into the Eastern Roman Empire. The first known example is that of Theodosius the Younger, who was crowned by the patriarch Proclus. In the following century, the Emperor Justinus caused himself to be crowned by Pope John I., although he had before received the crown from the hands of the patriarch John. Of the new German Christian kingdoms, the Spanish was the first that adopted this ceremony. (King Wamba was the first, A. D. 672. Tr.) In the first canon of the twelfth synod of Toledo, it is said of King Erwig that he received his regal power by the sacred unction. By the Merovingian kings of the Franks, the rite was not practised. Pepin was the first. . . . After his time, all the kings were crowned, and the rite was introduced by the East-Franks into Germany, where Conrad I. was the first who was consecrated in this manner. The sovereign to be crowned read a profession of Catholic faith; he then swore, at the desire of the bishops, to maintain to all prelates, and to the churches intrusted to them, their canonical privileges; to protect and to defend, according to his power, every and each bishop and his church, and to preserve inviolate the rights and laws of the people." *Döllinger's Ch. Hist.*, Vol. III., pp. 166, 167, Eng. trans.

In Britain, the Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, which dates back to the eighth century, contains a rite for the coronation of kings.

This ceremony was usually accompanied with the more important and imposing rite of anointing with oil, signifying a particular and special consecration of the anointed to the service of God. The term for consecration in the Saxon chronicle is "gehalgod," that is, hallowed or consecrated. A copy of one of the Gospels, on which the Saxon kings took the coronation oath, is still preserved in the British Museum. Cf. *Phillips, C. L.*, Vol. III., Pt. I., p. 67 et sq.; *Hist. Polit. Papers*, Vol. 20, p. 218-231. *Chambers's Cyclop.*, Art. Coronat. (Tr.)

³ Already in the ep. Synod. Aurelian. I. (a. 511) ad Clodoveum regem, it is said: Quia tanta ad religionis cathol. cultum gloriæ fidei cura vos excitat, ut sacerdotalis mentis affectu sacerdotes de rebus necessariis tractaturos in unum colligi jusseritis, secundum voluntatis vestræ consultationem, et titulos quos dedistis, ea quæ vobis visum est definitione respondimus; ita ut si ea, quæ nos statuimus, etiam vestro recta esse judicio comprobantur, tanti consensus regis ac domini majori auctoritate servandam tantorum firmet sententiam sacerdotum. (*Harduin, T. II.*, p. 1008.) Thus, Charlemagne called five synods. The

execution of that portion of ecclesiastical legislation which directly and immediately affected the Church's external relations with society. So intimate were the relations of Church and State, that they gave rise to legislative bodies, altogether without precedent in the history of the Church, known as *Mixed Synods*, bearing a very close resemblance to a diet,¹ and composed of both clerical and lay persons, assembled to provide for the good government of both orders. The institution of the *Missi Dominici* was but the complement of the system of which the Mixed Synods were the legislative branch. This was the *Imperial Court of Judicature*, formed on the model of the ecclesiastical circuit courts or diocesan visitations, and composed of clerics and laymen, who assembled four times a year to execute the laws, both ecclesiastical and civil.² Thus, while, on the one hand, the reverence which necessarily attaches to the priestly office, and the learning and culture of the clergy, opened to them a wide sphere of action and usefulness; on the other, the vulgar and insolent pride of rude and barbarous princes, who, in their wild schemes of ambition, and in their love of rule, entirely lose sight of religious principles and obligations, seriously threatened the independence and impeded the progress and internal development of the Church. There were, however, many well-disposed princes who reposed a loving and filial confidence in the Church, and contributed to bring about that *beautiful harmony* which shortly characterised the relations of the *two orders*. Its results were particularly beneficial and manifest in the great empire of Charlemagne, where it formed the *underlying and fundamental principle* of all legislation. That these results were more evident here than elsewhere, is probably owing to the fact that, through the genius of Charlemagne, the empire early recovered from the disasters consequent upon the invasion of the barbarians.

§ 162. *Enlarged Possessions of the Church.* Cf. § 127.

In the early days of Christianity, the ancient and noble families of

bishops assembled at Tours, at the conclusion of their proceedings, declared: "We have noted down the chapters to be laid before the emperor." *Binterim*, Pt. I., p. 223.

¹ The preface to the Synod of Mentz (813) may be taken as a particular instance in illustration of the harmonious action of Church and State: *Incipientes igitur in nomine Domini communi consensu et voluntate tractare pariter de statu vere religionis, ac de utilitate et profectu christianæ plebis, convenit nobis, de nostro communi collegio clericorum seu laicorum tres facere turmas, sicut et fecimus. In prima autem turma conseruerunt Episcopi cum quibusdam notariis, legentes atque tractantes St. evangelium nec non epistolas et actus Apostolorum, canones quoque, etc.*—diligenti studio perquirentes, quibus modis statum ecclesiæ Dei et christianæ plebis proficere et conservare potuissent. In alia vero turma conseruerunt Abbates, etc.—In tertia denique turma sederunt comites et iudices, in laudandis legibus decertantes, vulgi iustitias perquirentes omniumque aduentum causas diligenter examinantes modis, quibus poterant, iustitias terminantes. (*Harzheim*, Conc. Germ., T. I., p. 405.) *Binterim*, Hist. of German Councils, Pt. I., p. 104 sq. "Nature of Mixed Synods," *synodi mixtæ*.

* The Capitularia reg. Franc., ed. Baluz. Ven. contain at their head the tractatus de *Missis Dominicis*, Franc. de *Roye Andegavensis* (T. I., p. L-CXLVIII.); likewise, *Muraetorii* Diss. de missis regis (T. II., p. VI-XX.), from ejusd. antiquit. Ital. med. ævi, T. I., p. 455 sq.

Rome, inspired by feelings of gratitude and love, had made large bequests to the churches of those countries now inhabited by German tribes; but these possessions were, for the most part, lost during the shock and convulsions which followed the migration of nations. The singular and exceptional reverence which the Germans always entertained for their priests, and the facility with which, under the influence of Christianity, they assimilated the elements of Roman civilization, seemed to indicate that this barbarous people, after it had reached some degree of civilization, would be still more generous in donations to the Church than even the early Roman Christians had been. This anticipation was fully realized; for, towards the close of the reign of Charlemagne, these regenerated and vigorous nations, grateful for the blessings and treasures which they had received through the Church, and, acting under the firm belief that such gifts would be meritorious in the sight of God,¹ contributed voluntarily, abundantly, and with daily increasing generosity,² to the maintenance of ecclesiastical institutions.

But, for all this, the bulk of the clergy, as well as schools and monasteries, were frequently in great need of assistance, and the synods of *Tours* (A. D. 560) and *Macon* (A. D. 586) energetically exhorted the faithful to pay the *tithes* ordained by God. Charlemagne made their payment obligatory on his subjects by a *royal ordinance* of the year 779, with the requirements of which he himself faithfully complied.³ But, as many *bishops* and *abbots* began, about this time, to hold *fiefs* from the crown, they acquired large possessions, and became comparatively wealthy, and also, in a measure, dependent upon the civil power. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that there were to be found among them avaricious persons who were not, at times, over-honest in the administration and disposition of ecclesiastical property, and, in consequence, many synods held during the course of the seventh and eighth centuries revived earlier decrees of the Church, requiring that the inferior clergy should be exactly informed as to the condition of the estates of the Church, and the uses to which their revenues were applied.

Among the Germans, as among the Greeks and Romans, it was customary for the bishops to appoint *stewards*, or *procurators*,⁴ to look after the administration of the ecclesiastical domains. As the people advanced in civilization, and political governments became more stable, the administration of ecclesiastical property, whether belonging to bishops or to monasteries, was intrusted to laymen (*advocati cogati, armati*), and, in the year 802, Charlemagne prescribed the qualifications and defined the duties of these agents.⁵ Those who had

¹ Rom. xv. 27.

² Conf. Thomassini, L. c., Pt. III., lib. I., c. 19-23.

³ Thomassini, L. c., Pt. III., lib. I., c. 6-7.

⁴ Thomassini, L. c., Pt. III., lib. II., c. 1 and 5-9.

⁵ The Roman Prof. *De Camillis*, in his institutes of Canon Law, says on the subject : "Sæculo VI. and VII., deficiente advocatia imperiali et regali, Romani Pontifices ex se

founded churches frequently reserved to themselves and to their heirs the right of administering the temporal concerns of such foundations. But, while the faithful provided generously for the maintenance of the Church and her clergy, from motives of piety and gratitude, warlike princes, such as *Charles Martel*, robbed her of her possessions, and distributed them among his soldiers;¹ and needy sovereigns, like *Pepin*, took the same means to refill the coffers that had been emptied by the extravagance of Merovingians.

§ 163. *Increased Dependence of the Church upon the State—Administration of Metropolitan and Diocesan Sees.*

The peculiar position occupied by the Church, when brought fully into contact with the German nations, necessarily produced a very marked influence upon the *episcopal office and dignity*, in so far as these were connected with the merely external aspects of social and political life. *Bishops and abbots* became gradually identified with the institutions of the *feudal system*. As a knowledge of this system is essential to a correct judgment and just appreciation of the Middle Ages, it will be necessary to study the history of the Franks in Gaul, where it was more fully developed than among any other people.

While it is undoubtedly true that many bishops and abbots, desirous of coming into possession of allodial estates, acted from purely sordid motives, still it cannot be denied that the spiritual seed which had been sown among these rude people, and was now bursting into life, would never have reached its full development and maturity, had not the clergy succeeded in establishing themselves permanently in the country. This, however, could be effected only by entering into close alliance and maintaining intimate relations with the great and powerful, who commanded the respect and obedience of the lower orders. Hence, in order that bishops and abbots might be regarded with similar feelings, it was necessary that they should become, in some sort, the *equals of the nobility*, and, like them, be qualified to take their places in the diet of the empire. But the only available way of rising to such distinction and consideration among a coarse and semi-civilized

cœperunt constituere Ecclesiarum defensores, atque idipsum omnes ecclesiæ præstiterunt. Qui defensores ex subdiaconis plerumque assumebantur, pluribus aucti sunt honoribus, eisque annuus census a singulis ecclesiis persolutus est; nec eorum tantum personis, sed familiæ ipsorum hoc advocatiæ munus videbatur concessum, ita ut filii patribus in eo succederent. Atque hæc disciplina medio præsertim ævo obtinuit.—Sed rebus compositis, supremi imperantes illud advocatiæ munus sibi vindicarunt; et utinam bona fide id præstitissent ita ut sub prætextu tuendi Ecclesiam ejus jura non invasissent, sibi que usurpassent. En historia juris advocatiæ.” Hence the emperor obtained, although not the order, yet the office, of subdeaconship, at the Pope’s solemn Mass, and the “*dalmatica imperialis*,” with the *μεταμόρφωσις τοῦ κυρίου* stitched on it by Byzantine skill, is still shown in the sacristy of St. Peter’s, Rome, as a relic of the times and person of Charlemagne. (Tr.)

¹ *Roth*, Secularization (apportionment) of the estates of the Church under the Carolingians (Munich Historical Annaries, year 1865, p. 277 sq.)

people was to follow the example of the lay lords of France and acquire large landed possessions, held either in *freehold* or in *fief*.¹

The system of letting lands out in fief was the basis and underlying principle of the Frankish kingdom.²

That bishops and abbots administered their estates with a due regard to the rights of those who dwelt upon them, seems evident, from the fact that the people always preferred to see lands pass into the possession of religious rather than secular liege-lords. They were incomparably more happy and contented under the rule of the crozier than under that of the sword. Such as held lands in fief from religious were called "*sanctuarii*," or "those of the house of God." They were much better to do, obtained freedom more readily than those holding of secular lords, and were frequently promoted to the highest dignities. Hence the origin of the proverb: "*It is good to live under the crook.*"

Had not the Church broken through this system of brute force, filled the mind of man with high ideas, generous impulses, and a consciousness of his noble destiny, it would have been impossible for any merely temporal power to have led the German nation from the darkness of barbarism to the full light of civilization. It was with this view that bishops, who were truly such, used all the advantages that feudalism placed within their reach. They had a great and responsible mission, and they laboured faithfully to accomplish it. They ameliorated the condition of the slave, gradually abolished slavery itself, and broke down the barriers which had separated bondmen from free.

The *evil* which came upon the Church by reason of her connection with the feudal system, will more than balance the good. The distinction between things sacred and profane was gradually lost sight of; ecclesiastics became the vassals of kings, and, as such, mingled with the worldly, and shared their dissipations. Then were sown the seeds of the long and terrible struggle between the throne and the altar, the Church and the Empire.

Even the *appointments to bishoprics*, which, according to ecclesiastical canons, should have been the result of the concurrent choice of the bishops of the province, and of the clergy and laity of each diocese, were wholly dependent upon the arbitrary will of princes. Whatever qualifications men so appointed may have possessed, they were not, at any rate, such as would recommend them as fit persons to preside over the destinies of the Church. They were courtiers, and not ecclesiastics. Having received their appointments, they were hastily promoted to holy orders, without regard to the rule of the Church,

¹ A freehold, or *allodium*, was possessed in absolute independence of the lord paramount; while a fief, or *beneficium*, was held on certain stated conditions, generally a duty of military service. (Tr.)

² Conf. *Luden*, German Hist., Book VII., chap. 4. 5 (Pt. III., p. 285-309). *Phillips*, German Hist., Vol. I., § 25, p. 495 sq.; Vol. II., p. 454 sq., and the Dissertation, quoted on p. 407, by *Lau*.

requiring an observance of the interstices. Moreover, as those who held land in fief became, by this very fact, the *vassals* of princes, such, when appointed to bishoprics and abbotships, were required to take an oath, not only of personal, but also of feudal, fealty (the *vassalagium* or *homagium*) to their liege lord, by which they bound themselves to serve the king in war, to appear at court when commanded to do so, to assist at his tribunals, and to remain subject to his jurisdiction. Again, since every free-born man among the Germans was liable to military duty, and could not enter either the clerical or monastic state¹ without the permission of the government, it was necessary to recruit the ranks of the clergy from among those who, formerly serfs, had been set free by the Church. Owing to their former inferior condition, they were often kept in a humiliating state of dependence by bishops who owed their appointments to the favour of princes, and who were naturally proud of their rank and fortune. Finally, as the duty of taking the field in time of war created among the clergy a taste for the profession of arms, it was found necessary to enact many laws, both ecclesiastical and civil, by which all ecclesiastics were strictly forbidden to become soldiers, to bear arms, or to engage in battle. So distasteful were such prohibitions, that it was thought prudent to add a declaration totally disclaiming any intention of putting a slight upon the priesthood or the Church, by thus disqualifying ecclesiastics to bear arms.²

The Church protested against the interference of the State in the appointment of bishops, and made an effort to correct the abuse, by threatening to refuse to recognize any bishop appointed by royal

¹ *Conc. Aurel. I.*, under Clovis, A. D. 511, prescribes, can. 4: *Ut nullus sæcularium ad clericatus officium præsumatur, nisi aut cum regis jussione aut cum judicis voluntate.* (*Harduin*, T. II., p. 1009.) Likewise, *Caroli M.*, *Capitulare*, a. 805, c. 15: *De liberis hominibus, qui ad servitium Dei se tradere volunt, ut prius hoc non faciant, quam a nobis licentiam postulent.* (*Baluz*, T. I., p. 298.) It is, therefore, too, that the *Conc. Toletan. IV.*, A. D. 633, c. 74, permits to appoint serfs, priests, and deacons: *De famulis ecclesiæ constituere presbyteros et diaconos per parochias licet: quos tamen vitæ rectitudo et probitas morum commendat; ea tamen ratione, ut antea manumissi libertatem status sui percipiant*, et denuo ad ecclesiasticos honores succedant: *irreligiosum est enim obligatos existere servituti, qui sacri ordinis suscipiunt dignitatem.* (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 592.)

² *Conc. Auctor.*, Bonif. A. 743, can. 2: *Servis Dei per omnia armaturam portare, vel pugnare, aut in exercitum et in hostem pergere, omnino prohibuimus: nisi illis tantum, qui propter divinum Mysterium, missarum scilicet solemniam adimplenda et Sanctorum patrocinia portanda ad hoc electi sunt: i.e., unum vel duos Episcopos cum capellanis et presbyteris eorum principes secum habeat, etc.* (*Harzheim*, *Conc. Germ.*, T. I., p. 49. *Binterim*, *Hist. of the German Councils*, Vol. II., p. 117 sq.) It was, however, only when the wounding and killing of several ecclesiastics on the field of battle had produced a terrible impression, that Charlemagne opposed this abuse in a positive manner by his *Capitulare VIII.* a. 803: *Volumus, ut nullus sacerdos in hostem pergat, nisi duo vel tres tantum Episcopi, electione cæterorum, propter benedictionem et prædicationem populique reconciliationem et cum illis electi sacerdotes, qui bene sciant populus penitentiam dare. Missas celebrare, de infirmis curam habere, sacratque olei cum sacris precibus unctionem impendere et hoc maxime prævidere, ne sine viatico quis de sæculo recedat. Hi vero nec arma ferant, nec ad pugnam pergant,—sed tantum Sanctorum pignora et sacra ministeria ferant et orationibus pro viribus insistant.* (*Baluz*, T. I., p. 287.) Yet it was added: *Quod honores sacerdotum et res ecclesiarum auferre vel minuere eis noluissems!* (*L. c.*, p. 288.)

decree, unless he should also have been canonically elected by the bishops of the province.¹ This threat was, however, frequently disregarded by such as had power to enforce their demands.

Freedom of *ecclesiastical* elections was restored through the efforts of *St. Boniface* and by the decrees of *Charlemagne*.

The exercise of the royal sanction, a right similar to that exercised by the Græco-Roman emperors, was looked upon as a thing of course, and no one ever thought of challenging it.

After *St. Boniface* had fully organized the hierarchy in the East-Frankish kingdom, *metropolitans* frequently asserted and claimed the rights belonging to their sees ; but, though these rights were admitted and confirmed, the exercise of them was frequently obstructed by the anomalous political position of certain bishops. The practice of *holding provincial councils annually* had been almost entirely neglected, and *ecclesiastical administration, morals, and discipline* had suffered in consequence. *St. Boniface*, therefore, exerted himself to revive the practice, and, though his efforts were in a measure successful,² these synods never rose to their former importance. The reason of this is not far to seek. In the first place, the convocation of them was dependent upon the pleasure of the prince;³ and secondly, they

¹ Already *Gregory* of Tours complains of arbitrariness in conferring and acquiring ecclesiastical dignities : Jam tunc germen illud iniquum ceperat pullulare, ut sacerdotium aut venderetur a regibus aut compararetur a clericis. (*Vitæ Patrum*, c. 4, de *St. Gallo* Episc. max. bibl., T. XI., p. 939). Likewise, *Gregor.*, Hist. Franc. IV. 15, VIII. 39, IX. 23. See *Phillips*, Vol. I., p. 673 sq. Against such abuses, *Conc. Arvern.* a. 535, can. 2 : Diligenter itaque (in eligendis sacerdotibus) quisque inspicat pretium dominici gregis, ut sciat, quod meritum constituendi deceat esse pastoris. Episcopatum ergo desiderans, electione clericorum vel civium, consensu etiam metropolitani ejusdem provincie, pontifex ordinetur. Non patrocinia potentum adhibeat, non calliditate subdola ad conscribendum decretum alios hortetur præmiis, alios timore compellat. (*Harduin*, T. II., p. 1181.) *Conc. Aurel.* V., a. 549, can. 10 : Ut nulli episcopatum præmiis aut comparatione liceat adipisci, sed cum voluntate regis juxta electionem cleri et plebis, sicut in antiquis canonibus tenetur scriptum, a metropolitano, etc. (*Harduin*, T. II., p. 1445.) *Conc. Paris.* III., a. 557, can. 8. (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 339.) Repeatedly *Conc. Paris.* V., a. 615, can. I. (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 551.) *Gregorii M.*, Epp. lib. XI. ep. 61. ad *Chlotar*. Francor. regem : Pervenit ad nos, quod sacri illic ordines cum datione pecunie conferantur. Et vehementer affligimur, si ad Dei dona non meritis acceditur, sed præmiis prosiluit. Et quia hæc *simoniaca hæresis* (!) prima in ecclesia surgens, Apostolorum est auctoritate damnata, optum, ut pro mercede vestra congregari Synodum faciatis, etc. (Opp. T. II., p. 1147 sq.) *Charlemagne's* Capitulare I., a. 803, c. 2 : Sacrorum canonum non ignari, ut in Dei nomine sancta ecclesia suo liberior potiretur honore, adsensum ordini ecclesiastico præbuimus, ut Episcopi per electionem cleri et populi secundum statuta canonum de propria diocesi, remota personarum et munerum acceptione, ob vitæ meritum et sapientiæ donum eligantur, ut exemplo et verbo sibi subjectis usquequaque prodesse valeant. (*Baluz.*, T. I., p. 269.) Accordingly, the report of *Sigebert of Gemblours*, that *Charles*, at a Lateran synod of 153 bishops, obtained authority to fill the papal chair, and to invest all the archbishops and bishops, is a manifest forgery, occasioned by the contest on investitures. Conf. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. III., p. 579.

² Conf. *Binterim*, Hist. of German Councils, Vol. II., p. 1 sq. Already *Gregory the Great* had repeatedly urged the convocation of synods in the Frankish Empire. Epp. lib. XI., ep. 55-61, ep. 63.

³ *Gregor. Turon.*, Hist. Francor. VIII. 20. Interim dies placiti advenit et Episcopi ex jussu Regis *Gunthramni* apud *Matescensem* urbem collecti sunt.—*Sigeberti*, Regis epist. ad *Desiderium* Episc. (about 650) : Nobis cum nostris proceribus convenit, ut sine nostra

gradually lost their strictly ecclesiastical character, and became of the nature of a diet, and hence were called "*Mixed Synods.*" Moreover, the gradually but steadily increasing authority of the popes, and the extensive claims put forward and exercised by papal legates, checked the growth and limited the influence of metropolitan institutions. Each *bishop* was strictly required to make an annual visitation of his diocese, and such visitations were called *Synodal Courts*. To facilitate the transaction of business in these courts, dioceses were divided into districts, over each of which an *archdeacon*¹ presided. Instead of one archdeacon, who had been formerly vicar-general to the bishop, there were now many—the number sometimes reaching as high as seven, as in the case of the diocese of Strasburg. *Heddo*, the bishop of this see, obtained the consent of Pope Hadrian I. to the system (A. D. 774), and was the first to organize it and put it into complete working order.² The functions of the *chorepiscopus*,³ an office which had passed into Germany from the Græco-Roman Empire, were early restricted to the ordinary duties of priests.⁴

§ 164. *The Primacy—Spiritual Power of the Popes.*

The respect universally entertained for the Head of the Church by the German people must unquestionably be ascribed to the fact that a great majority of the missionaries who came among them to preach the Gospel had been either *approved or sent directly by the Holy See*, and, during their stay, uniformly consulted it on all matters affecting

scientia synodale consilium in regno nostro non agatur, nec ad istas Kal. Septemb. nulla conjunctio sacerdotum ex his, qui ad nostram ditionem pertinere noscuntur, non fiat. (*Baluz.*, T. I., p. 101.)

¹ Bishops divided their dioceses into several districts (*capitula ruralia*), over each of which an archdeacon (archpriest?—Tr.) presided. He subsequently became subordinate to the archdeacon of the cathedral church, who, though only a deacon, and, in many instances, only a layman, exercised a more extensive and superior authority. Hence, the many protests against his encroachments and arrogance. *Conc. Toletan.* IV., a. 633, can. 39: Nonnulli diacones in tantam erumpunt superbiam, ut se anteponan atque in primo loco ipsi priores stare præsumant presbyteris in secundo choro constitutis. (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 587.) *Conc. Emeritense*, a. 666, can. 5: Ad suam personam (episcop.) non aliter nisi aut archipresbyterum suum diriget (in concilium); aut si archipresbytero impossibilitas fuerit, presbyterum utilem—a tergo Episcoporum inter presbyteros sedere, et quæque in eo concilio fuerint acta, scire et subscribere. (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 1000.) *Conc. Remense* (about 630), can. 19: Ut in parochiis nullus laicorum archipresbyter præponatur. (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 573.) *Capitulare* IV., Caroli M., a. 803, c. 2: Ut laici non sint præpositi monachorum in monasterio, nec Archidiaconi sint laici. (*Baluz.*, T. I., p. 303.) At the synod, held by Boniface, A. D. 745, it was decreed: Prævideant episcopi, ne cupiditas archidiaconorum suorum culpas nutriat, quia multis modis mentitur iniquitas sibi. (*Bonifac.*, Epp. ed., *Würltwein*, p. 161.) Likewise, *Thomassin*, L. c., P. I., lib. II., c. 4, 5.

² Cf. *Grandidier*, Hist. de l'église de Strasb., Vol. I., pp. 176, 291; Vol. II., Document nro. 66. *Planck*, Hist. of the Organization of Eccl. Society, Vol. II., p. 584 sq.

³ See Vol. I., p. 274.

⁴ Capit. a. 799: Placuit, ne Chorepiscopi a quibusquam deinceps fiant, quoniam hactenus a nescientibus sanctorum Patrum et maxime Apostolicorum decreta suisque quietibus ac delectationibus inhaerentibus facti sunt—a. 803: Ut hi, qui a Chorepiscopis presbyteri vel diaconi aut subdiaconi sunt ordinati, nullatenus in presbyteratus vel diaconatus aut subdiaconatus officio ministrare præsumant. (*Baluz.*, T. I., pp. 233, 746.) *Migne*, Ser. lat. Vol. 97, p. 764 and p. 830. (Tr.)

the religious and social condition of the faithful. Hence, they knew the Bishop of Rome *only* as the Head of the Catholic world, a prerogative which the *popes* of every age have claimed, and which *the most enlightened men of this epoch* constantly, distinctly, and emphatically maintained.¹ It is an undeniable fact that, since the days of Siricius and Leo the Great, *vicars-apostolic* exercised supreme jurisdiction in almost every Christian country; as, for example, in Spain, during the pontificate of Gregory the Great.

The question submitted to the judgment of Pope Zachary by Burkhard, Bishop of Strasburg, and Fulrad, a priest of St. Denys, when they asked, in the case of *Pepin*, the mayor of the palace, and King *Childeric*, "if it were not just that one who possessed the royal authority should also enjoy the title of king," is a most striking and significant example of the exercise of the plenitude of power centered in the Head of the Church. The Pope, in giving his decision in favour of *Pepin*,² did so with strict regard to the *legal aspects* of the question, alleging, as his reasons, that the *electoral vote* of the nobles of the Germanic kingdoms should be respected, and the fact that *Pepin* had, in reality, if not in name, possessed and exercised the royal authority in the Frankish kingdom for years. Thus did the Pope strengthen the authority and consecrate the temporal power of *Pepin* by imparting to them a divine sanction, and giving orders to Boniface to crown him king, at Soissons (A. D. 752). The ceremony of coronation was performed for *Charlemagne* about half a century later. Speaking of the relations of this prince to the Holy See, even *Voltaire* says: "If, at this time, the kingdom of *Charlemagne* alone possessed some measure of culture, this is probably to be ascribed to the fact that the emperor had made a journey to Rome."

The bishops assembled at the first German Synod, held in the year 742, promised, under oath, to render *canonical obedience to the Pope*,³ and those summoned by *Charlemagne* to examine into the charges brought against *Leo III.* promptly and emphatically declared that

¹ *Hadrian I.* said of the Roman episcopate: *Sedes apostolica caput totius mundi et omnium Dei ecclesiarum—cujus sollicitudo delegata divinitus cunctis debetur ecclesiis;—a qua si quis se abscedit, fit christianæ religionis extorris.*—*Quæ de omnibus ecclesiis fas habet judicandi, neque cuiquam licet de ejus judicare judicio, quorumlibet sententiis ligata pontificum jus habebit, solvendi, per quos ad unam Petri sedem universalis ecclesiæ cura confluit.* Cod. Carolin. ed. *Cenni*, Parmæ, 1519.—*Beda Venerabilis*: *Quis nesciat, beatissimum Petrum omnium Apostolorum principem fuisse?* (Comment. in Joan., c. 13). *Alcuin*, the greatest scholar of his age, writes, ep. 20. ad Leon. III.: *Princeps ecclesiæ, hujus immaculatæ columbæ, nutritor—vere dignum esse fateor, omnem illius gregis multitudinem suo pastori licet in diversis terrarum pascuis commorantem una caritatis fide subjectam esse.*

² It is a remarkable and significant fact, that no writer of that age challenged the validity or legality of this decision. Cf. *Phillips*, Hist. of Germ., Vol. I., p. 522-527.

³ *Bonifacii*, Ep. 105, in *Serarius* (max. bibl. T. XIII., p. 113): *Decrevimus autem in nostro synodali conventu et confessi sumus fidem catholicam et unitatem, et subjectionem Romanæ ecclesiæ, fine tenus vitæ nostræ velle servare: St. Petro et vicario ejus velle subijci: synodum per omnes annos congregare: Metropolitanos pallia ab illa sede quærere: et per omnia præcepta Petri canonice sequi desiderare, ut inter oves sibi commendatas numeremur.* Cf. *Wüdtwein*, Ep. 73, p. 179. *Mansi*, T. XII., p. 365. See the oath taken by Boniface above, on p. 114.

“it was the right of the Pope to judge them, but not theirs to judge him.”¹

Even the *Frankish Capitularies* recognized the right of the Bishop of Rome to examine and approve or reject the decrees of provincial synods.²

The metropolitans of the Frankish Empire, like those of the Græco-Roman, regularly received the *pallium* from the Pope; and here, also, bishops suffering from the oppression of ambitious metropolitans, and priests unjustly persecuted by their bishops, sent their complaints and made known their griefs to the common father of the faithful, from whom they uniformly obtained justice.³

The emperor Constantine Pogonatus (A. D. 668-685) granted the Roman clergy and people full freedom in the election of popes, and *Leo II.* (A. D. 682-683) and *Benedict II.* († A. D. 685), who ascended the papal throne in his reign, were consecrated without even having been confirmed by either the emperor himself or the exarch of Ravenna. It would appear, however, that this privilege was withdrawn, under succeeding popes, on account of the determined resistance which they, during the reign of Justinian II. (A. D. 685-695, when he was expelled, and after his return, in the year 705, he reigned till A. D. 711), offered to the decrees of the Trullan Synod of 692.

Leo the Isaurian, who, besides being an iconoclast, was also a despot, showed still less favour to Rome, and endeavoured, by every instrument of power at his command, to enslave the Church, because the popes Gregory II. (A. D. 715-731) and Gregory III. (A. D. 731-741) firmly resisted his decrees requiring the destruction of statues and images. Neither is it probable that freedom of election was permitted in the choice of the six succeeding popes, all of whom, from Conon († A. D. 687) to Constantine (A. D. 708-715), were either Greeks or Syrians. Even after the Popes had rid themselves of the yoke of the Greek Empire, and escaped the still more degrading bondage of the Lombards; and after they had, at a critical moment, asserted and maintained their *political independence*, still the election of a pope was liable to dangers of no ordinary magnitude. The people and the clergy now enjoyed perfect freedom, but their interests seem to have clashed; for, while the former regarded only the political, the latter looked chiefly to the ecclesiastical qualifications of the candidates.

In this unsettled condition of the Roman Church, the political and religious importance of which was daily on the increase, a system of election was required, which while more conformable to the genius of her constitution, would be a pledge of future peace and security.

¹ Conf., *Harduin*, T. IV., p. 936. *Mansi*, T. XIII., p. 1044. *Alcuini*, Ep. 92.

² Capitular. lib. VII., cap. 349: Ut comprovincialis synodus retractetur per vicarios urbis Romæ Episcopi, si ipse decreverit. (*Baluz.*, T. I., p. 735, from capit. Angilramni, c. 42, at the end of the eighth century; cf. *Baluz.*, T. I., p. 195.) *Boniface* likewise sent the acts of the councils held by him, for examination and approbation, to Rome.

³ Such appeals had been recognized by the Council of Sardica, held A. D. 343. See Vol. I., p. 470, note 1.

§ 165. *Temporal Power of the Popes—Establishment of the States of the Church.*

I. Monumenta dominationis Pontificie seu codex Carolinus ed. C. C., Romæ, 1760, 2 T. 4to. (i. e., Epp. Greg. III. usque ad Hadrian I., ad Carol. Martell., Pipin., Carlmann. et Carol. M.) **Theiner*, Codex diplomaticus domini temporalis St. Sedis, Romæ, 1861, sq., 3 T. fol.

II. †**Orsi*, dell' origine del dominio e della sovranità dei Romani Pontefici sopra gli Stati loro temporalmente soggetti, Rom. 1754. *Muzzarelli*, Dominio temporale del Papa, 1789. **Phillips*, Hist. of Germ., Vol. II., p. 239-253. *Savigny*, Hist. of Roman Civil Law during the Middle Ages, 2nd ed. Heidelberg, 1834, Vol. I., p. 357-396, "Ravenna and Rome under the Popes and the Emperors." *Leo*, Hist. of Italy, Vol. I., p. 187-189. †**Scharpff*, Origin of the States of the Church, Freiburg, 1860. †*Brandes*, The world-wide importance of the Creation of the States of the Church (Tüb. Quart. 1848, nro. 2). †*Schrodl*, The Vote of the Catholic World on the Necessity of the Temporal Power and Sovereignty of the Holy See, together with a Hist. of the Rise of the States of the Church, Freiburg, 1867. *Gregorovius*, Hist. of the City of Rome, &c., Vol. II., p. 304 sq. *Reumont*, Ibid. Vol. II., p. 127 sq. Tr. ADDS.: *Döllinger*, In the Munich Historical Annuary of 1865, p. 300 sq. Card. *Soglia*, Institutiones Juris publici et privati. Eccl. ed. 10, Boscoduci (Herzogenbusch.), Vol. I., § 42, p. 257-284.

Scharpff, who has treated the establishment of the States of the Church with great clearness and fidelity, divides the subject into *three* sections, corresponding to its three leading historical aspects. In the first of these, he treats of the gradually increasing extent of the *estates* of the Roman Church, or the *Patrimonium Petri*, down to the time of Gregory the Great; in the second, of the Papacy as the *protecting power* of Rome and of several of the Greek provinces in Italy; in the third, of the *de facto* sovereignty of the Popes, which, he says, was, under the circumstances, a *legitimate* title to *supreme civil authority*, into which it shortly developed.

We shall confine ourselves principally to a consideration of the questions involved in the last two sections.

No country suffered as much as Italy from the devastating incursions of the barbarians. In seasons of greatest danger and distress, the inhabitants, forsaken by the Greek Emperors and the *Exarchs at Ravenna*, naturally turned to the Popes for comfort and assistance. and, in matter of fact, Rome herself was saved by their courageous interference. It was *Leo the Great* who stopped and turned back Attila, at the head of the Huns, and Genseric, at the head of the Vandals. Again, it was Pope Zachary who confronted the Lombard kings Luitprand and Rachis (A. D. 743 and 750), and saved Rome from the terror of their arms. "If," says *John von Müller*, "the question be decided by natural justice, then is the Pope the rightful Lord of Rome; for, without him, Rome would not now exist."

As time went on, the *Lombards* of Upper Italy, having extended their conquests and taken possession of the duchies of *Beneventum* and *Spoleto*, spread a sense of insecurity and danger throughout the city of Rome. Hence, Gregory the Great, while acting as a mediator between the Lombard Kings and the *Exarchs of Ravenna*, who were at war with each other, was careful to avert, as far as possible, all danger

from Rome, and to provide for the prosperity of her temporal interests. By this policy of careful management, the city of Rome increased in political importance, till, with the patrimony of St. Peter, consisting of cities and towns scattered over Italy and the island of Sicily, it became a sort of *principality under the suzerainty of Byzantium*. But, when the Popes Gregory II. and Gregory III. opposed the decrees of the iconoclastic emperors, the latter seized such of the papal estates as were situated in Southern Italy and Sicily, and even made an attempt to arrest the Pope himself. In the meantime, great disorders broke out in Rome and in the provinces of Italy belonging to the emperor, which the Lombard kings made every effort to turn to their own advantage. Luitprand and Rachis, after having made many conquests, marched on Rome, and were prevented from taking the city only by the energy, tact, and eloquence of Pope Zachary (A. D. 743-750), with whom they entered into a treaty of peace. The peace was of short duration. After the treaty had been broken by King Aistulf (Aistulphus), Pope Stephen III. (A. D. 752-757), weak and infirm, and regardless of the danger that might befall him in the country of the Lombards, set out, amid the tears of all Rome, to implore for Italy the aid and protection of Pepin. Some years previously (A. D. 741), Gregory III. had crossed the Alps on a similar mission to Charles Martel, the father of Pepin; but this prince, who governed the French monarchy under the modest title of Mayor, was too much occupied at home to think of any foreign enterprise, and while he received the Pope with respectful reverence, dismissed him without acceding to his wishes.¹ Pepin was not unmindful that Childeric III. had been deposed and he himself raised to the royal dignity by the authority of Pope Zachary (A. D. 752), and felt that it was now his duty to espouse the cause of the Father of Christendom. He received Pope Stephen with every demonstration of respect, assured him of his good will, and promised to march at the head of an army to his assistance. The Pope in turn appointed Pepin protector of the Church of Rome, under the title of *Patricius of Rome*, and anointed his son king. Pepin crossed the Alps with his army, in the company of Stephen, and having, in this and a second expedition undertaken in the year following (A. D. 755), completely overcome Aistulphus, and forced him to restore the possessions and respect the rights of the Church of Rome, "*donated to St. Peter, to the Church, and to the Roman Republic*," the cities that had formerly belonged to the Greek Exarchate and to the Pentapolis (A. D. 756).² This "Donation," which is mentioned only in a casual way and in general terms by the most trustworthy authors, is given in detail by Anastasius the Librarian, who specifies the following places as included in the grant, viz., *Ravenna, Ariminum* (Rimini), *Pisaurum* (Pesaro),

¹ Cf. John von Müller, *Journeys of the Popes*, and Papencordt, *Hist. of the City of Rome*, p. 80 sq.

² Vide Theiner, "*Codex diplomaticus domini S. S. Romæ*, 1861, and *Soglia*, l. I., p. 258. (Tr.)

Concha (which has long since ceased to exist), *Fanum* (Fano), *Cesina* (Cesena), *Sinogallia* (Sinigaglia), *Aesium* (Jesi), *Forum Pompilii* (Forumpopuli), *Forum Livii* (Forlì) with the castle of Sassubium, *Montefeltro*, *Acerres* (not identified), *Agiomonte* (Monte Maggio, near San Marino), *Mons Lucati* (Monte Luco), *Serra*, *Castrum St. Marini*, *Bobium* (Bobbio), *Orbino*, *Gallis* (Cagli), *Lucioli* (Lucerlo), *Eugubio* (Gubbio), *Comiacum* (Comachio), and *Civitas Narniensis* (Narni). Anastasius also adds: "Fulrad, Abbot of St. Denys and Plenipotentiary of Pepin, visited all the cities enumerated, in the company of the Lombard deputies, from whom he received the keys of each place, and laid them on the tomb of St. Peter."¹

The Greek emperor, Constantine Copronymus, a persecutor of the Church, desirous of turning the Frankish victories to his own profit, demanded, through his ambassadors, the restitution of all the territory previously taken from him by the Lombards. But to this demand Pepin refused to accede, "*The Franks*," said he, "*have not shed their blood for the Greeks, but for St. Peter and the salvation of their own souls. Neither will I break my word for any worldly consideration.*" The inhabitants of these countries, having been long accustomed to regard the Pope as their rightful sovereign and faithful guardian, considered that Pepin, in making this grant, had done no more than *restore* to the Pope what had been unlawfully taken from him.² The Romans furthermore promised Pepin that for the future they would obey the Pope as their king.³

After the death of Pepin, Desiderius, King of the Lombards, made another attempt to get possession of Rome and the Exarchate. To avert the threatened danger, an appeal for aid was made to *Charlemagne* by Pope Hadrian I. (A. D. 772-795). This prince responded to the appeal of Hadrian with as much alacrity as his father had to that of Stephen, and, having crossed the Alps and subdued the Lombards, marched to Rome, which he entered with the permission of the Pope, and confirmed the donation of Pepin, to which he added some *provinces in Northern and Central Italy*, among which were the island of *Corsica* and the duchies of *Benevento* and *Spoletto*.⁴ But of these

¹ The deed of "Donation" is lost, but *Anastasius* states positively that he saw the document. The extent of territory included in the "Donation" is still greater according to *Justinus Fontani*: *Istoria del Dominio temporale della Sede Apostolica del Ducato di Parma e Piacenza*, Rome, 1720. Conf., *Muratori*, *Annali d'Italia*, T. IV., p. 310 sq., *ejusdem* *antiquitates Ital. med. æv.*, T. I., p. 64 sq., V. 790; *Sabbathier*, *Essai hist. crit. sur l'origine de la puissance temporelle des Papes*, à la Haye, 1765, 4to.

² Cf. *Stephan.*, III. Ep. ad Domin. Pipinum Regem an. 754: *Propria vestra voluntate per donationis paginam beato Petro sanctæque Dei ecclesiæ et reipublicæ, civitates et loca restituenda confirmastis* (*Cenni*, L. c., p. 75). *Annal. Fuldens.*, *Haistulfum*—res St. Petri reddere sacramento constrinxit. See *Orsi*, L. c., cap. 6, p. 101 sq.

³ Ep. Populi Senatusque Rom. ad Domin. Pipin. Reg.: At vero in ipsis vestris mellifluis apicibus nos salutaris providentia vestra et ammonere præcellentia vestra studuit, firmos nos ac fideles permanere debere erga Beat. Petrum, principem Apostolorum, et sanctam Dei ecclesiam et circa beatissimum et evangelicum spiritalem patrem vestrum a Deo decretum Dominum nostrum Paulum Summum Pontificem et universalem Papam, etc. (*Cenni*, L. c., p. 141.)

⁴ There is no positive proof that any addition was ever made to the first "Donation." The only documents bearing directly on the subject are the account given by Anastasius

additional gifts of Charlemagne, the Pope retained possession only of the Exarchate and the duchies of Rome and Spoleto.¹ After the capture of Desiderius, Charlemagne abolished the kingdom of the Lombards, and assumed the title of *King of the Franks and Lombards*.

which was written a century after the transaction is said to have taken place, and *Codex Carolinus*; but these two instruments contradict each other. Cf., *De Marca*, de Concordia Sacerd. et Imper. III. 11.—*Mock*, De Donatione a Carolo M., etc., Monast. 1861.

The words of Pope Hadrian I, which follow, are still more remarkable. They are addressed to Charlemagne, and some have maintained that they contain an appeal to a donation supposed to have been made by *Constantine the Great* to Pope Sylvester: "Et sicut temporibus St. Sylvestri a piissimo Const. M. imp. per ejus largitatem Romana Ecclesia elevata atque exaltata est, et potestatem in his Hesperie partibus largiri dignatus est—ecce novus christianissimus Constantinus imperator his temporibus surrexit, per quem omnia Deus sanctæ eccles. Apostolorum principis Petri largiri dignatus est. Sed et cuncta alia, quæ per diversos imperatores, Patricios etiam et alios Deum timentes pro eorum animæ mercede et venia delictorum in partibus Tusciæ, Spoleto seu Benevento atque Corsica simul et Sabinensi patrimonio Petro Apostolo concessa sunt, et—vestris temporibus restituantur." (Cod. Carolin., T. I., p. 352.)

While *Muratori*, in his History of Italy, only ventured to say that the words printed in italics seemingly contain an allusion to a supposed donation of Constantine, later historians have boldly asserted that they express a plain and undeniable fact.

Döllinger, referring to these words, in his *Papal Fables*, p. 76, says: "It is quite plain, and may be easily proven by comparison of analogous expressions, that these words were only intended to convey the idea that Constantine exalted the Roman Church by his munificence, and conferred upon her certain grants of power in these countries of the West."

Cf the Donation of Constantine; Review of *Döllinger's* Papal Fables of the Middle Ages, *Civiltà Cattolica*, German translation, Mentz, 1866, p. 21 et sq.

¹ Even down to the present day, many doubts of a very different and sometimes ingenious character have been raised as to the justice of this donation. Cf. *Phillips*, L. c., Vol. II., p. 248. In addition to the words of John von Müller, given in the text, we will add the remarkable and weighty passage from *Savigny*, L. c., Vol. I., p. 361:

"This affair cannot be regarded as an usurpation of the rights of the Eastern Emperor, who was himself but an usurper in Italy. For it should not be forgotten that the Greeks, instead of wishing to restore this half of the empire, which they had already lost, to its former condition, treated Italy as a conquered province and with excessive harshness, refusing to recognise her ancient dignity, or to restore her former constitution and power. Such being the condition of affairs, the assertion that the Frankish king exercised a sort of suzerainty over this country is simply inadmissible. The truth is, the Pope was himself the representative of an authority which rested on an entirely independent title," etc.

Charles A. Menzel, Hist. of the Germans, Book III., chap. 16, Vol. I., p. 448, says: "It is impossible either to question the right or to doubt the justice of the donation. For, from the time that Belisarius and Narses conquered Italy, this country had never been considered by the court of Constantinople as part of the empire, or one of the seats of government, but, on the contrary had been regarded as a conquered province. On what ground, then, could the tyrants of the East claim back conquests which had already passed into other hands, and which they could neither govern nor defend? Judging from the tone of certain modern historians, it would seem that, by some Providential arrangement, all the countries of Europe, as far as the Rhine and the Danube, should be for ever subject to the Byzantine yoke, and that any attempt to get rid of this yoke would be an unpardonable sin. Rome accomplished under her bishops what other nations accomplished under their kings. She seized a favourable moment to shake off the yoke of a stranger, and sunder unnatural relations. There is neither a European prince nor people able to advance claims to the possession of territory stronger than those of Rome; she had asserted her freedom, and maintained it for a century. Besides this unimpeachable title, there is still another, not indeed of equal importance, but still perfectly valid, viz., the title of retaliation. The Greek Emperor had seized the estates of the Church situated in Lower Italy, and, having done so, the Pope could not refuse to accept them as an indemnification for what he had lost.

"The impartial testimony of *Herder* confirms the above: 'Were all the emperors, kings,

In the year 800, during the pontificate of Leo III. (A. D. 795-816), Charlemagne came to Rome, and, on Christmas day, placed upon the tomb of St. Peter the "*Donation*" made by his father and increased by himself, and received the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope. Thus was laid the foundation of an institution which has no parallel in history, but which was hinted at, centuries before, by Pope *Gelasius*.¹

§ 166. *Foundation of the Christian German or Restoration of the Roman Empire of the West.*

Phillips, Hist. of Germ., Vol. II., §§ 47, 48; Relation of the Pope with the Emperor, p. 253 sq. *Giesebrecht*, Hist. of the Times of the German Emperors, Vol. I., 2nd. ed., p. 121 sq. *Ficker*, The German Empire, in its Universal and National Relations, Innsbr., 1861. *Niehues*, Hist. of the Relations between the Empire and the Papacy, Münster, 1863, Vol. I., p. 545-593. "*What is the Empire?*" (Hist. Polit. Papers, Vol. 31, p. 665-704.) *Döllinger*, Exit of the Old Empire in the West (Munich Hist. Annuary, for 1865). †*Kampschulte*, Hist. of the Middle Ages, Bonn, 1864.

The establishment of the Germano-Roman Empire was not the result of any well-conceived plan devised by man, but rather the consequence of a series of *providential circumstances*. This view seems to be borne out by its subsequent history and the great and exceptional influence it exercised upon succeeding events. The assertion advanced by certain authors, that the establishment of this empire consisted in simply *transferring* to the West the imperial dignity of the East, cannot be sustained,² because the rights and prerogatives of the Greek emperors were in no sense impaired by the elevation of Charlemagne. It was neither more nor less than a *restoration* of the Western Empire; and, though a *purely political institution*, possessed characteristics *peculiar to itself*.

Pope Stephen had bestowed upon Pepin the title of *Patricius* or

princes, and cavaliers of Christendom obliged to make good the claims by which they rose to power, then might the man (the Pope) wearing the triple crown and adored at Rome, borne aloft upon the shoulders of peaceable priests, bless them, and say: 'Without me, you would not be what you are.' The Popes have preserved antiquity, and Rome should remain the peaceful sanctuary of the precious treasures of the past.' (Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind, Stuttg., 1827, et seq., in 16 Parts, Vol. IV., p. 108.)

"Even Napoleon I., when a prisoner on the island of St. Helena, said of the States of the Church: '*Ages have called them into existence, and it is a blessing that they have done so.*'"

"*Pius IX.*, in a letter written lately to the Bishop of Würzburg, made this straightforward and irrefragable statement: 'It is well known to all that the Bishops of Rome came into possession of their temporal power by *disposition of Divine Providence*, to the end that they might exercise the *functions of their office more effectually, and without hindrance, in all countries.*'"

¹ See Vol. I., p. 454.

² *Bellarminus*, S.J., De translatione (?) imperii a Græcis ad Francos advers. Flacium Illyr., libb. III., Antv., 1589, and in Opp. omn. Even *Döllinger*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 153, says: "The empire, the supreme authority of which was transferred to Charlemagne, was one which united the *eastern* and *western* parts of the Roman Empire," etc. (Tr.)

Protector of the Roman Church,¹ but when the latter was once in the full exercise of the functions which that title implied, the transition to the more imposing name of "*Emperor*" was easy and natural. Hence, Leo III. actually bestowed the imperial crown upon Charles, on Christmas day, in the year 800, amid the joyful acclamations of the people, who cried out: "*Long life and success to the good Charles Augustus, the pacific Emperor of the Romans, whom God has crowned.*" The Pope, having anointed his forehead with holy oil, was the first to pay homage to the new emperor.

The august ceremony did not, indeed, confer upon the emperor any new grant of power, but it added a fresh lustre and a divine sanction to his authority. This act simply restored the relations which had existed between the Pope and the Emperor in the days of Theodosius. Although established on quite a different basis, and with a very different scope,² still everything—even the coins, seals, and inscriptions—proclaimed that it was only a *restoration of the Western Empire* (*Renovatio Imperii*). Charlemagne frequently and publicly avowed that this sudden elevation was a surprise to him, and that he was at a loss to account for it; but he soon came to regard it as a *providence of God*, carried into effect by the visible Head of the Church.³

The establishment of the Western Empire put an end to the conflicts of the migratory Germanic tribes, and served as the *keystone* of the great political fabric into which the Germanic States were *consolidated*. Each of the Germanic nations, possessing individual and well-defined traits of character, and holding as a political axiom the principle that every commonwealth should be an outgrowth and expression of these distinctive traits, would consent to no system of centralization, if the empire representing such did not itself recognise some *superior and universal power*, which might form a point of contact and a centre of union for all. They all recognised the Church as such, and hence, the Western Empire, being established on a thoroughly Christian basis, was called "*The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.*" The belief of the ancient Romans, that their empire was destined to endure for all time and bring all the nations of the world under *one law*, was analogous to the promise contained in the Gospel, that all the followers of Christ should be gathered into *one fold* and under *one Shepherd*.

The object, therefore, of the Church in establishing the empire, was to unite all nations by the one bond of Christian fellowship, and

¹ *Patricius*, i. e. as *Savigny* says in his *Hist. of Roman Law* in the *M. A.*, Vol. I., p. 360, a lieutenant or governor with an independent power, such as had hitherto been exercised by the exarch of Ravenna. See *Palma*, *Præl. h. e.*, T. II., c. VII., p. 59-68, "*De Romano Patriciatu.*" *Gregorovius*, *Hist. of Rome*, Vol. II., p. 503-513.

² Cf. *Pagii*, *Critica in annal. Baronii* ad a. 800, and *ab Elchart*, *Francia orient.*, T. II., p. 7.

³ It is therefore Charles called himself *Carolus, divino nutu coronatus, Romanum gerens imperium, serenissimus Augustus*. *Capit. addit. ad leg. Longobard.* (*Baluz.*, T. I., p. 247); again, a *Deo Coronatus*. (*Baluz.*, T. I., pp. 341, 345.)

she impressed upon the mind of the Emperor the conviction that he was called of God to act as mediator and pacificator among all the States of Christendom. Hence, owing to the peculiar and intimate relations of the Emperor to the Church, and, in virtue of the command of Christ,¹ he had, in a certain sense, a duty to bring the *Pagan States of the West*² within the limits of his authority, that they might in this way be converted to Christianity. Charlemagne, too, seems to have been fully impressed with this great idea, and to have endeavoured to carry it into effect by forming a family alliance with the imperial house of the East, which he foresaw would bring all the kingdoms of the earth within the limits of his empire. It was never expected, however, that this *universal empire* (*Imperium mundi*) should confer upon him actual territorial jurisdiction, but only a *supremacy of honour and authority* over all other sovereigns. On the other hand, it was a duty incumbent on him, above all other princes, to honour and defend the Church, to maintain her rights and prerogatives, and to set an example of fidelity to other sovereigns. Hence, Charlemagne, inspired with a thoroughly Christian sentiment, styled himself the *devoted defender and humble protector of the Holy Church* and of the *Apostolic Roman See*.³ Still, it should be borne in mind that neither was subject to the other, but that their relations were mutually *co-ordinate*, each rendering and receiving homage in his own sphere, and hence, they gave each other the kiss on the mouth, an ancient form of salutation (adoration), expressive of mutual homage. The *oath of fealty* (*fidelitas*), therefore, which the Emperor took to the Pope, as the Head of the Church, was simply a solemn expression of respect and reverence to his person, and was precisely the same in character as that taken by the Pope to the Emperor. Moreover, the authority of the Pope over Rome and the States of the Church, as they had been established during the course of the eighth century, remained, after the coronation of Charlemagne, just what it had been before—neither greater nor less. But the Pope, having acknowledged Charlemagne as supreme temporal ruler, was obliged, as sovereign of the States of the Church, equally with all other secular princes, to recognise the imperial supremacy of the Emperor over Rome and the Roman States. Apart from this general supervision of the interests of the Church, there was still a more particular sense in which the Emperor might take upon him to look after her concerns ;

¹ Matt. xxviii. 18.

² Conf. Eichhorn, Hist. of the German States and their Laws, Vol. I., § 36.

³ Ego Carolus gratia Dei ejusque misericordia donante Rex et rector regni Francorum et devotus sanctæ ecclesiæ defensor humilisque adjutor, in the præfatio Capitular., lib. I. (Baluz., T. I., p. 475.) In like manner do the bishops, assembled at Mentz (813), address him thus : Gloriosissimo et christianissimo Imp. Carol. Aug. veræ religionis rectori ac defensori St. Dei ecclesiæ, etc. (Harzheim, T. I., p. 405.) Cf. capitulum de honoranda sede apostolica, a. 801 : In memoriam beati Petri Apostoli honoremus sanctam Rom. et apostol. sedem, ut quæ nobis sacerdotalis mater est dignitatis, esse debeat magistra ecclesiasticæ rationis. Quare servanda est cum mansuetudine humilitas, ut licet vix ferendum ab illa sancta sede imponatur jugum, feramus et pia devotione toleremus. (Baluz., T. I., p. 255.)

for, being Patricius of Rome, or defender and guardian of the Church's political and secular rights, he might exercise a certain immediate jurisdiction in Rome. Difficulties having shortly arisen between the two, in consequence of the excessive claims of each, it became necessary to define more precisely the limits of their respective rights. This, in fact, was no more than a dictate of prudence; for, *being the representatives of divine authority*, and commissioned to work in harmony, *in parallel lines of action*—the one for the corporal, the other for the spiritual welfare of Christian nations—mutually sustaining and aiding each other in the great work of leading mankind on to its appointed destiny, it was but natural that, before entering upon the duties of their respective offices,¹ *they should reciprocally recognise and be ready to respect each other's rights.*

The Pope, having invested Charlemagne with the imperial dignity, and sanctioned his universal supremacy in the eyes of the Christian world, reserved to himself, for the future, the *right of crowning Christian emperors*. The Emperor, on the other hand, in virtue of the alliance between the Church and the Empire, and, by the authority of precedents, obtained the privilege of confirming the election of the Head of the Church.

CHAPTER III.

RELIGIOUS LIFE—THE CLERGY—DISCIPLINE.

† *Ozanam*, Establishment of Christianity in Germany, and the moral and spiritual Education of the Germans. Transl. from the French into German, Munich, 1845; in his *Œuvres complètes*, 8 vols., Paris, 1855-1856, Vol. IV. (Tr.)

§ 167. Religious Life.

To give an idea of the perfection to which the evangelical counsels were carried during this epoch, it will be sufficient to enumerate a

¹ The following are the words of the Council of Paris, held A. D. 829, capitular. lib. V., cap. 319: *Principaliter itaque St. Dei ecclesiæ corpus in duas eximias personas: in sacerdotalem videlicet et regalem, sicut a SS. Patribus traditum accepimus, divisum esse novimus. De qua re Gelasius, Rom. Sedis venerab. Episcopus, ad Anastasium Imperat. ita scribit: duæ sunt quippe imperatrices augustæ, quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur: auctoritas sacrata Pontificum et regalis potestas, in quibus tanto gravius pondus est Sacerdotum, quanto etiam pro ipsis Regibus hominum in divino reddituri sunt examine rationem. (Harduin, T. II., p. 893. Mansi, T. VIII., p. 31. Cf. our Ch. H., Vol. I., p. 454.) Fulgentius quoque in libro de veritate prædest. et gratiæ ita scribit, lib. II., c. 22: Quantum pertinet ad hujus temporis vitam, in ecclesia nemo Pontifice potior et in sæculo christiano Imperatore nemo celsior invenitur. (Max. bibl. T. IX., p. 247; also Baluz., T. I., p. 595, and T. II., p. 807 sq.) Although this passage, in its partial application, be in fact *pseudo-Isidorian*, still it contains nothing but what was then the *generally received view*. The words of the epitaph written by Charlemagne for Pope Hadrian are very significant:—*

Nomina jungo simul titulis, Clarissime, nostra:
Hadrianus Carolus, Rex ego, tuque Pater.

few of the glorious names which history has enshrined and the Church holds in honour. These are Patrick, Columba, Augustine, Columbanus, Gall, Severin, Valentine, Kilian, Emmeram, Rupert, Corbinian, Boniface, Ludger, Willehad, Viho, and Hadumar, among missionaries and national apostles; and among those holy monks and abbots who spent their lives in the retirement of their monasteries, training up hosts of saintly and devoted souls, through whose labours and influence the spirit of true religious life and solid piety was infused into the masses of the people, the great names of Gregory of Utrecht, Sturm of Fulda, Venerable Bede, and many others, deserve honourable mention.

But the corruption prevalent among men of every condition and rank, from kings—and notably those of the Merovingian dynasty—down to the meanest of their subjects, forms a shocking and repulsive contrast, when placed side by side with this life of evangelical perfection. The account of it which has come down to us from the pen of *Gregory of Tours* is simply startling.¹ But between these two extremes of perfection and profligacy, there is a third phase, representing the everyday life of the German people. These were still full of the strong vigour of youth, enthusiastic and warlike, passionately fond of the pleasures of pagan feasts and given to idolatry, obstinately attached to their ancient customs and the votaries of magic, divination, necromancy, and other superstitious and inhuman practices.

But the Church, in the meantime, not forgetting her holy mission, went about her work as became the Spouse of Christ, dispensing her treasures of divine grace, teaching her children to be virtuous, sending her missionaries into every land to instruct, to consecrate, and to direct, making herself all things to all men, that she might gain all and ennoble all. She alone was capable of preserving a sense of the true and the good in these barbarous people, so abruptly brought into contact with a corrupt and an effete civilization. But, while possessing this strong but vague and undeveloped sense of the true, their mental habits were so out of harmony with the methods of Christian thought, that they were at first incapable of receiving more than the most elementary and meagre Gospel-teaching concerning the *existence of God, the immortality of the soul, the everlasting happiness of heaven, and the endless torments of hell*. The great and essential truths of Christianity, such as the doctrine of justification in Jesus Christ, the doctrine of grace, and the counsels of Christian perfection, were quite beyond and above the comprehension of the bulk of the people. The tendency in this people to set a great value on the things of earth, and to judge of everything as it appeared to the senses, will sufficiently account for their desire to see the Head of the Church and

¹ Löbell, *Gregory of Tours and his Age*, (Lps., 1835). *Krit. De Gregorii Turon. vita et scriptis*. Vratisl., 1848.

their bishops the equals of secular¹ princes, and for the sacrifices which they were willing to make to carry this desire into effect. The Church, therefore, saw herself obliged either to exercise a certain condescension and forbearance in dealing with the deeply-seated pagan prejudices of these rude people, or to give up altogether their education and their future. This consideration will also sufficiently explain why, in spite of many and emphatic remonstrances, the Church was unable to eradicate at once the Pagan trials by ordeal, or, as they were called, *judgments of God*. She at first exerted her influence and authority to abolish such of the ordeals as could not be practised without *imminent danger to the life* of the contestants, by *substituting the oath* in their stead wherever possible. The ceremony of taking the oath was surrounded with circumstances at once impressive and solemn. It was performed in *church*² and accompanied with religious rites; and the innocence of the person on trial was attested by seven sworn witnesses or *compurgators* (the “*septima manus*” or “*conjuratores*”), taken from his immediate neighbours and bearing reputations of unimpeachable honesty.

But wherever it was impossible either to abolish ordeals or substitute in their stead other modes of trial, the Church assumed the charge of conducting them, and, following the precedent of St. Peter,³ entered upon them only after having commended the cause of the accused to God in solemn *prayer*. So universal was the practice of trial by ordeal, that provisions for it were incorporated among the laws of Charlemagne—a circumstance which rendered its abolition a long and difficult task.⁴

¹ There is a very characteristic example of this popular prejudice in favour of a showy exterior, even as late as the twelfth century. The Spanish priest, *Bernhard*, who had been sent as a missionary into Pomerania, was treated with great disrespect by the inhabitants because of his humble and unprepossessing exterior. They could not conceive why the Lord of heaven and earth should be pleased to have a beggar as his representative.

John von Müller, speaking on the same subject, says very justly: “Barbarians are quite incapable of appreciating what does not fall within the province of the senses. Their bishops, therefore, should display a certain magnificence, and their solitaries be distinguished by deeds of extraordinary power, if they would exert any influence over them.” (*Hist. of Switzerland*, Stuttg., 1832, 16mo, Pt. I., p. 138.)

² *Omne sacramentum in ecclesia juretur*, is enjoined by a *capitulaire* of the year 744, c. 14. On the so-called *cojurors* as a means of proving anything in favour of the accused, see *Harzheim*, *Conc. Germ.*, T. I., p. 366.

³ *Acts*, i. 24.

⁴ These *ordeals* or judgments of God (from the ancient German *or*, great, and *dale* or *daele*, part, portion, lot, or deal, = German *Urtheil*) are to be found among all nations. They were practised among the Greeks and Romans, in China, Japan, and East India, but particularly among the *Germans*, of whom *Tacitus* (*German.*, c. 10) says: “*Auspicia sortisque ut qui maxime observant*,” etc. These people were so attached to them that it seemed almost impossible to correct the abuse. Hence, *Luitprand*, King of Lombardy, declared: “*Incerti sumus de judiciis Dei, et multos audivimus per pugnam sine justitia causam suam perdere; sed propter consuetudinem gentis nostræ legem impiam vitare non possumus.*”

The judgments of God were undoubtedly based on the belief that there existed a moral order in the universe; and on the conviction that God would interfere, if necessary, to declare the guilt or innocence of the one on trial. And the stronger the faith of individuals and of whole nations in the power and presence of God, the more will they be inclined to appeal *directly to Him to decide* what cannot be ascertained by any other means. The

§ 168. *The Clergy—Their Canonical Life—The Monks.*

Thomassini, Vet. et nova eccl. Disc., Pt. I., lib. III., c. 2-9.—†August. Theiner, Hist. of Eccl. Educational Institutions, p. 20-49. *Chrodegangi, Regula*, in *Mansi*, T. XIV., p. 313 sq.; in *Harzheim*, T. I., p. 96; in *Walter*, *Fontes juris eccl.*, p. 21-46. *Conf. Pauli*, *Diac. gesta episcoporum Metens.* (*Pertz*, T. II., p. 267 sq.) *Friedrich*, *Ch. H. of Germany*, Vol. II., p. 114-147. †*Ginzell*, *The Canonical Life of the Clergy*, Ratisb., 1851.

To reform the coarse habits and vulgar manners of the Germans required a clergy at once able, learned, and faithful. *Gregory the*

judgments of God gave rise to many abuses and superstitions; but undoubtedly the most dangerous of these was the practice of presumptuously challenging or trying God, by calling upon Him to manifest Himself by some external sign, and to decide in the most trivial affairs, simply because it was the will of man that He should do so. Cf. *Isaias*, vii. 12.

Neither is it unlikely that the Germans may have appealed to—1. *Holy Writ*, in defence of their Pagan practice, as there are certain passages, both of the Old and New Testaments, which seemingly countenance it. Such are those in which God is represented as immediately declaring His judgment, manifesting His pleasure or displeasure, conferring reward or inflicting punishment, when the circumstances are of sufficient importance to warrant this gracious interference. There are, for example, the passages which relate to the sacrifice of Abel and Cain (Gen. iv. 4); to the Flood (Gen. vii.); to the destruction of Sodom (Gen. xix.); to the sudden punishment of Core, Dathan, and Abiron (Numb. xvi.), and of Ananias and Saphira (Acts, v. 1);—or in which the decision of God is asked in prayer, as, for example, where instructions are given to apply the so-called water of jealousy (Numb. v. 12, 31); in the election of an Apostle to take the place of Judas (Acts, i. 15-25); and many similar passages. Again, 2. The great number of miracles, which always accompany the preaching of the Gospel and the introduction of Christianity into heathen lands, and which were of great frequency during the agitated period of the migrations, tended to familiarize men's minds with the manifestations of divine power, and to give them a sort of assurance that God would interfere to make known the guilt or innocence of those who appealed to Him in the ordeal.

They failed, however, to observe an important distinction between the mode of divine manifestations as related in Holy Writ, and as shown forth in miracles, and that, according to which He was supposed to act in ordeals. In the first instance, He made known His pleasure, not because it was man's will that He should do so, but His own, or because He graciously deigned to hear and answer a fervent prayer; in the second, He was expected to render a decision, not in answer to a prayer, or because it pleased Him to do so, but simply at the bidding of man.

As has been said above, the Church did now and then tolerate trial by ordeal, but always in humble submission to the will of God, and in the sense just stated. She would not have tolerated this manner of trial at all, had it not been impossible to abolish the practice at once. Pope Gregory the Great and Nicholas I., Agobard (Archbishop of Lyons), and Atto of Vercelli, and many councils, made most strenuous, but ineffectual, exertions to have the judgments of God discontinued. So general was the practice of settling the question of guilt or innocence by this method, that we find it recommended in a Frankish Capitulary of the year 809: "Ut omnes judicio Dei credant absque dubitatione." (*Baluz*, T. I., p. 332.)

The forms of ordeal tolerated were those of lots, of hot and cold water, and of the cross; the walking barefoot over a number of red-hot ploughshares, and the carrying of a red-hot iron in the hands; the taking of the blessed morsel, and the reception of the Eucharist; the judgment of the bier, etc. (Cf. *du Fresne*, *Glossarium*, s. v. *Sors Sanctorum*, *Campiones*, etc.)

The Synod of Valence, A. D. 855, c. 12, reprobates in emphatic language the duel as a form of ordeal: "Iniquissima ac detestabilis quarundam sæcularium legum."

The rules of the Church, setting forth the permissible forms of trial by ordeal, may be found in the "Ordo diffusior probandi homines de crimine suspectos per ignitos vomeres, candens ferrum, aquam ferventem seu frigidam," in *Pez*, *Thesaurus anecdotorum*, T. II., p. 2, and in *Mansi*, T. XVIII., p. 353. Their vindication by *Hincmar* of Rheims, in his opp. T. II., p. 676. Cf. *Phillips*, *Hist. of Germ.*, Vol. I., p. 246-267. *Dasu*, *Studies on the Hist. of the German Ordeals*, Munich, 1857.

Great was the first to undertake the task of training a clergy of this character and standard. Having so changed and adapted his ancestral palace as to make it serve at once the purpose of a monastery and a seminary, he gathered about him a number of generous souls—some of whom were still in the flower of youth, and longed for the happiness of serving the altar of God ; while others, already grown gray in the service of the Church, desired to close their lives under a religious rule, and divide their last days between intellectual labours, watching, and the exercises of a religious life.

From this nursery of learning and piety came forth, among others, *Augustine* and *Mellitus*, the apostles of Great Britain, who founded in that island institutions closely resembling that of Gregory. These monastic institutions, which rapidly spread throughout *England*,¹ diffused the light of learning and holiness among the inhabitants of the districts in which they were set up, and, gradually extending their influence, were instrumental in bringing the same blessings upon the continent of Europe.

At the request of many bishops, and in obedience to a number of synodal decrees, many seminaries were established in *Spain* during the course of the sixth century. Those of France and Germany were established by English missionaries, of whom *St. Boniface* was, beyond all question, the most active, energetic, and efficient. The biographer of *St. Solus* (c. A. D. 970) says that it is the peculiar happiness of the College of *St. Boniface* to have been the nursery “whence went forth the flower of the episcopacy, the priesthood, and the diaconate.” These efforts towards the formation of a good clergy were fully entered into and ably seconded by *Chrodegang*, Bishop of Metz (c. A. D. 760). In order to exercise a more direct influence upon the studies and morals of his clergy, this bishop, following the example of *St. Augustine*, and in obedience to the instructions of the fourth Council of Toledo, assembled them about his cathedral church and subjected them to the rules and observances of *canonical life*. Ecclesiastics who led this sort of life, and who were on this account called *canonici*, were under the immediate supervision of the bishops, recited the office in choir, devoted themselves to the study of science, ate in the same dining-room, and slept in a common dormitory. As a rule, the bishop alone provided for their support. This manner of life spread rapidly throughout France, Germany, and Italy, where it was adopted, not alone by the clergy of cathedral churches, but by those of the larger parishes also—a fact which accounts for the origin of *collegiate churches*. But the clergy, in spite of these noble efforts and auspicious beginnings, continued, in many instances, the slaves of the coarse morals of the age. Bishops and priests, instead of devoting themselves to the duties of their state and looking after the salvation of their flocks, might be seen engaged in the profession of arms,

¹ Of all the monasteries in England, *Venerable Bede* (Hist. Eccl. Anglor., lib. III., c. 2) bestows special praise on that of *Ianwor*, which, at the opening of the seventh century, contained twelve hundred monks.

indulging in the pleasures of the chase, and lending the authority of their presence to undignified farces and unbecoming spectacles. Complaints grew more frequent, prohibitions more numerous and of less avail. The *ordinationes absolute*, or the taking of orders with the understanding that an ecclesiastical benefice, or a place at some church, would not be required—a practice contrary to the letter and spirit of the ancient canons—now gave occasion to the most deplorable scandals. A portion of the clergy, in some countries, were so utterly destitute of the very elements of learning and general culture that it was found necessary to reduce the standard of fitness for taking orders to the lowest possible requirements. *The standard had fallen so low*, at one time, that the candidate for orders was only required to recite from memory the “Apostles’ Creed,” the “Our Father,” and the formulæ used in the administration of the Sacraments, and to be able to give a translation and an explanation of these prayers in the vulgar tongue.¹

Some, destitute of every qualification which could recommend them as fit candidates for the ecclesiastical state, and still desirous of coming into possession of the lucrative positions within the gift of the Church, had recourse to more dishonourable means to accomplish their ends, and purchased by bribery what they could not reach by merit. Having risen to wealth and position by *simony*,² their after-life was of a piece with this sacrilegious dishonesty, and stained with the sins of immorality and *concubinage*.³ The theory maintained in the seventeenth century by the Presbyterians, in a controversy with the Episcopalians, that the *Culdean* priests or canons rejected clerical celibacy, has been proved to have no foundation in history, and is equally at variance with Holy Scripture and the practice of the Church of Rome.⁴

Charlemagne, conceiving it to be his paramount duty to raise the standard of education and the tone of morality among the clergy, who should be the salt of the earth and the light of the world, took counsel of the ecclesiastical authorities, and, *with their advice and concurrence*, enacted severe laws for the suppression of clerical disorders;⁵ taking

¹ *Conc. Cloveshov*, a. 747, can. 10 (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 1455; *Mansi*, T. XII., p. 398) capitul. a. 789, c. 68 (*Baluz.*, T. I., p. 172). Conf. responsa Stephan. II. in *Harduin*, T. III., p. 1987, can. 13, 14.

² Even Gregory the Great had occasion to take measures for the suppression of this practice, epp. lib. XI., ep. 60, Theodeberto regi Francorum: Itaque Excellentia vestra Dei nostri mandatis inhaerens, studium ad congregandam Synodum pro sua mercede adhibere dignetur, ut omne a sacerdotibus corporale vitium et *simoniaca heresis*, quæ prima in ecclesiis iniqua ambitione surrexit, potestatis vestre imminente censura, concilii definitione tollatur, et abscissa radicitus amputetur: ne si plus illic *aurum* quam Deus diligitur, etc. (opp. T. II., p. 1146.) Conf. epp. lib. XI., ep. 61, 63.

³ *Gregor. M.*, Epp. lib. IX., ep. 106 (T. II., pp. 1010, 1011). Capitulare I. a. 802, cap. 24 (*Baluz.*, T. I., p. 264).

⁴ Cf. *Friedrich*, Vol. II., p. 135 sq. Also, the account of the literature given there.

⁵ Many of the Capitularies begin with one of the following clauses: *Apostolica sedis hortatione; Monente Pontifice; Ex præcepto Pontificis*. The following is the prohibition against hunting, capitul. a. 769, c. 3: *Omnibus servis Dei venationes et sylvaticas vagationes cum canibus, et ut accipitres et falcones non habeant, interdicimus.* (*Baluz.*, T. I.,

special care himself to do nothing which might be regarded as an infringement of the already existing statutes. Thus, for example, though he had passed a decree, at the Diet of Aix-la-Chapelle (A. D. 802), prescribing the manner of proceeding against accused ecclesiastics, having afterwards learned that Pope Gregory II. had already given instructions relative to the same matter, he at once withdrew his own decree, and, at the following Diet of Worms, declared that the case was beyond his competency, and that he placed it entirely in the hands of the bishops.

In order the better to provide for the spiritual wants of his people, he abolished the defective and falsified collection of homilies then in use, and commissioned *Paul the Deacon* to compile another,¹ from the writings of St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom, St. Leo and St. Gregory the Great. These homilies were intended to serve both as a resource for the less educated among the clergy, and as *models* for the more talented and cultivated. But the strictness with which he required the clergy to observe the so-called "*Capitulary of Interrogation*" contributed, perhaps, more than anything else, to remind them of their august state, and to impress upon them a proper sense of their exalted duties.² He, too, was chiefly instrumental in having the *five great councils* convoked, which assembled, almost simultaneously (A. D. 813), at the cities of Arles, Rheims, Mentz, Tours, and Châlons-sur-Saône. The canons of these councils, which did so much towards correcting the abuses and elevating the moral tone of the clergy, were confirmed by a Capitulary passed at the Diet of Aix-la-Chapelle. Finally, Charlemagne, having a high esteem of the manner of life introduced by Chrodegang, commanded that all ecclesiastics should be either monks or canons.³ His son, Louis, was equally zealous for the observance of the same rule of life, and, at the *Council of Aix-la-Chapelle* (A. D. 816), laboured to introduce community life among the clergy everywhere throughout the Frankish Empire. This he did to destroy that condition of servile dependence which marked the relations of the lower clergy to their

pp. 135, 136.) Capitul. a. 802, c. 19. And the Cap. of the year 769, c. 1, is directed against carrying arms and engaging in war. Against plays, see *Lorentz's* Life of Alcuin, p. 150.

¹ The collection of Homilies (Homiliarium) was first printed at Spire, A. D. 1482; again at Basle, A. D. 1493. Charlemagne says, in the Preface: Curæ nobis est ut ecclesiarum nostrarum ad meliora semper proficiat status, obliteratam pæne literarum reparare satagimus officinam, et ad pernoscentiam sacrorum librorum studia nostro etiam quod possumus invitare exemplo. Inter quæ jam pridem universos V. ac N. T. libros, librorum imperitia depravatos, ad amussim correximus. Conf. *Ranke's* Hist. of the *Homiliarium* of Charlemagne, Studies and Criticisms, year 1855, p. 382-396.

² *Capitulare interrogationis* de iss, quæ Carolus M. pro communi omnium utilitate interroganda constituit. Capitul. I. et II., a. 811 (*Baluz.*, T. I., p. 327 sq.) Conf. *Möhler*, Charlemagne and his Bishops; the Synod of Mentz, A. D. 813. (Tüb. Quart., 1824, p. 367-427.)

³ After many prior enactments, such as the Capitul. Aquisgr., A. D. 789, c. 71, it is said in Capitul. I., A. D. 805, c. 9: Ut omnes clerici unum de duobus eligant; aut pleniter secundum canonicam aut secundum regularem institutionem vivere debeant. (*Baluz.*, T. I., p. 296.)

bishops, the latter of whom conducted themselves more like political masters than fatherly pastors.

The *monks* of this epoch were, in truth, the propagators of Christianity, the dispensers of its blessings, the *pioneers of civilization*, the instructors of the people, and the guardians and fosterers of science. If, in addition to this, we contrast their life of austerity, their zeal, and their works of charity with the effeminacy and dissoluteness of the secular clergy, we shall be at no loss to account for the feelings of respect, reverence, and love with which the people regarded them, or for the abundant liberality of which they were the object. Princes bestowed upon them considerable tracts of land in fief, and protected these gifts against pillage by stringent laws. Popes, too, conceded to them extraordinary privileges and immunities. The abbot, although not entirely exempt from episcopal supervision, derived his authority directly from Rome, and enjoyed a degree of consideration nearly, if not quite, equal to that enjoyed by the bishop himself. Unfortunately, however, after the death of *Charles Martel*, the abuse gradually crept in, of setting over monasteries lay abbots,¹ whose morals ill-accommoded with the purity of life required in persons holding their office. These were called *Abbacomites*, in contradistinction to *abbates legitimi*. The Rule generally followed by the monks was that of St. Benedict, which *Columbanus*, *Isidore*, Bishop of Seville, *Fructuosus*, Bishop of Braga, and *St. Boniface* had wisely modified to suit the altered circumstances of people and country.²

§ 169. *Penance and Discipline.* Cf. §§ 90 and 138.

Theodori. Archiep. Cantuar. (†690) *Pœnitentiale*, ed. cum notis Jac. Petiti. Parisiis, 1679. (Collectio conciliorum *Labbei*, T. VI.; *Harduin*, T. III.; *Mansi*, T. XII.) *Halitgarus* (†831), de vitiis et virtutib. et ordine pœnitentium, libb. V. (Max. Biblioth., T. XIV., together with the *Præfatio ad Pœnitentiale Roman.* *Canisii* Lect. antiq., T. II., Pt. II., p. 81-142.) *Regino Prumiensis*, de *Disciplina ecclesiastica veterum*, præsertim Germanor., libb. II. (: ter 899), operâ et studio Joach. *Hildebrandi*. Helmst., 1659, 4to : ed *Baluz.*, Paris, 1671; ed. *Wasserschleben.*, Lps., 1840. †*Kunstmann*, the Latin Penitential Books of the Anglo-Saxons. Mentz, 1844. *Wasserschleben*, The Penitential Ordinances of the Western Church, Halle, 1851, with an excellent Historical Introduction.

The ancient system of *penance*, which exercised so direct and beneficial an influence in elevating and purifying the manners of the Germans, underwent certain modifications on being introduced among them, rendered necessary by the traits of character peculiar to the people.

Heretofore, penitents were permitted to confess their sins more or less frequently, as the piety and devotion of each might prompt; but now, they were commanded, by positive law, to confess uniformly more frequently than formerly. Chrodegang prescribed that canons should confess to their bishops at least twice a year, and laymen oftener. Excellent regulations for administering the sacrament of

¹ Conf. *du Cange*, Glossar. mediæ et infimæ latinitatis, s. v. *Abbacomites*.

² The regulæ *Columbani*, etc., in *Holstenius-Brockie*, T. I., p. 166. Conf. *Montalembert*, The Monks of the West, Vols. II. and III.

penance, formed on earlier models,¹ were issued, containing judicious instructions on the mode of treating and directing penitents so that they might derive the greatest amount of profit from their reception of the sacrament. These *penance-books* are of very early origin, some dating back as early as the fifth century, and were first used by the British and Irish, among whom that of *Vinnianus* was the best known. *St. Columbanus* († A. D. 615) composed a penance-book for the Frankish kingdom, to which, during the seventh and eighth centuries, were added some canons of the Frankish councils. It was again enlarged by *Halitygar*, Archbishop of Cambrai and Arras, who added what is known as the *sixth* book.

Of the penance-books composed in England, those of *Theodore*, Archbishop of Canterbury († A. D. 690); of his disciple, Venerable *Bede* († A. D. 735), who had written on the subject before the death of his master; and of *Egbert*, Archbishop of York († A. D. 767), were the best known and most generally used. By the *systematic arrangement* of the materials contained in these works, a new and very valuable penance-book was compiled, the author of which is supposed to have been Venerable Bede. Something on the same plan was accomplished in the Frankish Empire, probably by *Commeanus*, who also made the Anglo-Saxon penance-books the basis of his work. The best printed collection of them is that of *Wasserschleben*.

It was the duty of the *Synodal Courts* to see that the ordinances with regard to confession were carried into effect. The bishop was required to preside once a year over an ecclesiastical court in each parish of his diocese. Seven persons were chosen from among the most trustworthy members of each community, who were called synodal witnesses, or deans (*testes synodales, decani*), and constituted a sort of *jury*, an institution which the Germans always had recourse to when a man's character was on trial, and which they wished to see adopted in the ecclesiastical courts, in as far as such form of trial was admissible. The duty of these persons was to watch over the conduct of the parishioners, and to give a report to the bishop, on his arrival, of all those who had, during the past year, transgressed the laws. In the performance of this duty, they were instructed to have no regard of persons, but to denounce the guilty, whoever they might be. Their reports were made the basis of the judgments in every given case, and determined the quality of either the civil or ecclesiastical punishment.²

¹ See Vol. I., pp. 513, 514.

² Capitul. Carol. M. a. 769, c. 7: Statuimus, ut singulis annis unusquisque Episcopus parochiam suam sollicite circumbeat, et populum confirmare et plebes docere et investigare et prohibere paganas observationes, divinosque vel sortilegos, aut auguria, phylacteria, incantationes, vel omnes spurcicias gentilitium studeat. Capit. II., a. 813, c. 1: Ut Episcopi circumbeant parochias sibi commissas et ibi inquirendi studium habeant de incestu, de parricidiis, fratricidiis, adulteriis, canodoxiis et aliis malis, quæ Deo contraria sunt, quæ in sacris scripturis leguntur, quæ Christiani devitare debent. (*Baluz.*, T. I., p. 345.) Description of Synodal Courts in *Harzheim*, T. II., p. 511. *Dove*, The Frankish Synodal Courts (*Journal of Canon Law*, years 4 and 5).

The *Examination of Conscience*, so called, which formed a feature of these ecclesiastical courts, and included in the category of offences the various degrees and kinds of murder, unnatural lust, sacrilegious robbery, sorcery, divination, the eating of carcasses, and so on, is important and useful in enabling us to get a correct notion of the morality of the people during this epoch. Public sins were expiated by public penances. Conformably to the discipline which had been in use since the time of *Leo the Great*,¹ those who confessed their sins privately to the priest were privately and at once absolved: but on condition, however, that they should do works of penance and expiation for a *fixed period of time*.

But these penitential exercises were frequently commuted into long prayers, severe fasts, alms-deeds, the ransom of captives, and the like.² This change, as was natural among a rude and illiterate people, gave rise to a misapprehension of the real nature of penance, against which the Church was constantly obliged to guard. Hence, she never relaxed her endeavour to inculcate correct ideas on the nature and effects of the sacrament of penance, and to impress the faithful with a sense of the gravity and severity of the ancient penitential discipline.³ Whosoever refused to undergo ecclesiastical punishments, together with such as had committed great and flagrant crimes, were excommunicated by the Church and treated with corresponding severity by the State. They were declared incapable of bearing arms, denied the privilege of marrying, and were otherwise restricted in the exercise of their rights. If ecclesiastics, they were deprived of benefices or other positions of emolument, degraded, and cast into prison.

¹ See Vol. I., p. 513.

² Conf. *St. Bonifacii*, Statuta, A. D. 745. can. 31: Quia varia necessitate præpedimur, canonum statuta de reconciliandis penitentibus pleniter observare: propterea omnino non dimittatur. Curet unusquisque presbyter statim post acceptam confessionem penitentium, singulos data oratione reconciliari. Morientibus vero sine cunctamine communio et reconciliatio præbeatur. (*Mansi*, T. XII., p. 386, and capitular. lib. VI., c. 206, where, after presbyter, it is added: Jussione Episcopi de occultis tantum, quia de manifestis Episcopo semper convenit judicare. *Baluz.*, T. I., p. 641.)

³ Particularly important *Conc. Cloveshov*. II., a. 747. can. 26: Vicesimo sexto loco de utilitate eleemosynæ Patrum sententiæ prolatae sunt. Postremo igitur (sicuti nova adinventio, juxta placitum scilicet propriæ voluntatis suæ, nunc plurimis periculosa consuetudo est) non sit eleemosyna porrecta ad minuendam vel ad mutandam satisfactionem per jejunium et reliqua expiationis opera, a sacerdote Dei pro suis criminibus jure canonico indictam, sed magis ad augmentandam emendationem suam, ut eo citius placeat divinæ indignationis ira, quam suis provocavit sibi propriis meritis: et inter hæc sciat, quod quanto magis inlicita (illicita?) perpetravit, tanto magis a licitis se abstinere debet. (*Mansi*, T. XII., p. 404; *Harduin*, T. III., p. 1958.)—*Conc. Cabillon*. II. (Châlons), a. 813, can. 25: Penitentiam agere juxta antiquam canonum institutionem in plerisque locis ab usu recessit, et neque reconciliandi antiqui moris ordo servatur: ut a domino imperatore impetretur adiutorium, qualiter si quis publice peccat, publica mulctetur penitentia, et secundum ordinem canonum pro merito suo excommunicetur et reconcilietur, and can. 34: Neque enim pensanda est penitentia quantitate temporis, sed ardore mentis et mortificatione corporis. Cor autem contritum et humilitatum Deus non spernit. (*Mansi*, T. XIV., pp. 98, 100; *Harduin*, T. IV., p. 1036 sq.) Concerning the change, for instance, of fasting, into other good works, it is said in *Halitgar*, Lib. penitent.: Sed unusquisque attendat, cui dare debet, sive pro redemptione captivorum, sive super sanctum altare, sive pro pauperibus Christianis erogandum.

Both Church and State were especially vigilant in guarding against a return to the usages of Paganism and superstitious practices, and they pursued such as attempted anything of this nature with the utmost rigour.¹

The Church of Germany, at this time, had many points of resemblance to the *Old Testament theocracy*; for, in Germany, as formerly in Judea, the union of both Church and State was as absolutely necessary as are moral training and external discipline in any effective system of education for youth.

The mission and purpose of the Church would have been wholly misapprehended had she commenced her work among an untutored and barbarous people by preaching to them of a *religion of the spirit and of the interior freedom enjoyed by the children of God*. Such language could not have been comprehended, and her words would have returned to her void. Such a course would have destroyed her influence at the very outset.

But that the Church did *then*, as in all ages, retain a profound consciousness of the supreme and living significance of Christianity, is abundantly proved by the fact that numbers of her children realised, in the purity and holiness of their lives, her highest standard of Christian perfection; and by the further circumstance that many of her canons, enacted at this time, protest, again and again, that *external practices do not constitute the essential elements of true penance*, and that alms-giving is not more effective. The Council of Cloveshove stated, in reply to a wealthy person who applied for absolution from a great sin on the ground that he had given abundant alms, that if divine justice could be so propitiated, it would be in the power of the wealthy to do what Christ alone, and a participation in the work of His redemption, could effect.²

CHAPTER IV.

SCIENTIFIC LABOURS OF THE GERMANS.

The works of *Du Pin*, *Ceillier*, *Cave*, *Oudin*, T. I.; see Vol. I., p. 24, note 1. † *Hock* Gerbert, or Pope Sylvester II., Vienna, 1837, p. 17-22. *Staudenmaier*, *Scotus Erigena*, Pt. I., p. 295-298. *Alzog's Patrology*, 2nd ed., p. 413 sq.

§ 170. *General Character of Science during this Epoch.*

DURING the period comprised within the present epoch of the Middle Ages, when attempts were being made to adjust and consolidate what

¹ *Capitulare Caroli* Princ. a. 742, c. 5, and *Capitul. a.* 769, c. 6, conf. *Capitul. lib.* VI., c. 196, 197, 215; conf. *Phillips*, *Germ. Hist.*, Vol. II., p. 342 sq.

² *Conc. Cloveshove*, A. D. 747, can. 26. See above, p. 165, note 2.

had been previously cast into confusion and to draw order from chaos, science, like every other branch of ecclesiastical life, exhibited no marks, either of stability or consistency. It was in a state of preparation; all the elements were indeed at hand, though they had not yet combined; and the result, it was clear, would largely depend on the action of external influences. Later on, we shall see the fathers and schoolmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, like the philosophers of Athens and the prophets of Judea, bearing up under oppression and persecution, conflicts and wars, such as would have terrified and subdued souls less courageous or hearts less dauntless. In the present epoch, as in the earlier day of Alexandria and Rome, mental activity and literary culture were accelerated or retarded by the influence of events which seemed the result of chance rather than the consequence of design.

§ 171. *Progress of Science in Italy, Spain, and the British Isles.*

Bähr. Christian Roman Theology, being a Literary and Historical Review. Carlsruhe, 1837.

In Italy, even amid the shock and convulsions attending the migration of the barbarians, some traces of the former literature of that land were preserved in the writings of the Scythian *Denys the Little* († before A. D. 536); of *Primasius*,¹ Bishop of Adrumet († C. A. D. 550), who collected the most ancient of the commentaries on the Bible; but particularly in the works of *Boëthius*² († A. D. 524) and *Cassiodorus*³ († C. A. D. 565), both of whom were statesmen and philosophers.

In *Gregory the Great* were revived the nobility of mind and grandeur of character which had distinguished the old Fathers of the Church. The last three contributed, each in his own way, to introduce the treasures of ancient Christian and Pagan classic literature among the Germans.

The first of the Germans who entered upon the field of scientific

¹ *Primasii*, Episc. Africani, divi Augustini quondam discipuli, in univers. divi Pauli epist. commentarius (max. bibl. T. X., p. 142 sq.; in *Migne*, Ser. lat., T. 68).

² Opp. omn. ed. *Rota*, Basil. 1570 f.; in *Migne's* Ser. lat., T. 63-64. Commentary on and translation of Aristotle; de duabus naturis et una persona; quod Trinitas sit unus Deus; de consolatione philosophiæ, libb. V. ed. *Obbarius*, Jenæ, 1843. Against the doubts raised by *Hand* (Cyclopædia by Ersch and Gruber, s. v. Boëthius) and by *Obbarius*, in his Prolegomena l. c., as to whether the treatise, *de consolatione philosophiæ*, could be attributed to the author of the dogmatic treatises just quoted, because Boëthius did not, so it is said, show himself there as a Christian, nor as a Christian philosopher, conf. *Baur*, De Boëthio, christianæ doctrinæ assertore, Darmstadt, 1841; *Gfrörer*, Ch. II., Vol. II., p. 948 sq., and *Teipel*, Studies on the Hist. of the Primitive Christian Ages, 2nd ed., § 50. According to *Ritter*, Hist. of Christ. Philos., Vol. II., p. 580 sq., and *Nitzsch*, The System of Boëthius and the Theological Writings attributed to him, Berlin, 1860, the decision inclines even more against the identity of the author of all these writings. Conf. *Alzog's* Patrology, p. 415.

³ Opp. omn. ed. *Garctius*, Rothomag., 1679, Ven. 1729, 2 T. f., and in *Migne*, Ser. lat., T. 69-70, De artib. ac discipl. liberal. litt.; Institutio ad divin. lection., libb. II.; Hist. eccl. tripartita. Variar. epp., libb. XII.; historia Gothorum in *Alzog*, p. 416.

studies, and excited a noble emulation among their countrymen in the same direction, destined in succeeding years to produce the most important results, were *Ulfilas* († A. D. 383), the historian *Jornandes* (C. A. D. 550), and Gregory of Tours († A. D. 594); while the most distinguished of the Spaniards were *Isidore*, Archbishop of Seville († A. D. 636), who wrote many excellent works, and in his various treatises on ecclesiastical subjects,¹ evinced a remarkable degree of originality and independence of thought; and his disciple, *Ildephonse*, Archbishop of Toledo († A. D. 667), who, amid the onerous duties of a long and holy life in the episcopate, managed to find time to devote to deep and scientific studies.

The Roman missionaries who came to evangelize the British Isles retained their love of study, and were the first to diffuse a taste for literature among the inhabitants. *Theodore*, Archbishop of Canterbury (A. D. 668-690), a native of *Tarsus*, in Cilicia, and Abbot *Hadrian*, in whom were combined the genius of Roman civilization and the language and culture of Greece, founded many schools in England, from which, in succeeding years, a great number of classical scholars came forth. It was from the monasteries of Ireland and Britain, where knowledge was cultivated and fostered with an ardour and love such as religion alone can impart to intellectual pursuits, that those great moral heroes issued, who, from time to time, crossed over to the continent of Europe to revive an extinct or to preserve a decaying civilization. *Venerable Bede* early brought science in England to a surprising degree of perfection.² When seven years of age, he entered the school attached to the monastery of Wearmouth, and after having passed thirteen years here, under the care of Abbot Benedict Biscop and his successor, Coelfrid, he was removed to the sister monastery of *Jarrow*, situated, like the former, in Northumbria, where he was admitted to deacon's orders, and, when in his thirtieth year, ordained priest by John of Beverly, then Bishop of Hexham. Sheltered, in this retreat of quiet and holiness, from the storms of barbaric strife that raged with so much violence in the outer world, he earnestly applied himself to study, and spent his days in acquiring a knowledge of such literature as was accessible to a student of that age and country. He was well acquainted with Latin and Greek,

¹ *Isidori*, Hispal. opp. ed. Faust. Arevalus. Rom. 1797, 7 T. 4, in *Migne*, Ser. lat., T. 81-84. His principal works are: **Originum seu Etymologiarum*, libb. XX.: A summary of the science of his Age, set forth in a cyclopædical and historical manner (edited separately in *Corpus grammaticorum latinorum* by *Otto*, T. III.). *Sententiarum seu de summo bono*, libb. III. (the foundation of the later *sententiarum*). *Historia Gothorum, Vandal. et Suevor. in Hispania*. *Collectio Canon. Concilior. et epp. decretal.*, afterwards probably wrongly, attributed to him: *de scriptoribus eccles.*; *de ecclesiasticis officiis* lib. II.

² *Bedæ Venerab.*, Opp. omn., Paris, 1521, 1544-1554, 3 T. fol.; Basil., 1563; pirated impression, Cologne, 1612 and 1688, ed. *Giles*, London, 1843 sq. 8vo, in *Migne*, T. 90-95. English versions of his *Ecclesiastical History* were published by Stapleton, in 1565; by Stevens, in 1723; by Hurst, in 1814; by Wilcock, in 1818; and by *Giles*, in 1840. (Tr.) The *Vita Bedæ Ven.* by *Cuthbertus*, placed at the head of his works. Cf. also *Gehle*, *De Bedæ Venerab. vita et scriptis*, Lugd. Batavor, 1838.

and partially with Hebrew, medicine, astronomy, and prosody. After having gone through his ordinary exercises of piety, said Mass, recited his divine office, and devoted some time to the study of Holy Scripture, he found his greatest pleasure in adding something to his store of secular knowledge, in teaching and in composing. Among his writings are homilies, lives of saints, hymns, epigrams, treatises on chronology and grammar, and commentaries on the books of the Old and New Testaments. His calm and gentle disposition, the humanizing character of his pursuits, his benevolence and holiness of life, are in striking contrast with the din of battle and the savage fury of the tempest that raged at this time over the fair face of all England. He was truly a light shining out in the midst of darkness. His writings have secured for him the distinction of an unquestionable pre-eminence in the ancient literature of Britain, and the reputation of having been, in all probability, the most learned man of the world in his age.

The death of this great scholar and saint of the Church was of a piece with his preceding life. During the fourteen days previous to this sad event, and while enduring the pain of a malignant disease, he was employed in translating the Gospel of St. John into the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and in teaching youth. Even when his disease grew so violent that he could breathe only with great difficulty, he still continued to teach during the whole day; and, on the very day of his death, dictated to an amanuensis, and urged his scholars to learn quickly, saying: "Make haste and learn; I know not how long I shall be with you, or whether God will not shortly take me to Himself." He died May 26, A. D. 735, while singing the words of the doxology, *Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto*, and surrounded by his disciples and the priests of the monastery, to the latter of whom his last words were an earnest entreaty to say the Holy Mass devoutly, and to pray for his soul. He was buried in the monastery of Jarrow, whence his bones were removed, in the middle of the eleventh century, to Durham.¹

§ 172. *Labours of Charlemagne for the Diffusion of Knowledge.*

Thomassini, L. c., Pt. II., lib. I., c. 96-100. *F. Lorentz*, Life of Alcuin, Halle, 1829. *Schulte*, De Caroli M. in literarum studia meritis, Monast. 1826. *Bähr*, De literarum studiis a Carolo M. revocatis ac schola Palatina instaurata, Heidelberg, 1856. By the same author: Hist. of Roman Literature in the Carolingian Age, Carlsruhe, 1840.

Although *St. Boniface* has the honour of having been the first to awaken a desire and cultivate a taste for scientific studies in the inhabitants of the Frankish Empire, still the rapid and general diffu-

¹ See *Chambers' Cyclopædia*, art. Bede or Bede.—Bishop *Ullathorne*, of Birmingham, stoutly maintains that the bones of Venerable Bede are still resting at *Durham*; while the Benedictine monks of Subiaco no less stoutly maintain that his relics were, after the Reformation, first brought to Gibraltar, and were subsequently transferred to Subiaco, where they are actually venerated. (Tr.)

sion of knowledge was especially due to the generous encouragement and intelligent efforts of Charlemagne. He gathered about him, in his own court, a *second band of distinguished scholars*, who, unlike those in England, and formerly in France, were neither Romans nor Greeks, but for the most part Germans. Charlemagne had acquired a taste for letters and intellectual pursuits during his stay in Italy, but being now at an advanced age, and having passed his life in the profession of arms, he realised with pain that the hand which had wielded the sword with so much vigour was but ill adapted to the exercise of the pen. But, while unable himself to make any considerable progress in learning, he zealously stimulated the desire in others, and seized every opportunity to promote its advancement. He induced *Peter of Pisa*, and *Paulinus*, Patriarch of Aquileia († A. D. 804), to leave Italy and take up their residence at his court. At the request of *Desiderius*, King of the Lombards, *Paul Warnefried*, or *Paulus Diaconus*, of the abbey of Monte Cassino, became his master of *Greek*, won his confidence, and, with only temporary interruptions, retained his friendship until his own death, which occurred A. D. 799. But, of all those learned men whom Charlemagne had attracted to his court, none possessed nearly so much influence over his mind as the English monk *Alcuin*, formerly the head master of the school of York, and incomparably the greatest scholar of his age. Prudently availing himself of the influence which, as friend and counsellor, he possessed with the Emperor, he reorganised the *Schola Palatina*, established in the vicinity of the imperial palace, for the education of the youth of the higher ranks, upon a new basis, and established others at all the cathedrals and cloisters of the empire, in which a complete curriculum of studies, embracing the so-called *seven liberal arts*, was adopted. This consisted of the *Trivium*, comprehending grammar, dialectics, and rhetoric, and the *Quadrivium*, comprehending arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The disquisitions of *Martianus Capella* and *Cassiodorus*, based upon models left by the educators who had preceded them, exercised no inconsiderable influence upon the organization of schools of learning.¹ Towards the close of his life, Alcuin wished to withdraw from the bustle of court and the distraction of temporal concerns to prepare, in quiet, for his departure from this world. But, though the Emperor acceded to his request in so far as to release him from immediate and laborious service, he still wished him to aid, by his advice, the work to which so many days of his life had been consecrated. The abbotship of the monastery of St. Martin, at Tours, having become vacant in the year 796, it was conferred upon Alcuin, who, however, shortly after, conscious of the approach of death, and desiring to be free from all care, resigned it in favour

¹ A *resumé*, containing substantially everything of importance relating to the *seven liberal arts*, is to be found in *Terentius Varro*, Cicero's friend; more definitely in *St. Augustine*, viz., in his works, *De ordine et doctrina christiana*, and likewise in the fantastic treatise of another African, *Martianus Capella*, *De nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii*, *de septem artibus liberalibus*, libb. IX., ed. *Kopp*, Frel., 1836; ed. *Eissenhardt*, Lips., 1866.

of one of his disciples. He had often expressed a wish, during the last years of his life, to die on the feast of Pentecost, which God, whom he had so faithfully served, was graciously pleased to grant. He departed this life May 19, A. D. 804.

Alcuin, after he had become abbot of St. Martin's, established a school at Tours,¹ whence issued such men as *Amalarius* of Treves; *Rabanus* of Mentz; *Hetto*, Abbot of Fulda; *Haimon*, Bishop of Halberstadt, and *Samuel* of Worms.

Besides the schools already mentioned, there were many others in a flourishing condition at this period, or shortly after. Such were those of Orleans, Toulouse, Lyons, Rheims, Corbie, *Aniane*, Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, *Saint-Gall*, *Reichenau*, *Hirsau*, *Fulda*, *Utrecht*, *Mentz*, *New-Corbie* (Convey on the Aller), Treves, and others.

In these retreats of learning, where the reason was severely exercised, the intellectual faculties trained to quick apprehension and subtle distinction, and the heart fed and warmed by the writings attributed to *Denys the Areopagite*, which were now coming into general favour, might be discerned—faintly, indeed, but unmistakably—the elements which produced that long race of laborious *Schoolmen* and *Mystics* who became so prominent during the Middle Ages.

A tolerably correct idea of the degree of excellence reached in scientific studies and literature, in this epoch, may be had from the various treatises, writings, and *ecclesiastical hymns* that have come down to us from the scholars and poets of that age.²

There can be no doubt that the primary motive which stimulated Charlemagne to found and protect schools was the formation of a learned and efficient body of clergy. This, however, need excite no surprise, as religion was then the centre of all that constituted intellectual and spiritual life. But the education of the people was by no means neglected, as is proved by the case of *Theodulph*, Bishop of Orleans († A. D. 821), a zealous co-labourer of Charlemagne in the cause of learning, who founded *primary schools*³ in his diocese for the benefit of his flock, and it was not long before many followed his example.⁴

¹ *Alcuini*, Opp. ed. Frobenius, Ratisb. 1776 sq., 2 T. f., in *Migne's Ser. lat.*, T. 99-101. They contain 232 important letters, lives of saints, poems, treatises, and extend over almost all branches of human knowledge.

² We remind the reader but of the following: Prayer to God, "Rex Deus immensi quo constat," by *Eugenius* of Toledo († 637); "Crudelis Herodes, Deum regem venire quid times," and "Ad regias Agni dapes," by *Sedulius* (Sheil, an Irishman.—Tr.); of the Holy Innocents, "Hymnum canentes martyrum," by Beda the Venerable; Hymn on St. John B., "Ut queant laxis resonare fibris," by *Paulus Diaconus*; to God, "Te homo laudet," by *Alcuin*; "Veni creator spiritus," pretendedly by Charlemagne; the anthem for Palm Sunday, "Gloria, laus et honor," by *Theodulph* of Orleans.

³ His indefatigable activity is most conspicuous in his capitulare ad parochiæ suæ sacrodotas, A. D. 797, in *Harduin*, T. IV., p. 913 sq. *Mansi*, T. XIII., p. 995 sq.

⁴ A circular of Charlemagne, addressed to all the bishops and abbots in 788, recommends the erection of these schools, "constitutio de scholis per singula Episcopia et monasteria instituendis." Capitul. Aquisgr. a. 789, c. 70: Non solum servilis conditionis infantes, sed etiam ingenuorum illos adgregent (canonici et monachi) sibi que societ. Et

§ 173. *First Heresies—Adelbert and Clement—Adoptionism.*

I. *Elipandi*, Epp. ad Fidelem abbatem; ad Carolum M. (in *Florez*, España Sagrada T. V., an. 1751 and again 1859): ad Alcuinum; ad Felicem (nuper conversum). *Beati et Etherii*, De adoptione Filii Dei advers. Elipand., libb. II. (*Canisii*, Lectt. antiq., T. II., Pt. I., p. 279 sq., and *Galland.*, Bibl., T. XIII., p. 290 sq. *Migne*, Ser. lat., T. 96.) *Alcuini*, Libell. advers. hæres. Felicis; ep. ad Felicem; advers. Felic., lib. VII.; advers. Elipand., lib. IV. (opp. ed. *Froben.*, T. II.) *Paulini Aquilejensis*, Sacrosyllabus et cont. Felic., libb. III. (opp. ed. *Madrisius*, Venet., 1787 fol.) *Agobardi*, Archiep. Lugdun. advers. dogma Felic. (opp. ed. *Baluzius*, Paris, 1666), in *Bibl. max.* Lugd., T. XIII. et XIV.; in *Migne*, Ser. lat. T. 99-101. Letters and Documents in *Mansi*, T. XIII. *Harduin*, T. IV., p. 863 sq. German in *Rösler's* Library of the Fathers of the Church, Pt. X., p. 569-590. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. III., p. 601-654. *Werner*, Hist. of Apolog. and Polem. Literat., Vol. II., p. 433 sq.

II. *Madrisii*, Dissert. de Felicis et Elipandi hæresi, in his ed. opp. *Paulini*. *Fr. Walch*, Hist. Adoptionior., Götting., 1755. *Frobenii*, Dissert. de hæres. Elip. et Felic. (opp. *Alcuini*, T. I.) Relatio historica de ortu et progressu hæresium, præsertim vero Augusto-Vindelicor., Ingolst., 1654. *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics., Pt. IX., p. 667 sq. Against him, *Enkhueber*, Dissertat. dogmat. hist. quæ contra *Christ. Walchium* adoptionis in Christo homine assertores, Felicem et Elip. merito ab Alcuino Nestorianismi fuisse petitos ostenditur (in *Alcuini*, Opp., T. I., etc.; in *Migne*, T. 101, p. 337 438). *Seiters*, Boniface, p. 418 sq. *Helferich*, Visigothic Arianism, Hist. of Spanish Heretics, Berlin, 1860, p. 86-151.

About the year 744, when St. Boniface was in the very midst of his labours and the full tide of success, he encountered a most formidable opponent in a Frank by the name of *Adelbert*.

This enthusiast assembled the people for divine worship in the field and in the open air, and imposed upon their credulity by pretending to have received relics from the hands of an angel, and distributed among them copies of a letter which, as he said, had fallen from heaven and alighted in the centre of the city of Jerusalem. With empty vanity he compared himself to the apostles, whose equal he pretended to be; caused houses of prayer to be dedicated to his honour, because, as he claimed, God would infallibly grant a request made in his name; and asserted that, as he knew by intuitive vision the secrets of every man's conscience, confession was wholly useless. *Confession* was therefore abolished by him, veneration of saints reprobated, and pilgrimages to holy shrines discontinued.

Boniface made use of every available means to counteract the influence of this visionary. He preached against him, drew the attention of the first Council of Soissons (A. D. 744), and of a council held at Rome in the succeeding year, to his doctrines, and finally caused his imprisonment at Fulda. Having escaped from this place of confinement, he was seized by shepherds, robbed, and murdered.

Clement, an Irish bishop, whose case had occupied the attention of the last-named council, was also among the adversaries of Boniface.

ut scholæ legentium puerorum fiant, Psalmos, notas, cantus, computum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopia discant. Sed et libros catholicos bene emendatos habeant, quia sæpe dum bene aliquid Deum rogare cupiunt, per inemendatos libros male rogant. (*Baluz.*, T. I., p. 173.)

He assailed some of the teachings and practices of the Church with great vigour and pretentious display, but with little, if any, real ability. He objected to the Judaico-theocratic constitution of the Church, denied that the canons of councils and the writings of the Fathers are a safe rule of faith, and, drifting still further from the true spirit of Catholic teaching, held erroneous opinions on some fundamental doctrines of the Church, such as *predestination*. He also held that, when Christ descended into the regions of the dead, He set free all those who had been confined in hell, whether believers, infidels, or idolators. He advocated and practised lax principles of morality, rejected *celibacy*, and continued to exercise episcopal functions,¹ though living with a concubine, by whom he had two sons. He was condemned to a life of confinement, by order of the Synod of Rome (A. D. 745).

These were but trifling errors, when compared with the magnitude of *Adoptionism*, and the vital consequences it involved. This heresy was little more than a revival of the old Greek controversies on the nature of Christ, but particular of Nestorianism, according to which the Hypostatic Union² was denied, and so wide a distinction drawn between the divine and human natures in Christ, as to amount to a separation of them into two persons. The heresy of Nestorius grew out of an attempt to give a rational explanation of the doctrine of two natures in one person, and to make it clearly intelligible to the understanding.³ The distinctive doctrine of the adoptionists was that Jesus Christ, inasmuch as He was man, was the Son of God by *adoption*.

If the accounts that have come down to us may be trusted, the first traces of this heresy in the West were to be found in Spain, where it gave evidence of its presence as early as the sixth century. *Isidore of Seville* († A. D. 636) states that Justinian, Bishop of Valencia (A. D. 535), wrote against some who had adopted the ancient error of the Bonosians,⁴ asserting that Christ was not the Son of God in any proper sense (*proprium*), but *by adoption*. The error spread with great rapidity, and the eleventh Council of Toledo (A. D. 675), taking

¹ *Bonifacii*, Ep. ad Zachariam, in *Serarius*, 135 (Max. Bibl., T. XIII., p. 126 sq.), in *Würdtwein*, Ep. 67. Conf. *Harduin*, T. III., p. 1935 sq. *Mansi*, T. XII., p. 373 sq. *Natal. Alex.*, H. e. sæc. VIII., c. II., art. 2. *Walch*, Hist. of Heret., Pt. X., p. 3-65.

² See Vol. I., p. 416.

³ Although Adoptionism was, in a certain sense, a revival of Nestorianism, it should not be regarded as embracing precisely the same doctrines as the latter. The following are the chief points of difference between the two: 1. The Adoptionists did not object to the term Θεοτόκος, as applied to the Blessed Virgin, while the denial of such application of this term was the very basis of the Nestorian heresy. 2. The Adoptionists admitted, and the Nestorians denied, that there was but one Person in Christ. But the former while admitting this, explained their meaning, by saying that the two Persons were so closely allied as to practically amount to but one Person, though there was no absorption of the human personality into the divine. 3. The Adoptionists taught that Christ assumed humanity, while the Nestorians, inverting this order, said that Christ had exalted Himself by His virtue. (TR.) Cf. *Blunt's* Dict. of Heresies, art. Adoptionists.

⁴ See Vol. I., p. 534.

up the question, declared : “ This Son of God is his Son by nature, not by adoption ”—“ *Hic etiam filius Dei natura, non adoptione.*” Notwithstanding the vigorous measures taken to repress and extinguish it, the error again reappeared two centuries later, when the Church of Spain was languishing under the oppressive yoke of the Saracens. Some historians have *conjectured* that this fresh attempt to revive an old error by endeavouring to satisfactorily explain the mystery of two Natures and one Person in Christ by the lights of reason, was prompted by a desire to render the doctrine of the Incarnation less offensive to the Mahommedans of Spain. Be this as it may, certain it is that the theory was received with universal applause, and found numerous advocates. Among its foremost champions were *Elipandus*, Archbishop of Toledo, a man of advanced age, but haughty and passionate ; and *Felix*, Bishop of Urgel, who, though still young, was more moderate, more prudent, and more learned than the former, and, possessing a naturally acute intellect, was a skilful dialectician. They both flourished towards the close of the eighth century. *Elipandus* was the first to develop the doctrine. He was refuting one *Migetius*, who, in treating of the Trinity, had explained it, in a Sabellian sense, to mean a triple manifestation of the Godhead : first, as the *Father* in the person of David ; second, as the *Son* in the person of Christ ; and third, as the *Holy Ghost* in the person of St. Paul.¹ *Migetius* made a further distinction between the Word (*λόγος*) and the Son of God (*υἱὸς Θεοῦ*), maintaining that the Word became the Son of God only in the Incarnation ; that He became a *Person* only when He became man ; that the humanity of Christ was a condition of his personality in the same sense that St. Paul was a condition of the personality of the Holy Ghost. *Elipandus*, in replying to him, declared that the Word had been truly and properly the Son of God prior to the time when Christ became man, but that Christ as *man* was called the Son of God only in an allegorical or improper sense.

Felix, on the other hand, being desirous, while combating Mohammedanism, to reconcile, in as far as possible, its teachings with those of Christianity, went too far, and fell into the *Nestorian* heresy, which partially expressed Mohammed’s idea of Christ as a prophet of God. Entertaining this view himself, *Felix* at once approved the theory of Archbishop *Elipandus*, who had submitted it to his judgment (A. D. 783). Having thus compared and harmonised their views, both came forward openly and boldly proclaiming the doctrine “ that, as to his *divinity*, Christ was by nature and truly the Son of God (*filius Dei natura seu genere*) ; but that, as *man*, He was the Son of God in name and by *adoption* (*voluntate, beneplacito, gratia, susceptione*) ; that, as to his *divinity*, He was truly God, but that, as to his *humanity*, He was not, but only called so by metonymy, or figure of speech, as men are sometimes called the children of God. It is

¹ *Hefele*, Hist. of the Migatians, Tübg., Quart. 1858. pp. 86-96.

evident, therefore, that the two prelates advocated the Nestorian theory of a complete separation of the two natures in Christ, denied the hypostatic union, and, as a consequence, repudiated the mystery of the Incarnation.

In defence of their teaching, they appealed to the writings of some of the old Fathers of the Latin Church, such as Hilary, Marius Mercator, and particularly to *Isidore of Seville*. They also cited some passages from the *Mozarabic Liturgy*,¹ in which they maintained the term *adoptio* was used. It was indeed true that such expressions as Christ "*adopted manhood*" and "*adopted flesh*" were to be found in the passages quoted, but in the active sense, meaning that Christ took upon Him our manhood and assumed our flesh, and not in the passive sense, as if the meaning were, Christ was adopted as Son. *Christus sibi adoptavit carnem seu hominem*; not as the Adoptionists said, *Christus secundum hominem a Patre adoptatus est*.

In defending his theory, Felix drew his arguments chiefly from those which had been furnished by Nestorius. He spoke of the Word (*λόγος*) as dwelling in the humanity of Christ as in a temple: said that Christ was a man bearing a Divinity within Him; that He resembled other men in all things except sin; that He was adopted into Sonship by God in the same sense as men loved of God become his children; that the difference between the two cases was one of degree, and not of kind; that this solemn act of adoption took place *at the moment of baptism* in the Jordan, when God the Father uttered these words: "*This is my beloved Son*;" and that, as man may be both a natural and an adopted son, so also was Christ by nature the son of *David*, and by grace or adoption the Son of *God*.

As Elipandus availed himself of the influence which he possessed as archbishop to spread his errors, while he at the same time branded the teaching of the Church as heresy, there was a twofold reason for taking energetic measures to oppose him and refute his doctrine. The first to undertake this task were *Beatus* of Libana, abbot of the monastery of Valliscava, and *Etherius*, Bishop of Osma, both Austurians, who, in the year 785, wrote exhaustive treatises in refutation of the heresy. They began by appealing to the *authoritative* decisions of the Church concerning the Hypostatic Union of the two Natures in Christ, and then went on to show that Christ, as man, was also truly the Son of God, and that the Adoptionists, in separating the two natures, had made two Christs instead of one—a thing which necessitated a Quadrinity, instead of a Trinity, in the Deity.

¹*Isidor. Hispal.* "(Christus) Unigenitus autem vocatur secundum divinitatis excellentiam, quia sine fratribus; primogenitus secundum susceptionem hominis, in qua per adoptionem gratiæ fratres habere dignatus est, de quibus esset primogenitus." *Etymologg.* VII. 2. Of the *Mozarabic Liturgy*, these passages were urged: *Qui per adoptivi hominis passionem, dum suo non indulsit corpori, nostro demum pepercit.*—In missa de ascens. Domini: "*Hodie Salvator noster per adoptionem carnis sedem repetit Deitatis.*"—In missa defunctorum: "*Quos fecisti adoptionis participes, jubeas hereditatis tuæ esse consortes.*" *Conf. Liturgia Mozarab. ed. Alex. Leslie. Rom. 1755, 4.*

Pope Hadrian I., hearing of the dangerous nature of the heresy, wrote (A. D. 785?) a letter to the orthodox bishops of Spain, in which he warns them against the “blasphemy” of Elipandus, “which,” he goes on to say, “no previous heretics have dared to enounce, except Nestorius, who confessed the Son of God to be mere man.”

Felix, who, as Bishop of Urgel, a city belonging to the Frankish kingdom, was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of Narbonne, was commanded by Charlemagne to appear at the *Council of Ratisbon* (A. D. 792), to explain and defend his doctrine. Felix abjured and anathematized his errors before the council, but, being still suspected, he was sent to Rome, under a charge of a certain Angilbertus, where he made frequent recantations, both in writing and by word of mouth, of his former errors, and finally swore, before the Blessed Sacrament on St. Peter’s tomb, to give them up for ever. Pope Adrian, satisfied with this solemn asseveration of his orthodoxy, permitted him to return to his diocese, where, coming into contact with his former friends, who were still Adoptionists, he again fell into his old errors and denounced his adversaries.

Alcuin, who had, in the meantime, returned from England and taken up his residence at the Frankish court, wrote, at the request of Charlemagne, a formal refutation of Adoptionism (*Liber adv. hæresin Felicis*). In the hope of inducing Felix to give up his error, he sent to that prelate a copy of his refutation, accompanied with a letter filled with such expressions of good-will and kindness as might best soothe the pride and win the affection of a wounded and humiliated spirit. This measure having failed, Charlemagne summoned a council to convene at *Frankfort* (A. D. 794), to consider the question. It was very numerously attended, there being present, besides the papal legates, three hundred bishops from Germany, Gaul, Aquitaine, Britain, and Italy; but neither Felix nor any of his party appeared. The Fathers took up the question relative to the veneration to be paid to pictures and images, but that which chiefly occupied their attention was the heresy of the Adoptionists, which they again condemned, and reasserted the orthodox doctrine in these words: “That holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God; not an adopted and strange son, but a true and proper” (*non adoptivus sed verus; non alienus sed proprius*). Pope Hadrian called a *synod at Rome*, in the same year, in which the decree of Frankfort was confirmed.

After these condemnations, Felix wrote a defence of his doctrine in detail, to which Alcuin replied in a work (*Adv. Felicem, libb. vii.*), which justly holds the first place among his writings. At the request of Alcuin, Charlemagne sent this work to Pope Adrian, and the Frankish prelates, *Paulinus*, Patriarch of Aquileia, *Richbod*, Archbishop of Treves, and *Theodulph*, Bishop of Orleans, accompanied with a request that they would also take part in the controversy, in defence of the orthodox faith, and against the errors of Felix. The most important of all the writings which this request called forth was the treatise

of the Patriarch of Aquileia, who, pursuing a line of argumentation similar to that adopted by St. Cyril¹ against Nestorius, proved, as Alcuin had already done, that the heresy of the Adoptionists was but a revival of Nestorianism.

But even these efforts, though energetic and well directed, were far from subduing the pride and overcoming the obstinacy of Felix and Elipandus.

Measures were, however, at once taken to check the progress of their errors and prevent them from spreading further among the faithful. Charlemagne sent *Leidrad*, Archbishop of Lyons; *Nefrid*, Archbishop of Narbonne, and the abbot *Benedict* of Aniane, to Urgel, and their labours were so completely successful that they succeeded in bringing twenty thousand souls, including clergy and laity, back to the bosom of the Church, and prevailed upon Felix to again submit his cause to the judgment of a council held at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, A. D. 799. Here Felix sustained a six-days' controversy with Alcuin, after which he again acknowledged and retracted his error, but was not allowed to return and take charge of his diocese.

In the year 800, the same missionaries were sent a second time, by Charlemagne, into the districts infected with the heresy, and, by their labours and preaching, brought ten thousand more of those who had gone astray into the Church.

Elipandus alone held out. Living in that part of Spain occupied by the Saracens, he was beyond the reach of either the authority of Charlemagne or the efforts of Alcuin. He therefore retained possession of his see till his death, which occurred A. D. 810. The errors of the Adoptionists perished with their chief representatives. Like every other evil that has afflicted the Church, this also effected a measure of good. The Frankish bishops were brought face to face with a strictly dogmatical subject, with which they were forced to deal in its purely speculative aspects, and this necessitated a deep and extensive study of ancient dogmatical literature. The writings of *Alcuin* amply prove that this study embraced wide scope, and was conscientious and thorough.

§ 174. Charlemagne.

I. Codex Carolinus (cont. annales, capitularia, and epp.) **Jaffé*, Monumenta Carolina. (Bibl. rer. Germ., T. IV.) *Einhardi* (Charles' Secretary, †844), vita Caroli; *Monachus Sangallensis*, De gestis C. M.; *Pöto Saxo*, Annal. de gest. Carol. (*Pertz*, T. I. and II.)

II. *Stolberg-Kerz*, Vol. XXV., especially p. 455-486. *Philips*, Vol. II., p. 32-87 and 359 sq. *Einhard*, Life of Charlemagne, Introd. Original text, Explanations, and Documents, by *Ideler*, Hamburg, 1839, 2 vols. **Sporschil*, Charlemagne, his Empire and House,

¹ *Alcuin*. contra Felic., lib. I., c. 11: Sicut Nestoriana impietas in duas Christus divisit personas propter duas naturas;—ita et vestra in doctrina temeritas in duos eum dividit filios, unum proprium, alterum adoptivum. Si vero Christus est proprius filius Dei Patris et adoptivus: ergo est alter et alter. And in another place: Hoc velim certissime vos cognoscere, o viri fratres hujus adoptionis in Christo assertores, quod quidquid beatus *Cyrillus*, Alexandr. eccles. pontifex, synodali auctoritate impio respondit Nestorio, vobis responsionum esse absque dubio sciatis; quia ejusdem erroris impietas ejusdem veritatis responsionibus destrui debet.

Brunswick, 1846; Charlemagne's character is given briefly and masterly, in *Giesebrecht's* Hist. of Emperors, 2nd ed., p. 121-143. *Alb. Thijm*, Charlemagne and his Age, revised German ed., Münster, 1868.

That *Charlemagne* played a very important part in the external organization of the Church, and particularly within the limits of the Frankish Empire, cannot be questioned. He had conceived the design of establishing a Germanic or Frankish Empire on the model of that of ancient Rome, whose underlying principles of legislation and government should be, not national merely, but *Christian* also. He had caught the idea of founding such an empire as this from that incomparable work of St. Augustine, the "City of God," which constituted his favourite reading. This religious tendency was always uppermost in the mind of Charlemagne. It is conspicuous in the magnificent discourse which he delivered at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the month of March, A. D. 802; it is the one pervading idea which characterised all his *Capitularies*, notably that of the year 789¹, and introduced a

¹ The *Capitulary* is given in *Pertz's Monumenta*, T. III., p. 53 sq., and in *Walter's* *Fontes Juris Eccl.*, p. 46-75. It says, among other things: "Let peace and harmony and concord reign throughout Christendom, among bishops and abbots, counts and judges, among men of all conditions and in all places; for without peace, it is impossible to please God." This *Admonitio domni Caroli imperatoris* reads: Audite fratres dilectissimi, pro salute vestra huc missi sumus, ut admonemus vos, quomodo secundum Deum juste et bene vivatis et secundum hoc sæculum cum justitia et cum misericordia convertamini. Admoneo vos imprimis, ut credamus in unum Deum, omnipotentem Patrem et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum. Hic est unus Deus et verus, perfecta Trinitas, et vera Unitas, Deus creator omnium visibilium et invisibilium, in quo est salus nostra, et auctor omnium bonorum nostrorum. Credite Filium Dei pro salute mundi hominem factum.—Credite unam ecclesiam, i. e., congregationem bonorum hominum per totum orbem terræ; et scitote quia isti soli salvi esse poterunt et illi soli ad regnum Dei pertinent, qui in istius ecclesiæ fide et communione et caritate perseverent usque in finem; qui vero pro peccatis suis excommunicantur ab ista ecclesia et non convertuntur ad eam per pœnitentiam, non possunt ab sæculo aliquid Deo acceptabile facere.—Hæc est ergo fides nostra, per quam salvi eritis, si eam firmiter tenetis et bonis operibus adimpletis, quia fides sine operibus mortua est et opera sine fide etiam si bona Deo placere non possunt.

Primum ergo diligite Deum omnipotentem ex toto corde et ex omnibus viribus vestris.—Diligite proximos vestros sicut vos ipsos et eleemosynas facite pauperibus secundum vires vestras. Peregrinos suscipite in domos vestras, infirmos visitate, in eos, qui in carceribus sunt, misericordiam præbete.—Dimittite vobis invicem delicta vestra, sicut vultis, quod vobis Deus dimittat peccata vestra. Redimite captivos, adjuvate injuste oppressos, defendite viduas et orphanos; juste judicate, in iniqua non consentite, iram longam non teneatis, ebrietates et commensationes superfluas fugite.—Reconciliat citius ac pacem inter vos, quia humanum est peccare, angelicum emendare, diabolicum est perseverare in peccato. Ecclesiam Dei defendite et causam ejus adjuvate, ut possint orare sacerdotes Dei. Quod Deo promisistis in baptismo recordamini; abrenunciastis diabolo et operibus ejus.—

Unusquisque in eo ordine Deo serviat fideliter, in quo ille est. *Mulieres* sint subjectæ viris suis in omni bonitate et pudicitia, custodiant se a fornicatione et veneficiis et avaritiis, quoniam qui hæc faciunt, Deo repugnant. Nutrient filios suos in Dei timore et faciant eleemosynas ex tantum quantum habent hilarem mentem et bonam voluntatem. *Viri* diligant uxores suas et inhonesta verba non dicant eis; gubernent domos suas; in bonitate convenient ad ecclesiam frequentius. Reddant hominibus, quæ debent sine murmuratione et Deo, quæ Dei sunt cum bona voluntate. *Filii* diligant parentes suos et honorent illos. Non sint illis inobedientes, caveant se a furtis et homicidiis et fornicationibus; quando ad legitimam ætatem veniunt, legitimam ducant uxorem, nisi forte illis plus placeat in Dei servitium intrare. *Clerici canonici* episcoporum suorum diligenter obediunt mandatis; gyri non sint de loco ad locum. Negotiis sæcularibus se non implicant. In castitate permaneant. lectioni sanctarum scripturarum frequenter amore Dei intendant.

new element into the legislation of his empire. In examining the wonderful and complex structure of this empire, one is struck at every turn with its decidedly religious character. The conviction was strong upon the mind of Charlemagne, that without religion, legislation would be destitute of any adequate sanction, and possessed of neither authority nor true influence. This is also plain from the fact that the Emperor, while engaged in carrying on war in distant countries, never relaxed his energy in establishing religious houses at home, and from the further fact, that he took great pleasure in listening to the homilies of the Fathers of the Church,¹ which he had read while taking his meals; and manifested a lively interest in discussions on theological questions, as in the controversy relative to *Adoptionism* and *Images*. "Would to God," he was wont to say, "that I possessed twelve men such as *St. Augustine*." To which Alcuin would promptly reply: "The Creator of heaven and earth was content with one."

The enlightened love entertained by Charlemagne for scientific studies; the zeal displayed by him in attracting to his court learned men from every nation, and in establishing schools and institutions of learning as a means of civilizing his subjects; and his solicitude that whatever he did should be based upon thoroughly *religious principles*, prove that he was intellectually far in advance of his age, and not unworthy of the high mission to which he was called. The esteem in which Charlemagne held everything connected with religion, and the recognition of its necessity in the functions of government, will afford a sufficient explanation of his reverence for the Head of the Church, and of the enthusiasm with which the subjects of his vast empire hailed the news of his coronation as *Emperor of the Romans*, and of the alacrity they manifested in yielding obedience to his authority. But, while recognising the necessity of a close intercourse between Church and State, and of their need of each other's support, and

ecclesiastica diligenter exercent. *Monachi*, quod Deo promiserunt, custodiant, nihil extra abbatis sui præceptum faciant, turpe lucrum non faciant. Regulam memoriter teneant et firmiter custodiant, scientes præceptum, quod multis melius votum non vovere, quam post votum non reddere. *Duces, comites et iudices* justitiam faciant populis, misericordiam in pauperes, pro pecunia non mutant æquitatem, per oclia non damnent innocentes. Illa apostolica semper in corde teneantur, quæ ajunt: *Omnes nos stare oportet ante tribunal Christi*, ut recipiat unusquisque prout gessit, sive bonum, sive malum. Quod Dominus ipse ait: *In quo judicio judicabitis, judicabitur de vobis*, i. e. misericorditer agite, ut misericordiam recipiatis a Deo. *Nihil occultum, quod non sciatur, neque opertum, quod non reveletur; et pro omni otioso verbo reddimus rationem in die judicii*. Quanto magis faciamus omnes cum adjutorio, ut cum Deo placere possimus in omnibus operibus nostris et post hanc vitam præsentem gaudere mereamus cum Sanctis Dei in æternum.

Brevis est ista vita et incertum est tempus mortis; quid aliud agendum est, nisi ut semper parati simus? Cogitemus, quam terribile est incidere in manum Dei. Cum confessione et penitentia et elemosynis miser cor est Dominus et clemens; si viderit nos ex toto corde ad se convertere, statim miserebitur nostri.—(*Pertz*, T. III., p. 101-103.) The very incorrect wording and construction have been corrected.

¹ Inter cœnandum, says *Eginhard*, delectabatur et libris *St. Augustini*, præcipue his, qui de civitate Dei prætitulati sunt.

while careful not to encroach upon the rights of the former,¹ he was by no means blind to the importance of *rigorously defining the respective limits of the authority of both.*²

An ecclesiastical sanction had already added fresh lustre to the imperial dignity; but in order to still further strengthen the authority and consolidate the power of the State, the Emperor appointed *imperial commissioners or deputies* (*missi dominici*), whose office and functions have been described above. The court, consisting of these commissioners, also protected the personal liberty of the subjects, so frequently hazarded in the Frankish Empire, by the concentration in the hands of one person of both the judicial and executive authority.

While the dukes and counts still retained and exercised the executive authority and power, the legislative branch was given into the hands of the Court of Imperial Commissions (*missio dominica*), consisting of persons selected by the Emperor himself, and distinguished by intellectual strength, superior cultivation, tact, and perseverance in investigating facts, skill and judicial temper in deciding upon their merits and bearing, and by all those qualifications which specially fit men to be dispensers of justice. "The good and gracious Emperor, solicitous for the welfare of the poor, the widows, and the orphans of his Empire,³ desired to provide for them and for the entire people, without cost or trouble, a tribunal at which they might at all times obtain the justice which had hitherto been denied them."

The inaugural address delivered by Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the year 802, breathes the same religious spirit as pervades that delivered at the Diet held in the same city in the year 813, when he bestowed the crown and other emblems of royalty upon his son, Louis the Mild, "with," as he expressed it, "Christ's consent." And, pitching his voice in a higher key, he exhorted the prince before all things to love and honour God; to keep his commandments; to protect the Church; to love her bishops as his own children; to show kindness to the princes of his own blood; to regard his subjects with the same parental feeling that he would his own offspring; to provide for the poor; to raise to office and positions of trust only such as were distinguished by integrity and holiness of life; to chastise offenders with a view to draw them from their evil ways and insure their eternal welfare; and to be the protector of the religious and

¹ See p. 117.

² Conf. capitul. I. Interrogandi sunt, in quibus rebus vel locis ecclesiastici laici aut laici ecclesiasticis ministerium suum impediunt. In hoc loco discutiendum est atque interveniendum, in quantum se episcopus aut abbas rebus sæcularibus debeat inserere, vel in quantum comes vel alter laicus in ecclesiastica negotia. Hic interrogandum est acutissime, quid sit quod Apostolus ait: Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis sæcularibus (2 Tim., ii. 4) vel ad quos sermo iste pertineat. (*Baluz.*, T. I., p. 328.) Cf. †*Dr. Braun*, Carolo M. regnante quæ inter ecclesiam et imperium ratio intercesserit, Friburgi, 1863.

³ Such are the dispositions of the Emperor at the Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 802, (*Harzheim*, T. I., p. 365.) Conf. "Charlemagne's laws and legislation for widows and orphans, the poor and travellers" (*Hist. Polit. Papers by Phillips and Görres*, Vol. I., p. 406 413

the comforter of the poor. The prince, upon being asked by his venerable father if he were prepared to comply with these injunctions, answered that, "with the help of God's grace," he would.

The untiring energy displayed by Charlemagne, and felt in every corner of his wide empire, laid the foundation of all that is noble and beautiful and useful in the history of the Middle Ages. For centuries after he had passed away, his memory was cherished by a loving and grateful people, who pointed with pride to their magnificent institutions as the heritage of the illustrious founder of the Germanic Empire.¹ But, amid all this greatness and glory, the mind of Charlemagne was not exempt from sad forebodings of the future. Evidences of the coming storm were already above the horizon of Europe. Standing upon the battlements of one of the strongholds on the shores of the North Sea, and gazing away into the distance, where the sails of the piratical vessels of the Northmen were disappearing from view, his features assumed an expression of sadness and his eyes filled with tears. Upon being asked the cause of this unusual depression, he replied: "Alas! if these men are so audaciously aggressive in my own lifetime, what will not my people have to suffer when I am no more!"

It were well for the memory of Charlemagne if there were fewer blemishes upon his domestic life. Then, too, would the prayer which this brave warrior was accustomed to pour forth from the fullness of his heart, in the silence of the night, have ascended purer and pleaded with more efficacy at the Throne of Grace. But, notwithstanding these ineffaceable spots upon his character, *Pascal*, the Antipope, during the time of Alexander III., acting on the suggestion of Frederic Barbarossa, placed him on the calendar of the saints. Though succeeding pontiffs neglected to cancel his name, his many derelictions of conjugal fidelity and the scandal which necessarily attached to him because of his having had three natural sons, viz., Drogo, Theoderic, and Hugh, called from many persons the most emphatic protests against such action. Hence his name has never been entered upon either the Roman or the Benedictine calendar, notwithstanding that the Benedictine Order was the especial object of his favour and bounty.² All, however, have concurred in conferring upon him the title of "*Great*;" nor would it be possible to deny it to him, when we take into account all the institutions which he called into existence for the promotion of science, art, and good government, and compared the condition of the Frankish Empire, at the time of his accession, with the prosperity and glory which it reached at the close of his life.

He died January 28, A. D. 814, in the imperial palace at Aix-la-

Conf. *Cantù*, Universal History, German by *Brühl*, Vol. V., Preface, p. lxiv.

² The Congr. of Rites lately, under *Pius IX.*, limited the celebration of his Anniversary to the City of Aix-la-Chapelle. The Officium de St. Carolo in *Canisius-Basnage* lectt. antiq., T. III., Pt. II., p. 205 sq. Conf. *Walch*, Historia canonisationis Caroli M., Jenæ, 1750. *Möser*, Hist. of Osnabrück, Pt. I., p. 320.

Chapelle, in the seventy-second year of his age and forty-sixth of his reign, and was buried in the cathedral which he had himself built.

Seated upon a throne of gold, with head erect, bearing a sword at his side, his loins girt about with the cord of a pilgrim, and holding in his hand the Book of Gospels, Charlemagne seems still, in death, the presiding genius of his people, and the inspirer of those great conceptions which he realised in his own life.

Paulus Diaconus, the son of *Warnefried*, inspired by motives of love and gratitude, said truly of him: "One knows not which to admire more in this great man—his bravery in war or his wisdom in peace, the glory of his military achievements or the splendour of his triumphs in the liberal arts."

CHAPTER V.

THE GREEK CHURCH.

§ 175. General View.

Conf., *Fred. von Schlegel*, *Philosophy of Hist.*, Vol. II., pp. 69-91.

THE Church had barely succeeded in arresting the tide of barbaric invasion, by creating and organizing the Holy Roman Germanic Empire, when she was again threatened by the warlike fanaticism of Islamism. The violence and persecuting spirit of the ancient Romans seemed again revived, not now, as then, sustained and directed by prudent counsels and the dictates of cool reason, which distinguished every measure of that kingly people, but roused into action and fanned into a glowing flame by the wild excesses of an overheated Oriental imagination. The powers of Darkness, which had been brought under control by Christianity, again broke forth fresh against the Church, and checked the progress of her pacific pursuits.

Islamism, instead of drawing a sharp line of distinction between the external polity of the Church and that of the State, and uniting the two internally by strong and intimate bonds, adopted a less intelligent, if more summary, mode of proceeding, by forcing the two into a sort of mechanical union. Mohammed totally ignored the traditionary and historical union which Christianity had effected between Church and State, and, in the recklessness of blind rage and ignorant stupidity, snapped this connecting link between the ancient world of Paganism and the degenerated world of Christianity. The new commandment which he gave to the world was *vengeance*; the new purpose of life, the indulgence of the carnal appetites; and pride the new motive of action. His teaching inculcated the most brutal despotism, and what he advocated in theory he carried out in practice.

Was it possible that the *invasion of these Arabs*, a people so widely different in origin and character from the Germans, and professing a religion so antagonistic to Christianity, could have the effect of restoring fresh life, youthful vigour, and full manhood to the people of the ancient world? Islamism might, indeed, in virtue of some elements of good which it possessed, have curbed the wild excesses of these rude and savage hordes, and imparted to them a certain degree of civilization, but it could have done no more. The enervating sensuality which was its essential element and characteristic, would inevitably have bred future troubles and sown the seeds of moral decay.

If there was ever a time in the history of the Church when she should have been prompt in decision, energetic in action and prepared to turn to practical account all her strength and power, it was now, when she was brought face to face in deadly conflict with the blind fury of Islamism. These qualities have ever been characteristic of the Church in her supreme hour, nor was she wanting in them now. But, though this be said of the Church as identical with Christianity, it is far from true as relates to the Eastern Church, which, at the time of which we are speaking, was totally destitute of these qualities, torn with distraction, and *rent into numerous sects*. Weakened and exhausted by internal disorders, she gradually fell a victim to *vain speculations*, idle questions, petty disputes, futile and refined theories. It was not long before all religious life in any true sense, almost entirely died out amid this seeming intellectual activity. If anything more was necessary to wholly extinguish it, this soon came in the shape of *religious tyranny* and imperial dogmatism and assumption. The emperors, by arbitrarily nominating to episcopal sees men whose chief title to merit was their readiness to comply with the imperial pleasure, excluded others who would have made worthy and enlightened pastors. This policy of excluding men of character and ability from the highest and most responsible offices in the Church, and admitting others who possessed neither, opened a wide door to the enemy of the Christian name. Accordingly, the Eastern Church, thus enfeebled and rapidly going to decay, though she still bore upon her the tokens of life, was incapable of opposing either moral authority or material strength to the encroachments of Mohammedanism, then in the full vigour of youth, drunk with the blood of conquest, and ready to enforce its claims with great and victorious armies.

§ 176. Mohammed—His Doctrine—Its Rapid Progress.

Alcorani textus universus, arabice et latine, ed. *Marricinus*. Patav. 1698 fol., Lips. 1834. German by *Boysen*, Halle, 1773; by *Wahl*, Halle, 1828; by *Ullmann*, Crefeld, 1841.—*Abulfeda* (sæc. XIV.), annales Muslemici, arabice et latine, ed. *Reiske*, Havn. 1786 sq., 5 T. 4to; *ejusdem*, historia anteislamica, arab. et lat., ed. *Fleischer*, Lps. 1831; the vita Mohammedis, arab. et lat., ed. *Gagnier*, Oxon, 1723, fol. Tr. Adps.:—Eds. of the Koran, by *Flügel*, 1834, and *Redslob*, 1837. Engl. transl. by *Sale*, 1734; *J. M. Rodwell*, London, 1861. French transl. by *Kasimirski*, Paris, 1810.

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Gagnier, *La vie de Mahom.*, Amst. 1732, 2 T. **Döllinger*, *The Muhammedan Religion, Its Interior Development and Influence on the lives of Nations*, Ratisb. 1838. *Weil*, *Muhammed the Prophet, his Life and his Doctrine*, Stuttg. 1843. By the same, *Hist. of the Ismaelian Nations*, given in a Synopsis, 1846. *Sprenger*, *The Life and Doctrine of Muhammed*, Berlin, 1861 sq., 3 vols. *Kremer*, *Hist. of the leading Ideas of Islamism*, Lps. 1868. **Nöldeke*, "*Muhammed*" in *Herzog's Encyclopædia*, Vol. XVIII., p. 767 sq.

At the opening of the seventh century, no country of the world presented more striking features and extraordinary contrasts than Arabia, whether in regard to its soil, its climate, or the civilization of its inhabitants.

The *Ichthyophagi*, or Fish-eaters, who dwelt upon the shores of the Persian Gulf, were, of all the classes composing its motley population, the most ignorant and degraded; next, but a degree higher, came the *Beduins*, who, possessing a warm imagination and lively temperament, led a pleasant and happy life, tending their flocks in the interior of the country; finally, the *inhabitants of the cities*, who formed a third class, were highly cultivated, of agreeable manners and pleasing address.

Owing to the geographical isolation of Arabia, it afforded an easy and secure retreat to such as were threatened with persecution in Asia; and thither, from the earliest times, men holding every shade of opinion and professing every sort of religious belief had sought and found an asylum, and now composed the heterogeneous mass of its inhabitants.

But this people, so various in origin, so seemingly antagonistic in religious profession, and so widely separated, both by education and calling, possessed in common one central place of worship, viz., the *Kaaba*, or Holy House of *Mecca*. Within this sanctuary was a great shapeless black stone of the highest antiquity, to which divine honours were paid. A tradition existed, according to which this stone had been first placed there by Abraham, and was intended to symbolize the *One God*; and that, having been once displaced, it was again restored by the Amalekites. By-and-by it came to be surrounded with numerous idols, said to be three hundred and sixty in number; and to the Holy House, sanctified in their minds by the presence of so many gods, the Arabs went annually, in great troops, on pilgrimages. Sabeism was indeed the most prominent feature of this superstitious and idolatrous worship; but, notwithstanding the absurdity and grotesqueness of the various forms which religious belief assumed throughout all Arabia, the primitive idea of *one God and one religion* was never entirely lost sight of.¹ The large communities of Jews settled in every part of the peninsula, and a considerable number of Christians of the humbler and illiterate class, preserved it where it had not been lost, and revived it where it had.

¹ The prayer addressed by the ancient Arabs to *Allah Taala*, the Most High God, ran as follows:—"Cultui tuo me dedo, o Deus, cultui tuo me dedo. Non est tibi socius, nisi socius, quem tu possides et una, quidquid ille possidet." Even the known symbolum, "There is no God but the one God," was in use among the Arabians when Mohammed rose up as its herald. *S. Döllinger*, Ch. H., p. 250; v. *Maltzun*, *Pilgrimage to Mecca*.

It was such influences as these that induced *Mohammed* (from *hammada*, meaning "one to be praised," or the "desired," his real name being *Abul Kasem Ibn Abdallah*), to reject the worship of idols and return to the primitive religion of monotheism. But the sensual element so characteristic of his race was predominant in Mohammed's new system, was always a prolific source of trouble, and eventually effected its ruin.

Mohammed, who was the only son of Abdallah, a *Pagan*, and Amina, a *Jewess*, and was descended from the noble but impoverished family of *Hashim*, of the *priestly tribe of Koreish*, who were the chiefs and keepers of the national sanctuary of the Kaaba, and pretended to trace their origin to *Ismael*, the son of Abraham and Hagar, was born at Mecca, August 20, A. D. 570. His father died two months before his birth, and his mother when he was six years of age. He then passed under the care of his grandfather, who died two years later, when his uncle, Abu-Talib, who, though poor and having a large family, took charge of him and treated him with much kindness. While a boy, he earned his living as a shepherd; but little is known, with certainty, of his early life. Grave in his exterior deportment, of imposing address and agreeable manners, he was entirely destitute of the early training and literary accomplishments so necessary to soften the natural asperities of his character and check the impetuosity of his temper. According to his own admission, *he could neither read nor write*.

Though naturally inclined to a contemplative life, he was forced, in consequence of his poverty, to have recourse to commerce for a livelihood. In the course of his commercial travels, he spent some time in a Nestorian monastery at Bozrah—a circumstance which, while increasing his love of contemplation, failed to produce upon his mind a favourable impression of Christianity.¹ When, in the 'twenty-fifth year of his age, he married a wealthy Meccan widow, Khadijah by name, then in her thirty-eighth year, who had entrusted to him the care of her Syrian trade, and was pleased with his capacity for business, and perhaps still more with his handsome person and courtly address.

Mohammed had, from his earliest years, manifested a decided *inclination for solitude*, and it was his custom to put aside mercantile affairs and withdraw to a cave in a mountain near Mecca, where he would shut himself up, for a month together, every year. When in the fortieth year of his age (A. D. 610), he pretended to have had *visions*. He said that, while sleeping in a cave in Mount Hira, the Angel Gabriel appeared to him, and, calling him thrice, bade him "cry." This was his first revelation, after which he fancied himself possessed of devils, and would have put an end to his life had he not received a second revelation, in which he was bidden to "arise and

¹ According to the account of *Paulus Diaconus*, *Zonaras* (twelfth century), and other historians.

preach." These pretended *visions* were continued till the end of his life. He at first communicated them only to Khadijah, his wife; Ali, his cousin; Zeid, his freedman and adopted son; Abu-Bekr, his attached friend and prudent counsellor; Othman, who, as well as Abu-Bekr, afterwards became Caliph, and a few others. After having passed a long retreat in the cave of Mount Hira, he appeared as a public teacher, in the year 611, declaring that "*there is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet.*" Having been, in early life, subject to epileptic fits, he at first regarded these visions as the work of evil spirits; but, having been reassured by the repetition of them, and encouraged by his friends, he finally brought himself to believe, or to affect to believe, that they were divine messages, communicated to him through the agency of the Archangel Gabriel. In the pretended revelations which took place at a later period of his life, it is not difficult to discover that he was at times both deceiving himself and consciously deceiving others.

It is not at all improbable that, from the very beginning of his career, he entertained the vain hope that the Jews would eventually recognise him as the long looked-for *Messiah*, and the Christian sects of Arabia as the promised *Paraclete*. But when the youthful Ali, his cousin, speaking in his defence, declared that he would break the teeth, pluck out the eyes, rip open the bodies, and cut off the legs of such as would dare oppose the Prophet of God, the people of Mohammed's own tribe of Koreish rose up in indignation against him, and threatened to take his life. Rejected and persecuted by the Koreishites, he fled from Mecca, July 15, A. D. 622, and, after a three-day's journey, reached the city of Hatshreb, or Yathrib, afterwards called Medina, an abbreviation for *Medinat al-Nabi*, or the City of the Prophet. This event is called the Hegira (*Hedshra*), or flight, and marks an epoch in the life of Mohammed. Henceforth, Islam and its founder will take their place in the history of the world.

He was received by the inhabitants of Medina with every demonstration of respect, and was conducted into the city in triumph. He had, up to this time, led a comparatively obscure life, but he was now to come forth as the prophet and founder of a new political and religious system, destined to make a hitherto insignificant people play a most important part in the history of the world. He at once commenced a war against the Koreishites, which, at first, consisted of predatory attacks upon caravans, but soon assumed the dimensions and acquired the importance of a great and organised struggle. After many successes and some reverses, he finally marched on Mecca (A. D. 630), and encountered but slight opposition before getting possession of the place. The Prophet, entering the city, went directly to the Kaaba, and saying, "Truth is come, let lies depart," ordered all the idols to be broken before his eyes. Having thus purified the national sanctuary, hallowed by the presence and memory of Abraham and Ismael, of all abominations, he made it the chief temple of the new worship.

The religious belief¹ of Mohammed, which he professed to have received from time to time, either directly from God or through the Angel Gabriel, and which, after his death, had been collected from the palm-leaves, bits of leather, stones, mutton bones, and other materials on which the several revelations had been written, and arranged into one book, known as the *Koran*,² is little more than an incongruous mixture of *Parseeism*, *Judaism*, and *Christianity*.

Mohammed's knowledge of the two last does not appear to have

¹ The *Koran* and the *Sonna* are the authoritative sources of Doctrine.

The *Koran* consists of the revelations which Mohammed professed to receive from time to time, either directly from God or through the Angel Gabriel. The name *Koran* (lit. "that which is read" or "that which ought to be read,") is applied both to the whole work and to any part of it. It has many other titles with the Mohammedans: *Al Forkan*, "Liberation," "Deliverance," hence "Illumination," "Revelation;" *Al Moshaf*, "The Volume;" *Al Kitab*, "The Book;" *Al Dbikr*, "The Admonition." It is divided into 114 chapters ("Suras," "rows, primarily of bricks in a wall," thence "a line" of writing). Each chapter is divided into verses (*Ayat*, "signs," "wonders"), which vary slightly in different editions. Both suras and verses are of very different lengths, the suras having from three to two hundred and eighty-six verses, the verses being from one to nearly twenty lines. Each sura has its title, taken either from some subject treated or some person mentioned in it, or from some important word, often in the middle or near the end of the sura. Some suras have two titles; some verses have also titles of their own. Next to the title comes the mention of the place where, according to tradition, the sura was revealed—Mecca, Medina, or partly at Mecca, partly at Medina. To every sura but the ninth is prefixed the form of blessing, "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful." This blessing is called "Bismillah," from the first word in the Arabic. It is used at the beginning of all books and public documents, before meals and other actions, and is constantly on the lips of Mohammedans. . . .

The *Koran* is composed absolutely without any arrangement or system whatsoever. It has neither beginning, middle, nor end, it is a gathering of irregular scraps, indiscriminately put together. . . .

Three stages may be recognised in the composition of the *Koran*: 1. The period of early struggles, marked by a higher poetical spirit, an appreciation of the beauties of nature, more intense feeling and earnestness. 2. The period of controversy and the formation of doctrine, showing a more prosaic and didactic style, with frequent repetitions of histories and legends. 3. Period of power, of legislation, moral and ecclesiastical, indicated by a more dogmatic and commanding tone, and comparative freedom from histories and legends.

The *Sonna* (lit. "custom"). The second authoritative source of doctrine is an amplification and explanation of the *Koran*. It consists of the sayings and doings of the Prophet, as handed down by tradition, put into writing, at the earliest, at the end of the first century after the Hegira. The original purpose of the collectors of traditions was to supply materials for the decision of questions of doctrine, morals, law, and even of habits and customs when the *Koran* is silent. The *Sonna*, therefore, chiefly deals with matters of practice. . . .

The traditions are all cast in the same form. They are seldom more than ten lines long. Each relates usually only to one fact, in the same style, and in the form of a dialogue. At the head of each is put the chain of witnesses (*Isnad*), on whose authority the tradition rests, beginning with the writer, and going up to some companion of the Prophet. This is of great importance, and is, with the Mohammedans, a test of the "soundness" of a tradition. They are on all possible subjects. (*Blunt's* Sects and Heresies, art. Mohammedans.—Tr.)

² The *Koran* is composed of 114 *Suras* (capita), each of which opens with the words, written in cyphers "Be smilahi rachmâni rachîmi," i.e., "In the name of the All-merciful, of the All-bountiful." Every Sura (tradition) is again divided into *Ayats*, or verses. As to the subject-matter, the doctrine of the *Koran*, or the *Islam* (from *salama*, to be safe; fourth conjug., to devote one's self to God), is divided into the *Iman* (doctrine of faith) and *Din* (justice, or moral doctrine). Of the expounders of the *Koran*, the orthodox party are called *Sunnites* (traditionalists); the heterodox are called *Shûtes*. Conf. Weil, Hist. Crit. Intr. to the *Koran*, Bielefeld, 1844. (Tr.)

been derived from the Old and New Testaments, but rather from *apocryphal Jewish and Christian legends*.¹ It was said, even by the contemporaries of Mohammed, that Abdallah Ebn Salam, a Jew; Salam, a convert from Parseeism to Christianity; and Sergius, a Nestorian monk, had aided him in compiling his religious system. Such were the heterogeneous constituents of *Islam* (Submission to God)—a simple, but incomplete system, the one essential element of which is hatred and execration of every other religion.

The followers of Islam and descendants of Abraham, like their forefather, adored but *one* God, and in this they were equally opposed to both the Polytheism of the Pagans and the Trinitarian dogma of the Christians. Their faith as regards God was embodied in the motto of the Koran: “*la illah ill 'Allah*”—i. e., “*there is no God beside God*.” As God has no Son, there can be no Incarnation, and, as the name indicates,² Mohammed is his promised Paraclete. Abraham, Moses, and Christ were sent by God to announce an imperfect and partial divine revelation, the completion and perfection (*choema*) of which was reserved to Mohammed. The chief of the attributes ascribed to God, and insisted upon with special emphasis as those most frequently called into exercise, are *omnipotence, omniscience*, and, above all, *mercy*. Hence, every public document commenced with the words, “*In the name of the All-merciful*.”

Angels, created before man, and consisting of an ethereal fire or light, hover about the throne of God, and never weary of serving and praising Him. The four most important angels are *Gabriel*, the angel of revelation, declared to be identical with the Holy Ghost; *Michael*, the protector of youth and friend of the Jews; *Azrael*, the angel of death; and *Izrafil*, who shall sound the trumpet on the day of judgment. The Koran speaks also of an angel guardian, and of another, once called Azazil, but who, refusing to comply with God's command and worship Adam at his creation, was cursed for his pride, fell from his high estate, and became *Eblis*, or Satan. He has no power over believers, but is constantly engaged in seducing others.

God created *man* out of dust to be his representative on earth. Some He made white, some black, and others of a colour resulting from a mixture of the two. His soul is part of the Divine Being, and his body God commanded to be circumcised, like that of *Ismael*, the patriarch of the Arabs, in the thirteenth year after birth. He is subject by *irreversible decree* to a divine and irrevocable law, according to which his actions and his destiny are *foreordained and predetermined*.

Islam repudiates redemption, justification, grace and its influence

¹ Möhler, On the relation in which, according to the Koran, Christ stands to Muhammed, and the Gospel to the Islam (*complete works*, Vol. I., p. 348-402); Geiger, What has Muhammed plagiarized from Judaism, Bonn, 1833. †Maier, Christian Elements of the Koran (Freibg. Journal of Theology, Vol. II., p. 34-97). Conf. Grosse, Essay of a Christology of the Koran, Gotha, 1840.

² This pretension is without foundation, because “*Mohammed*,” though synonymous with περικλυτός far-famed, is not with παράκλητος.

as a means of salvation. But in all that regards eschatology, or the end of man and his condition after death, it is especially full, depicting in glowing words and endless variety of expression the grossly sensual pleasures of *Paradise*, and giving, by way of contrast, a frightful account of the tortures of *Hell*. On the Last Day, the *bodien* shall rise from their resting-place, and all men go to judgment. After judgment, all men will pass over the bridge Al-Sirat, which extends over the midst of hell, is finer than a hair, sharper than a sword's edge, and beset on both sides by briars and thorns. The good will pass, with Mohammed and the prophets, in safety into paradise; the wicked will fall into hell, where they will endure tortures of fire and other punishments. Their bodies will be ever fresh for the flame; for their flesh, though constantly consumed, will be constantly renewed.

Paradise is a place flowing with milk and honey, and abounding in every delight for the enjoyment of the good. They will feast on the most delicious meats, and drink water which never becomes impure; each shall enjoy the society of his own wives and of the charming and incontaminable black-eyed houries, or girls of paradise.

The Koran is filled with protests against the Christian dogmas of the *Divinity of Christ* and the *Trinity*, and against the *eneration of images*. Speaking of the divinity of Christ, Mohammed says: "There is no cause for marvel if, in the promulgation of such a doctrine, the heavens opened, the earth was rent, and the mountains fell in." "If," said he, "you affirm that God has a Son, you must also admit that He has a wife." Mohammed arrived at this conclusion in the following way: The Arabs believed all angels to be *females*, and Mohammed held that the angel Gabriel, being the supreme angel, was identical with the Holy Ghost. He therefore concluded that the Christians had raised this angel to the dignity of wife of God, and that he was consequently a female Divinity. This being once established, there was no difficulty in allowing that a third Divinity, or *Jesus*, was the fruit of this union. And in matter of fact, there is an *apocryphal* writing, in which *Jesus* is represented as addressing the *Holy Ghost* as *his mother*.

With regard to *morality*, the Koran may be said to concern itself only about external practices, paying little, if any, attention to the purity of *interior motives*, or to the *conditions of true sanctification*. The principal branches of practice are three—*prayer*, *fasting*, and *alms-giving*.

I. *Prayer*.—In praying, the worshipper turns towards Mecca, where the Kaaba is situated, this being the direction which leads along the way to God. Prayer is ordered to be made *five times daily*: 1. Before sunrise; 2. Just after noon, when the sun begins to decline; 3. Midway between noon and nightfall; 4. A little after sunset; and 5. When the evening has just set in. The times of prayer are proclaimed by Muezzins from the minarets of the mosque, in a sort of chant. This religious service consists of inclinations, frequent ejaculations of the form, "God is great," and prayers and recitations:

taken from the Koran. Public worship takes place in the mosque every Friday at noon. This day is called "the day of assembly," and the service is the same as that of private devotions, with the addition of a sermon. Women are not admitted into the mosque, or allowed to attend public service, except on festivals.

II. *Fasting* is a means of gaining heaven, and is both obligatory and optional. The obligatory fast takes place yearly, during the month of Ramadhan, because the Koran was given in that month. It commences with the new moon and continues to the next new moon. The Moslem is bidden to fast every day, from the time it is light enough to distinguish between a black and white thread until sunset, from eating and drinking, from smoking and perfume, and from all sensual indulgence. Of the optional fasts, the most important is that of the Ashura, the tenth day of Moharram, or the first month. It was instituted and made obligatory by Mohammed, shortly after the Hegira, when he was trying to win over the Jews, but was afterwards left to the option of each believer.

III. *Alms-giving* was at first prescribed, but afterwards made voluntary, and is regarded as effectual in opening the gates of heaven to the worshipper. In the early days of Moslemism, the alms were collected by officers appointed by the sovereign, and were applied to pious uses. Their payment was afterwards left to the conscience, and their application determined by the wish of the giver. Both men and women were each expected to make at least one *pilgrimage* to Mecca and Mount Arafat in the course of their lives. Each one may either go himself or send another, whose expenses he pays.¹ But the most meritorious of all actions, according to the Prophet, was to *co-operate* with the saints in efforts to *propagate the new religion by force of arms*. Female chastity consisted in loyal fidelity to husbands and in shunning whatever might tend to excite their jealousy. In men, on the other hand, it consisted in having no illicit intercourse with strange women or female slaves other than those of one's own household. Besides as many female slaves as one might choose to possess, he was also allowed to have *four wives*. One who had not a sufficiently ample fortune to marry free women was advised to content himself with slaves. In its relations to woman, Islam is in every sense far inferior to Paganism. On the other hand, the use of wine and all spirituous liquors was forbidden.

A religious system such as this, so congenial to the temperament and national character of the Arabs, and whose fundamental principles may be comprised under these two heads, viz., 1. *As to faith and the*

¹ This pilgrimage takes place in the month of Dzul-hajji. The ceremonies to be performed by the pilgrims are very numerous and complicated; the chief of them are the wearing of the *Ihram*, or sacred garment, consisting of two simple pieces of cloth wrapped round the loins and over the shoulder: going three times round the Kaaba or Holy House of Mecca, kissing or touching each time the black stone, said to have fallen from heaven; making a journey to Mount Arafat, about ten miles distant from Mecca, and offering victims, either goats, sheep, kine, or camels. *Blunt's Sects and Heresies*, art. *Mahometanism*. (Tr.)

intellectual domain, exclusive and prescribed unity ; and, 2. As to practice, unbounded and unlimited enjoyment, would naturally have a greater hold over, and exercise a deeper influence upon, the children of the desert than the exalted teaching and moral requirements of Christianity.

Still, the terrible doctrine representing God as absolutely pre-ordaining man, and man as irrevocably predestined, to an eternity of either happiness or misery, early met with a most decided opposition. Those who refused to accept its more harsh and repulsive features formed themselves into one of the *numerous sects*¹ into which this religious system, apparently so simple, was eventually split, and professed the doctrine in a modified form.

The Moslem form of government is an absolute despotism,² and seems an essential element of the system ; though, judging from the examples of Hindoo kings and Chinese emperors, there would not appear to be any necessary connection between it and the genius of the Asiatic people. It is therefore peculiar to Moslemism—a peculiarity which may be sufficiently accounted for by bearing in mind that in the Moslem system there is a thorough amalgamation and complete identification of the spiritual with the temporal power, and that the latter is, moreover, simply a military domination, based upon the right of conquest. This being the case, there will be no difficulty in understanding the drift of Mohammed's political axiom : “ *Two religions can not co-exist in the same State.*”

Islam is little more than a bald and superficial imitation of Judaism, without, however, its *expiatory and vicarious sacrifices*. Neither does the Koran make any mention of a hierarchy or teaching body of religious men. Mohammed and his successors themselves officiated as prayer-leaders, and exhorted the believers. Still, though it was soon found necessary to appoint certain persons with specific religious duties, these do not bear the most remote resemblance, either in character or office, to anything in the Christian hierarchy. None of them are regarded in the light of ordained priests—neither the *Sheiks*, who preached ; nor the *Khatîbs*, who read the Koran ; nor the *Imans*, who presided at the daily prayers ; nor the *Muezzins*, who proclaimed the times of prayer from the minarets ; nor the *Kayim*, who had the custody of the mosques. The functions of all these may be discharged equally well, and just as lawfully, by any ordinary Moslem. Even the *Ulemâs*, a college of men composed of three

¹ Döllinger's work, entitled “The Religion of Mohammed,” may be consulted for an account of the Moslem sects, pp. 79-134.

Between the sects of the *Kadris* and *Dshabarîs* and the orthodox believers of Islam, there was an opposition somewhat analogous to that which the *Predestinarians* and *Pelagians* manifested towards orthodox Christianity. Neither are the hopeful anticipations of the *Mehdi*, in their relations to Islam, unlike the wild *chiliastic* reveries of the Christian Millenarians. There were also some mystic sects among the Moslems, the chief of which was that of the *Sufis*, who somewhat resembled the *Pantheists* and *Quietists*. L. c., p. 105 sq.

² Conf. Döllinger, L. c., p. 38 sq.

orders, of which that of the Muftis, or *Doctors of Law* and Theology, is the highest and most respected, resemble the Christian clergy only in external appearance, holding about the same relation to them as the Moslem *dervishes* to the Christian monks. As a natural result and logical consequence of such a ministry, the *worship* of Islam is barren and empty, and an enemy to all symbolism and pictorial representation. Nor are the two chief but meaningless festivals of Islam, called *Ids*, and by the Turks *Beirams*—the greater intended to commemorate the sacrifice offered by Abraham, and the lesser the termination of the fast of Ramadhan; nor *Friday*, the sacred day of Islam—intended to commemorate the creation of the world, and consequently a day, not of rest, but of labour and general activity—at all calculated to give the Moslems a correct idea of divine things, or to inspire them with high and holy thoughts, and lift their hearts heavenward, like the solemn fasts of Christianity, which have naturally, and as if by a law of necessity, grown out of the great facts connected with the redemption of mankind.

Mohammedanism spread rapidly. Its progress was partly due to the personal qualities and efforts of Mohammed himself, who, being affable in his address and simple in his manners, liberal and beneficent, daring and sensual, and, when occasion required, harsh and cruel, propagated the religion of Islam sword in hand; combating with terrible energy and indomitable resolution, whoever dared to resist his command, and holding out to such as espoused and took up arms in defence of his cause eternal happiness and perpetual and ever-renewing delights amid the cooling and refreshing shades of Paradise; but partly, also, to the discords of the Christians, which prevented them from combining and successfully resisting the new enemy, and to the sympathy of the Nestorians and Monophysites of Syria and Egypt, who were discontented with Byzantine rule. The latter were for a time favoured by the ambitious and fanatical Moslem, who encouraged them to secretly aid and abet the war which they themselves were openly to undertake against the Lower Empire. So rapid were their conquests, that on the death of Mohammed, who was attacked by tertian fever and carried off, June 8, A. D. 632, nearly the whole of Arabia had been subjected to the faith of Islam; and, during the course of the first century after the Hegira, these lately converted and fanatical Arabs went forth under the leadership of the immediate successors to Mohammed, the Caliphs (Khalif, "Successor"), *Abu-Bekr*, and *Omar I.*, and, before the close of the year 639, had subdued all Syria and Palestine. After the deplorable capitulation of Jerusalem (A. D. 637), *Sophronius*, the Patriarch of the city, conducted *Omar* into the Church of the Resurrection, crying out, as he passed through the bewildered people who had gathered there: "Behold the abomination of desolation in the Holy Place, foretold by Daniel the Prophet." *Egypt* was subdued by *Othman* in A. D. 640, and *Persia* in A. D. 651. The Church of the East, split up into rival sects, and weakened by internal dissensions, was incapable of unity, either of

purpose or action, and entirely destitute of the vigour and courage characteristic of the ages of faith, which opposed arms to arms, repelled force by force, and gloried in defending the Cross of Christ.

During the caliphate of the Ommiads, *the entire coast of Northern Africa* (A. D. 707), with its once flourishing churches, and even *Spain* itself (A. D. 711), were subdued by the Saracens. Constantinople alone still held out, after having successfully sustained two long and obstinate sieges (A. D. 669-676, 717-718).

There can be no doubt that *Islam, with its terrible genius for destruction and its hundred millions of believers, has*, like all the great events which take place in this world by the inscrutable decrees of Providence, a determinate influence and special office in the moral government of mankind. It is not, however, permitted us to fathom the depths of the Divine Councils, or to do more than venture, with becoming reverence, a vague guess and doubtful forecast as to the ultimate purpose of the Supreme Disposer of all things. As Mohammed commenced by combating Paganism, it is not unlikely that the *monotheism of the Moslems* was intended to be for those idolators who embraced it, one of the stages in their passage to Christianity. And, judging from the rigorous character of the then prevailing *rationalism*, it should seem that it would be a very efficient means of leading such Mohammedans, and even Jews, as had acquired any considerable degree of ~~moral~~ mental and moral culture, to the knowledge and acceptance of Christianity. When it is borne in mind that idolatry was prevalent in Africa, and pantheism in Asia, the propagation of the faith of Islam, and the consequent authority which it exercised over men's minds, may be regarded as constituting a sort of breakwater, or *spiritual quarantine*, protecting the already *degenerate Christianity*¹ of the *Eastern* nations from any further mutilation and perversion that might come from those quarters.

Were proof needed that the danger of a wide-spread and complete corruption was really approaching and imminent, it might be furnished, not only in the tendency then so decided and prevalent among the Christians of the East, to split into innumerable heretical and discordant sects, but also in the fact that the immoral, corrupting, and extravagant doctrine of the Paulicians and Bogomiles was received with universal favour. Nay, more, the schismatical Greeks had become so degraded that even the Mohammedans, when referring to them as compared with themselves, were accustomed to speak of them in terms of contempt.

When Islam is considered in its relations to *Western Christendom*, its mission is still more apparent. The Moslems, being in a sense the representatives and inheritors of the Old Law, became instruments in the hands of God for the chastisement of the *enfranchised and free nations of the West*, thus at once checking their downward course and punishing their degeneracy, rousing them from their inactivity,

¹ *D Winger*, The Religion of Mohammed, p. 140 sq.

and calling into life their slumbering energies. When chastisement had been administered, their work was accomplished; the scourge was arrested, and the spirit of wrath and vengeance disappeared. The Church had indeed been violently shaken by the terrible convulsions by which South and South-Western Europe was visited; but, when these had passed away, the world beheld the old edifice, though somewhat damaged by the mighty tempest that had swept over her, still as firmly seated as ever upon her immovable foundations, and rising in more than her ancient strength and beauty from the surrounding ruins.

Notwithstanding the vast power and wide dominion exercised by the Moslems, they have for centuries been disquieted by a prophecy,¹ according to which "*the Ottoman Empire is one day to be destroyed by the Christians.*"

While considering these events from our point of view, we should not forget the peculiar position of Christians under the domination of Mohammed and the Caliphs. While declaring Christ to be a mere man, Mohammed professed the greatest respect for both Him and his Gospel. He at times treated the Christians with remarkable lenity; thus acting a part strangely inconsistent with his own professed revelations. Even the Caliphs were at first tolerant of the Christians, probably from political motives, imposing no heavier burden than a *capitation tax* on either them or the Jews. Moreover, many educated Christians wrote *apologies*, in which they defended their own faith, demonstrated the inadmissibility of the interpretations put upon certain texts of the Old Testament by which they were made applicable to Islam;² maintained the Divinity of Christ and the free will of man, refuted with unassailable arguments the doctrine of fatalism and of unconditional predestination, and the assertion that God is the author of evil.

But the Caliphs soon put an end to such inconsiderate controversy. Elated by their success and numerous victories, they carried into practical effect the political axiom of Mohammed which had hitherto been held in abeyance: "Two religions can not co-exist in the same State." They replied with the sword to the arguments of Christian apologists, treated the Christians themselves as an obnoxious sect, and gave them the alternative of apostasy or death.

¹ Ludov. Domenichi makes mention of these prophecies in his *Profetie dei Maometani*. Firenze, 1548.

² Such a passage is Deuteron. xxxiii. 2: "The Lord came from Sinai, and from Seir He rose up to us: He hath appeared from Mount Pharan." It was pretended that these words foretold the revelation by *Moses*, that by *Christ* (since it is said that Seir is a mountain of Galilee), and by *Mohammed*. But the mountain Pharan is altogether too far away from Hedshaz and Mecca to be considered as in any way connected with Mohammed. See Döllinger, *Man'l of Ch. H.*, Vol. I., Pt. II., p. 313. Nay, the Mohammedans even accused the Christians of having erased the name of Mohammed from the Bible, and insisted that Christ said: "I announce to you that a prophet shall come after me whose name is *Muometh*." See *Phrases* in his corp. script. hist. Byzant., Bonn., 1838, p. 340.

§ 177. *The Controversies of the Iconoclasts in the East and in the Frankish Empire.*

A.—BYZANTINE ICONOCLASTS.

I. *Mansi*, T. XII-XIV. *Harduin*, T. III. and IV. Of the Byzantines, the Chronicle of *Theophanes* Confess. († before 820), and the Breviar. hist. of *Nicephorus*, Patr. of Const. (†828) in Ang. Mai Nov. PP. Bibl., V. I., 146. (Tr.) *Theodori Studitæ* (†826), opp. ed. Sirmond, opp. var. 1. *Georgii Hamartoli*, Chron. ed. E. de Muralt, Petersburg, 1865. *Acta S. Andree* in Act. SS. Bolland. Oct. VIII., p. 124 sq.—*Goldast*, imperialia decreta de cultu imaginum in utroque imperio promulgata, Francofurti, 1608. *Joannis Damasceni* Λόγοι ἀπολογητικοὶ πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας τὰς ἁγίας εἰκόνας (Opp. ed. *le Quien*, T. I., p. 305 sq.) The principal documents in *Rösler's* Patristic Library, Pt. X., p. 474-568.

II. *Maimbourg*, Hist. de l'hérésie des Iconoclastes, 2 vols., Paris, 1679. *Natal. Alex.* Dissert. adv. vet. novosque iconomachos ac præsertim contra, libb IV. (Carolin.) (hist. eccl. sæc. VIII.) *Schlosser*, Hist. of the Iconoclast Emperors of the Eastern Empire, Frkft., 1812. *Katerkamp*, Ch. H., V. IV., p. 40-96. †*Marx*, The Iconoclasm of the Byzantine Emperors, Treves, 1839. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. III., p. 335-457. *Palma*, Prælect. hist. eccl. T. II., Pt. II., p. 3-43.

While the Moslems were living peaceably, side by side with the Christians, and both were, to all appearance, daily cultivating more friendly relations with each other, there was no concealing the fact that the followers of Mohammed had taken deep offence at the prevailing and growing use of images in the Christian churches—a practice which the lawgiver of Mecca had emphatically condemned from the very outset of his career. The aversion to the use of images, manifested by the first Christians, was early overcome by the decided taste for the fine arts innate in the character of the Greeks and still strong among them, and by the requirements of popular devotion, of which visible signs and symbols are the natural expression. It can not, however, be denied that the use of images, in itself so perfectly legitimate, had gradually given rise to many and glaring abuses, such as the practice of employing them as sponsors for children and decking them in all sorts of unbecoming adornments. These abuses were at once the cause and occasion of a turbulent reaction, which, as is usual in such cases, defeated its own purpose by going beyond the limits of legitimate protest and condemning even a rational use of images, and led to a contest more sanguinary and violent than any which the dogmatic controversies had excited in the East. Nay, more, so terrific was the iconoclastic struggle, while it lasted, that it destroyed the peace of the Church and threatened the destruction of the State.

The origin of this deplorable controversy is usually ascribed to Leo the *Isaurian*, a rude and ignorant soldier, who, rising from the humblest walks of life, finally succeeded, by the aid of the army, in reaching the imperial throne (A. D. 717). Having already employed violent measures to compel the Jews to receive baptism, and driven the Montanists to such a degree of desperation that they frequently resorted to suicide to escape his tyranny, he next turned his attention

to the task of suppressing the use of images. He brought to the contest the fierce spirit of the lawgiver of Mecca rather than the moderation of the one of Sinai, declaring "he could not endure that Christ should be represented under the form of a dumb and senseless figure, made of coarse material and bedaubed with vulgar colours, and that such representations would shock both Jews and Mohammedans, and repel them from Christianity."¹ He therefore assumed the office of a self-constituted reformer of the Church, and set about putting an end to this superstition. He commenced by ordering Pope Gregory II. to have the images and paintings on the walls of the churches raised sufficiently high to be beyond the reach of the embraces and kisses of the devout multitude, thus, as he thought, preventing profanation and removing the occasion of sin.

Finding that his order was ineffectual, he published, in the year 726, in spite of the representations and protests of *Germanus*, Patriarch of Constantinople, and other theologians of the capital, an edict forbidding the veneration of statues, images, and mosaics, and branding the practice as idolatrous.

This edict was shortly followed by a second (C. A. D. 730) of a far more severe and sweeping character, ordering the complete destruction of all images throughout the Western Empire. No words can convey an adequate idea of the agitation and tumult which followed its promulgation. The question, unlike any abstruse definition of a dogma, or authoritative solution of a subtle point of metaphysics, was within the comprehension of the multitude, and bore directly upon their religious life and devotional habits. It has been said that if an order were issued at the present day, commanding the breaking and destroying of all the statues and images of the Blessed Virgin set up along the country highways and metropolitan thoroughfares of any Catholic country of Europe, no such revulsion of feeling would take place as that which followed the promulgation of Leo's edict. The soldiers charged with its execution were treated with every sort of indignity, and frequently lost their lives in endeavouring to carry its instructions into effect.

Above the bronze portal of the imperial palace stood a magnifi-

¹ The use of images, besides being a stumbling-block to Mohammedans, as was maintained, was objectionable to the Iconoclastic emperors for other reasons. They insisted—1. That images had been forbidden in the Old Law; 2. That painting and sculpture were eminently Pagan arts; 3. That it was entirely unbecoming and sinful to represent Christ and his saints by lifeless matter; 4. That to represent Christ under human form was to give rise to a *tertium quid*, inasmuch as, though the human attributes might, the divine attributes could not, be limited by forms of sense, and consequently the image would be something giving no adequate or correct representation of the Person of Christ, thus leading to the Eutychian or Monophysite errors, or that, if this conclusion were rejected, the only alternative left was to take refuge in Nestorianism, and, by maintaining that Christ could be represented under human and sensible forms, admit that the Persons might be separated in Him, and his humanity have a self-subsistent existence of its own. The true solution of the whole difficulty, and the motive which prompted imperial action, are to be sought in the meddlesomeness of these emperors who, like their predecessors in regard to the earlier dogmatic controversies, were always interfering in ecclesiastical legislation.

cent image of Christ,¹ which was held in great reverence by the people. According to Theophanes and Cedrenus, the destroying of this was the occasion of a popular tumult, in which many of the participants paid with their lives the penalty of their devotion. When a soldier of the imperial guard had placed a ladder against the gateway, for the purpose of taking down the image, a number of ladies collected around begged him to spare it for their sakes. But, instead of heeding their remonstrances and acceding to their wishes, he struck the face of the image a blow with his axe—an act which so wounded the religious sensibilities, and so excited the indignation of the ladies, that, forgetting for a time the gentleness of their sex, and yielding to the fierce impulse of the moment, they drew the ladder from under the soldier's feet, precipitated him to the ground, set upon and murdered him.

The chief opposition came from the monks, who supplied the images, and the bulk of the people, who entertained great reverence for them.

The Emperor's anger was still more inflamed against the iconolaters by the conduct of one Kosmos, who, taking advantage of the popular indignation against the Emperor, raised the standard of rebellion in Greece. The insurrection was speedily suppressed, and Kosmos apprehended and executed; but the event itself afforded Leo a plausible excuse for pursuing his iconoclastic policy with greater energy.

In the year 730, he entered upon a systematic warfare against images (εἰκονοκλασμός), which he carried on with unremitting severity till the day of his death, A. D. 741.

Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, who had already reached the venerable age of ninety-six, having refused to comply with the Emperor's wishes, was deposed and superseded by *Anastasius*, the secretary and compliant tool of Leo. But, if he could thus dispose of Germanus, he had no such power over *John of Damascus*, the greatest theologian of his day, and who, living under the government of the Caliphs, and having no reason to fear the anger of Leo, published three exceedingly able discourses in defence of the proper use of images. Both *Gregory II.* and *Gregory III.* protested emphatically against the imputation cast upon the Church by the Emperor, of having for eight hundred years tolerated and favoured an idolatrous worship. They stated that no Christian could be persuaded to believe that there was anything divine in the material statue or picture itself, or that any divine virtue resided in it, and that consequently they could not worship it; that the most illiterate person and the feeblest intellect could distinguish between the downright adoration of images and the relative homage that might be paid to them because of the originals which they represented; and that the prohibitions formerly laid upon the Jews were not applicable to the

¹ The so-called ἀντιφωνήτης = warrantor, because, as the legend went, it had, on one occasion, given security for the payment of money borrowed by a pious sailor.

Christians, because, since Christ, the Second Person of the Adorable Trinity, had become incarnate and assumed the form of man, his representation as such was both possible and admissible.

Such churches as might defy the power and escape the resentment of Leo, at once cut the Iconoclasts off from their communion. In the year 731, Gregory III. convoked a council at Rome, attended by ninety-three bishops, in which sentence of excommunication was passed upon *all* enemies of holy images. The Emperor, now under sentence of excommunication, determined to take revenge upon the Pope, and sent a fleet against Rome, which was dispersed by a storm, and wrecked in the Adriatic Gulf. After this failure, he contented himself with confiscating those portions of the Patrimony of St. Peter situated in Calabria and Sicily, and transferring Greece and Illyricum from the Roman to the Byzantine patriarchate. Leo laboured for a period of twelve years in the vain attempt to root out a religious principle deeply seated in the minds of earnest Christians, and at his death (A. D. 741) beheld his empire distracted in both East and West, and his purpose as far from its accomplishment as at the commencement of his reign. His son and successor, *Constantine Copronymus*,¹ (A. D. 741-775), surpassed even his father in the malignant hatred with which he pursued the defenders of images throughout his empire. The controversy had been heretofore mainly a religious one, but it now assumed a different aspect, and took the character of a political contest.

During the first year of Constantine's reign, and while he was absent on an expedition against the Saracens, a report of his death having got abroad, the advocates of the use of images rose in revolt, and placed *Artabasdus*, the Emperor's brother-in-law, on the imperial throne. The usurper, who, to gain the affections of the people, proclaimed himself the protector of such as opposed Iconoclasm, was unable to retain possession of the throne, and having been defeated by Constantine, November 2, A. D. 743, paid dearly for his rashness and ambition. Constantine had both him and his son bound in chains, exposed in the hippodrome, and, after having put this indignity upon them, ordered their eyes to be plucked out. All the adherents of the usurper underwent a punishment equally cruel. His anger bore still more heavily upon the unfortunate and vacillating *Anastasius*, who, having been an iconoclast under Leo, changed sides under Artabasdus, and, after having suffered the most terrible cruelties in punishment of his relapse, again veered about, and, upon his restoration to the patriarchate, became the submissive and subservient tool of Constantine. The unworthy patriarch did all in his power to facilitate the carrying out of the Emperor's designs. He crowned his son, who was then associated with his father in the government of the empire—a measure intended to secure the permanency of Constantine's dynasty.

¹ So called from *κόπρος*, dirt, because, at his baptism, he defiled the baptismal font,

Constantine availed himself of a most opportune moment, when the Lombards were seriously threatening the Pope, to renew and add to the severity of his decrees against the use of images. In order to secure the good-will and co-operation of the bishops, he amused each in turn with the flattering hope or promise of the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, left vacant by the death of Anastasius (A. D. 753).

He also summoned, in the next year, the bishops to meet in council at the capital, to provide measures for the complete suppression of the use of images. This council afterwards aspired to the more pretentious title of the Seventh Œcumenical. It assembled in the Hieria palace, opposite Constantinople, was attended by three hundred and thirty-eight bishops belonging to Asia Minor, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece; and was presided over by *Theodosius* of Ephesus, but among its members there was not a single one of the Oriental patriarchs. The patriarchate of Constantinople was still vacant, and those of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem were under Mohammedan dominion.

Although the great majority of the bishops condemned in their hearts the principles of Iconoclasm, yet they consented to become facile tools of the Emperor, and descended to the meanness of doing his bidding. They denounced the art of painting as accursed and blasphemous, and as the invention of the devil; declared that such as should manufacture or pay reverence to images, or set them up either in churches or in private houses, should, if ecclesiastics, be deposed, and, if laymen, be cut off from the communion of the Church, after which they were to be handed over to the civil authority, to be dealt with according to the ordinances of the imperial laws; and finally, as if to fill the measure of their ignominious abasement, they anathematised *Germanus*, the deceased Patriarch of Constantinople, *Gregory* of Cyprus, and *John* of Damascus.¹

The Pope and the three Oriental patriarchs living under the Mohammedan government, condemned the decrees of this synod. This action was followed by a new and more decided opposition to the Emperor, on the one hand, and, on the other, by a more bloody and relentless persecution of the advocates of images.

Monasteries were demolished, libraries destroyed, and monks given the alternative of marrying or quitting the country. Many of them were chucked into sacks, had stones tied about their necks, and were cast into the sea; others had their eyes plucked, and were dragged through the streets of the city.

Among the most resolute of those who withstood the imperial tyranny was the famous Abbot *Stephen* the Younger, who dwelt in the grotto of Auxentius, on a lofty mountain near Constantinople. He inspired the monks, who flocked to him in great numbers, with his own courage and resolution, but advised such as felt any diffidence of their fortitude to retire to distant districts in the East and West. The Emperor, con-

¹ Conf. *Hefele*, Ch. H., V. III., p. 379-386.

scious of the importance of having a man of such influence espouse his cause, dispatched a person of high rank to him with a present of dried figs, dates, and such other fruits as the monk subsisted on. Stephen rejected the insidious overture, declaring that he would not accept the gift of a heretic, nor deny his faith, and that he was ready to die for the image of Christ. When summoned before the Emperor, drawing from his cowl a piece of coin bearing the Emperor's effigy, he said: "What punishment shall I suffer if I trample this under my feet?" And, having thrown the coin down, he trod upon it, whereupon he was cast into prison for so insulting the imperial effigy; thus demonstrating, by an *argumentum ad hominem*, that reverence paid to an image might be transferred to the original.

Upon entering the prison, he found there three hundred and forty-two monks, some with their hands, some with their ears, and some with their noses cut off; others whose eyes had been bored out, and all awaiting the sentence of death.

Leo IV. (A. D. 775-780), who succeeded Constantine, adopted the same principles and pursued the same policy as his father; and if his measures were somewhat less severe, it was, in a great measure, due to the influence of his wife, Irene, an Athenian lady and a devout advocate of the use of images.

Discovering that the use of images had been introduced into the imperial household, Leo severely punished such as were implicated in this act of disobedience to the existing edicts, and, during the remaining four years of his reign, enforced the obnoxious laws with greater rigour. Upon the death of the Emperor, in the early part of the year 780, Irene, aided by the advocates of images, whom she had often befriended at great risk to herself, assumed the reins of government during the minority of her infant son, Constantine VI., surnamed Porphyrogenitus, a boy only ten years of age. She was also instrumental in convoking the Seventh Œcumenical Council.

Paul, the iconoclastic patriarch of Constantinople, previously to his death, expressed regret that he had consented to be set over a church separated from the communion of the Catholic world, and recommended as his successor *Tarasius* (A. D. 784), the former private secretary of the Empress Irene, a man of austere life and great learning, who would consent to accept the dignity only on condition that the unity of the Church should be restored, and that Pope *Hadrian* would convoke an œcumenical council for that purpose. Pope Hadrian received Tarasius again into the Church, and wrote to the empress, who had sent a deputation of bishops to Rome to request him to direct the action of the council.

SEVENTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL, A. D. 787.

This council held the first of its eight sessions at Constantinople, A. D. 786, but owing to the disturbances raised by the troops, who were still attached to the memory of Leo and Constantine Copronymus, it was adjourned, and met again at *Nice*, A. D. 787.

There were present, besides the two papal legates, *Peter*, Arch-priest of St. Peter's and another *Peter*, Abbot of St. Sabas, who presided over the council, more than three hundred bishops, either in person or by representation, and a great number of monks and ecclesiastics not entitled to vote. The patriarch Tarasius, though occupying a position below the papal legates in the council, directed its proceedings. In accordance with the requirements of Pope Hadrian, the acts of the so-called council of 754 were rescinded. The teaching set forth in his letter relative to the proper respect to be paid to images was accepted, first by Tarasius, and afterwards by the whole council. After a full discussion of the point at issue, the council declared that a rational use of images was perfectly lawful.

In the seventh session, a document was drawn up by Tarasius, specifying what objects were included under the term *images*, and defining the kind of reverence due to them, a report of which was also sent to Constantine and Irene.

It was here declared that not only the sign of the Cross, but also images of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, of angels, and of holy and devout men, drawn in colour, composed of mosaic work, or made of other suitable material, might be placed in church, upon sacred vessels and vestments, on walls and tables, and be set up along the highways. The proper sense of the word *προσκυνεῖν*, as expressing the honour to be paid to men, was then fully stated and explained according to its biblical and patristic use. The council then went on to repudiate the imputation of idolatry in the use of images, in the following terms: "Bowing or prostrating one's self before an image (*τιμητικὴ προσκύνησις*), which is simply a token of love and a relative honour (*σχετικὴ προσκύνησις*) rendered to the original, should not be confounded with the adoration (*λατρεία*) which is due to God alone. Christians," it continued, "do not call images gods, neither do they serve them as gods, nor place their hopes of salvation in them, nor expect future judgment at their hands; but, while refusing to pay them the honour due to God, they salute them out of respect to the memory of those they represent, and as a token of the love they entertain for the originals."

At the close of the seventh session, the council was directed, by an imperial order, to repair in a body to Constantinople, where the eighth and last session was held, on the twenty-third day of October, in the imperial palace of Magnaura. The Empress Irene and her son, Constantine, were in attendance, surrounded by a vast concourse of people. The empress ordered the decrees which had been passed to be publicly read, and, after having asked the bishops if these expressed the sense of the whole council and received an affirmative answer accompanied with repeated acclamations, she had them placed before herself and her son, both of whom signed them. The council was then solemnly closed.

Constantine VI. came of age A.D. 791. The next six years were passed in a contest with his mother to obtain the reins of government.

Irene finally gained the upper hand, and enjoyed five years of sole rule, when she was dethroned in a rebellion headed by her secretary, Nicephoros, and banished to the island of Lesbos, where she died in the following year.

During his reign (A. D. 802-811) and that of his successor, *Stauracius*, which lasted only a few months, and of *Michael I.*, surnamed *Rhangabes* (A. D. 811-813) the controversy was carried on with less vehemence and bitterness. But when Michael, feeling himself unequal to the task of governing an empire, resigned in favour of *Leo V.* (A. D. 813-820), surnamed the *Armenian*, and retired into a monastery, it again broke out with increased violence. This emperor, nicknamed the *Chameleon*, because at his coronation he refused to make any profession of faith, permitted a number of synods to be held, the most notable of which is that of the year 816, presided over by *Theodorus Cassiteras*, a layman of noble birth, but of iconoclastic antecedents, being a collateral descendant of Constantine Copronymus, and whom Leo had raised to the patriarchal throne. This synod annulled the decisions of the Seventh (Ecumenical Council (A. D. 787)), and reasserted those of the synod held at Constantinople, A. D. 754. This action was followed by an imperial edict, said to have been inspired by *John the Grammarian* and Theodorus Cassiteras, the leaders of the Iconoclasts, who persuaded the emperor that the unhappy condition of his empire should be ascribed to the idolatry of his subjects, and regarded as a punishment of God upon their infidelity. They also foretold that his reign would be long and glorious if he would follow out the policy pursued by his predecessor, Leo the Isaurian. The emperor, acting upon the faith of this prophecy, ordered many monks and ecclesiastics who favoured the use of images, to quit the country. Some of these were received into the monastery of *St. Praxedis*, at Rome, by the reigning Pope, *Paschal*, and others were consoled in their exile by letters written from his prison by the intrepid *Theodore the Studite*.

Michael II., surnamed the *Stammerer* (A. D. 820-829), recalled the exiles in the early part of his reign, but, later on, adopted the persecuting policy of his predecessors. Theodore the Studite, who was allowed to return with the rest, still proving intractable, was again banished, and died in exile, A. D. 826.

Michael was succeeded by his son *Theophilus* (A. D. 829-842), who had been educated by Theodorus Cassiteras, and had imbibed all his hatred against the use and veneration of images. He was the most bitter and cruel of all the iconoclastic emperors. He expressed his determination to sweep the whole tribe of monks from the face of the earth, and is said to have martyred the whole confraternity of *Abrahamites* on an island in the Euxine Sea. He scourged some, imprisoned others, and burned the hands of Lazarus, a celebrated painter, with hot iron bars, to prevent him from ever again engaging in his hated art. He undertook a discussion with some of the Catholic party, among the most famous of whom were the two brothers, *Theophanes*.

the singer and *Theodore* the illuminator, upon whose faces he branded some offensive iambs composed by himself.

But if he despised, his wife, *Theodora*, secretly favoured, the iconolaters. Upon the death of her husband, A. D. 842, *Michael III.*, afterwards known as *The Drunkard*, being still a minor, *Theodora* became regent. She recalled the banished monks, and summoned a synod to meet at Constantinople (A. D. 842), at which the decrees of the Second Council of Nice (A. D. 787) were reaffirmed, and the Iconoclasts (εἰκονοκλάσται) anathematised.

On the nineteenth of February of the same year, a solemn procession, headed by the patriarch, the clergy, the empress and her son, moved around the Church of St. Sophia, and the day has ever since been observed in the Eastern Church as the *Feast of Orthodoxy*, or thanksgiving for the final overthrow of the iconoclastic heresy (ἡ κυριακὴ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας).

The Eighth Œcumenical Council (A. D. 869) repeated the condemnation of the *Iconoclasts*.

From a *theological* point of view, there was an end of the controversy. The question which had disturbed the Church for above one hundred and twenty years, had been set at rest for ever by a clear and precise definition, after a thorough and candid examination of all the controverted points.

But from a *political point of view*, the case was very different. From the breaking out of the controversy, there had been a manifest and ever-growing alienation of the Western from the Eastern half of the Roman Empire, which ended in a complete separation of the two, under the respective names of the *Byzantine* and the *Germano-Frankish Empires*.

B.—THE ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY IN THE FRANKISH EMPIRE.

Augusta conc. Niceni II. censura seu libri Carolini., anno 790 ed. 1549. *Eli Philé* (pseudonymous; properly *J. du Tillet*, Bishop of St. Brieux, afterwards of Meaux; he is suspected of Calvinism), according to the *single* Codex, now kept in the library of the Arsenal at Paris, which is either entirely or partly the work of a forger. The Codex, of which Archbishop *Hincmar* of Rheims availed himself, and the Codex Vaticanus, from which the Apostolic Librarian, *Steuchus*, made his quotations, have hitherto remained lost without a trace; ed. *Heumann*, Hanov. 1731; also in *Goldasti*, Imperat. decret., p. 67 sq. and in *Migne*, ser. lat., T. 98, printed from *Philé's* text. Conf. *Claudius Taurin.*, De cultu imaginum (fragmenta), and *Dungali* lib. respons. (Max. Bibl., T. XIV.; Bibl. Patrist. Colon., T. IX., Pt. II., p. 875 sq.) Acts in *Mansi*, T. XIII.-XIV., and *Harduin*, T. IV. Conf. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. III., p. 651-673.

Anterior to the breaking out of the present controversy, the Christians inhabiting the western provinces of the Roman Empire had possessed a clear and intelligent knowledge of the use of images, according to the mind of the Church. Images had been employed by them to adorn churches, to enhance the solemnity of public worship, and to awaken and quicken faith and devotion. The liveliness of Oriental imagination, always liable to giddy flights and dangerous excesses, was less to be feared among the more phlegmatic popula-

tions of the West. The Germans, of all people, were the least in danger of being carried away by an unruly fancy, inasmuch as they had never worshipped their divinities under the form of pictorial representations, and but seldom as personified in the objects and phenomena of nature. No considerable trace of idolatrous worship appeared among them until much later; and when idolatry did make its appearance, it became associated with many other elements distinctively Pagan, and was difficult to root out. To banish it in the Frankish Empire required a vigorous and well-sustained effort. When the decrees of the Greek councils were made known in the West, they were but ill-received—1. Because the people had not yet acquired a taste for the fine arts, and did not feel the want of representing persons and events by images; 2. Because the Germans, who had now become idolators, might excuse their own practice by appealing to the use of images among Christians; and, 3. Because the Germans, who, unlike the Orientals, never fell prostrate before their kings as a mark of reverence, and humbled themselves to God alone, might not fully comprehend—nay, probably entirely misconceive—the meaning and import of the term *προσκύνησις*.

A defective translation of the acts of the Second Council of Nice had been sent to Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian I., which, after having been further mutilated by ignorant and blundering copyists, was submitted to a number of theologians. The worst apprehensions were verified.

The acts of the council were severely and unjustly censured in the so-called *Caroline Books* (Quatuor Libri Carolini), composed (A. D. 790) in part by Charlemagne, but chiefly by the English Alcuin and other ecclesiastics.¹ The natural vehemence of the French theologians and the irritation of Charlemagne, whose proposed match between the princess Rothrud and Constantine, the son of Irene, had been rejected by the latter, gave point and emphasis to this theological treatise.

Owing either to the faulty translation of the Conciliar Acts, or to

¹ The contents of these Books are, in substance, as follows: 1. Both Eastern Synods, the Iconoclastic of 754 and the Iconolatric of Nice (787), are equally "infames" and "ineptissimæ," and both transgress the boundaries of truth. 2. Adoration and worship are due only to God—He alone is "adorandus" and "colendus," but not the creature. 3. The saints are but "venerandi," and only an "opportuna veneratio" must be rendered to them. 4. There do indeed occur instances of an "adoratio" of men, consisting in a bow or a kiss; yet are these acts employed only "salutationis causa," and out of a sense of love or humility. 5. Even this kind of "adoratio" must not be paid to pictures, for they are without life, and the works of the hands of men. They may be retained—*a.* As an ornament of Churches; and *b.* In commemoration of past events—but all "adoratio" and all "cultura" must be avoided. 6. It matters not whether they be kept or not; they are not necessary, and it was wholly wrong in the Nicene synod to have threatened with anathema all those who do not revere images. 7. Images must not be put on a par with the cross of Christ, or with Holy Writ, the sacred vessels, and the relics of the bodies or garments of the saints. All these things, according to ancient tradition, are venerated in the West, but not images. 8. It is foolish to burn lights or incense before pictures. 9. If they be deemed sacred, then must they not be put in dirty places—e. g. by the roadside, as is done by the Greeks. Conf. the Analysis in *Hefele's Hist. of Councils*, Vol. III., p. 655 sq. *Piper*. *Introd. to Monumental Theol.*, p. 219 sq.

the omission of a negative particle¹ by an oversight of the copyist, the following blasphemous utterance was attributed to the Nicene Fathers: "I bestow service or adoration on images of the saints even as on the Divine Trinity;" whereas the council had been specially careful to distinguish between the reverence due to images and the adoration to be given to God alone (*ἡ κατὰ λατρείαν προσκύνησις*).

Thus misled, the three hundred bishops who assembled at the Council of Frankfort, summoned by Charlemagne, A. D. 794, to consider the errors of Adoptionism, decided against the veneration, while allowing the use of images.²

In the year 824, the Greek Emperor, *Michael the Stammerer*, despatched an embassy to *Louis the Mild*, successor to Charlemagne, for the purpose of renewing bonds of confederation, and with a view of bringing him over to the principles of the Iconoclasts. Louis assembled a council at Paris (A. D. 825), which, owing to Greek influence and the powerful opposition of *Claudius*, Bishop of Turin, rejected the Council of Nice, and charged Pope *Hadrian* with having favoured the superstition of the Greeks.

This action is all the more surprising, inasmuch as the editor of the Caroline Books, probably *Alcuin*, notwithstanding the bitterness with which he assails the Greeks and the Oriental Court, accusing both of a lack of genuine dignity and manliness, declares repeatedly that while it is forbidden to *adore* (adorare), it is permitted to revere images; and that, while guarding against any superstitious veneration of images,³ the faithful should not contemptuously despise

¹ They read there: "Suscepit venerandas imagines, et quæ secundum servitium adorationis, quæ substantiali et vivificæ Trinitati emitto," wherefore the council is styled "synodus ineptissima, pseudosynodus;" while in the correct translation of *Anastasius* it is said: "Suscepit et amplector venerabiles imagines; adorationem autem quæ fit secundum *λατρείαν*, tantummodo supersubstantiali et vivificæ Trinitati conservo."

² Concil. Francfort. in *Mansi*, T. XIII., p. 909. Special attention is here directed to the Second Canon, which, while approving the Libri Carolini, attributes views wholly false to the Second Council of Nice, or, as it is here called, that of Constantinople: "Allata est in medium quæstio de nova Græcorum synodo, quam de adorandis imaginibus Constantinopoli fecerunt, in qua scriptum habebatur, ut qui imaginibus Sanctorum, ita ut Deificæ Trinitati, servitium aut adorationem non impenderent, anathema judicaretur. Qui supra sanctissimi Patres nostri adorationem et servitium renuentes contempserunt, atque consentientes condemnaverunt."

³ The following passage in the Libri Carolini deserves special attention: "*Permittimus* imagines Sanctorum, quicunque eas formare voluerint, tam in ecclesia quam extra ecclesiam *propter amorem Dei et Sanctorum ejus*; adorare vero eas nequaquam cogimus, qui noluerint." It will be noted that it is here implied that the Nicene Council wished to force (cogimus) persons to adore images, whereas, in matter of fact, it did the exact contrary. The canon then goes on: "frangere vero vel destruere eas, etiamsi quis voluerit, non permittimus" (ad act. IV., sub. fin.)

For a complete proof of the blundering—nay, even of the dishonesty—of the authors of these books, see *Hefele*, Hist. of the Councils, Vol. III., p. 655-673. Their animus is frequently so apparent, that, like many others before him, *Floss*, in his Programme, "De suspecta librorum Carolini. a Joanne Tilio editorum fide," Bonnæ, 1860, adduces a number of arguments to support the conjecture, that the Caroline Books were again tampered with, and interpolated by the fierce Iconoclasts of the sixteenth century. Compare, however, *Dr. Nolte's* review of this Programme, in the Vienna Journal of Catholic Literature, year 1861, n. 30

such as serve for the adornment of churches or the edification of the faithful.

After Pope Hadrian had become acquainted with the character and contents of the Caroline Books, he composed and forwarded to the Emperor a calm and dignified refutation of them, in which, after reaffirming the teachings of *Gregory the Great*, he adds new arguments of his own to establish the doctrine of the veneration of images.

The sophistical reasoning of *Claudius*, Bishop of Turin, and *Agobard*, Archbishop of Lyons, was exposed and confuted by *Jonas*, Bishop of Orleans,¹ but still more ably by *Dungal*, an Irish monk of St. Denys.

Some time subsequently, *Walafried Strabo* and *Hincmar*, Archbishop of Rheims, triumphantly asserted and vindicated the true doctrine relative to the veneration of images by showing the futility of the objections urged against the Council of Nice.

¹ *Jonæ*, De cultu imaginum, libb. III. (max. bibl., T. XIV., p. 167, and bibl. Patrum, Colon., T. IX., Pt. I., p. 90 sq.) *Agobardi*, lib. ctr. eorum superstitionem, qui picturis et imaginibus Sanctor. obsequium deferendum putant. (Opp. et *Masson*, Par., 1605; castigatus a Steph. Baluz., Par., 1666, 2 vols.; *Galland*, bibl., T. XIII.)

PART SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY VII., 1073.

§ 178. Sources. Works.

SOURCES.—I. *Acta Concilior.* in *Mansi*, *Harduin*, *Harzheim*; besides *Binterim*, *Philosophical Hist. of the German Councils*, Vol. III. *Hefele*, *Hist. of Councils*, Vol. IV. *Annales Fuldenses*, 830-901; *Bertiniani*, 835-882; *Regino*, Abbot of Prüm (†915), *Chron.*, 870-907, contin. to 967 (complete in *Pertz*, T. I.) *Annalista Saxo*, 741-1139 (*Eccardi*, corp. hist., T. I.) *Flodoard*, Canon of Rheims (†966). *Chronicon*, 919-960 (*du Chesne*, T. II., in *Bouquet-Dom Brial*, T. V.) *Luitprandi*, Episc. Cremon., *Hist. rer. ab Europ. imperat. et regib. gestar.*, libri VI. (*Muratorii*, *Scriptor. Ital.*, T. II., Pt. I., and *Pertz*, T. III.; also published separately, Hanov., 1839.) *Wittichind*, Monk of Corvey (†1000), *Annal de reb. Saxon. gestis* (*Meibom*, T. I., p. 628. Conf. *Leibnitz*, T. I., p. 201; *Pertz*, T. III.) *Ditmar*, Episc. Merseb. (†1018), *Chronicon*, 876-1028, ed. *Wagner*., Norimb., 1807, 4to; also in *Leibnitz*, T. II., and *Pertz*, T. IV. *Hermann* *Contracti*, *Monachi Augiens.* (Reichenau, †1054), *Chron.* from Christ to 1054 (*Pistorius-Struvc*, T. I., with the continuation by *Bertholdus* of Reichenau, and by *Bernoldus* of St. Blasius, in *Ussermann*, *Monumenta res Aleman. illustrant.*, T. I., and in *Pertz*, T. VII.) *Lamberti Hersfeldensis*, *Chron.* until 1077, transl. by *Buchholz*, Frkf., 1819 (in *Pertz*, T. VII., and in a separate edition). *Mariani Scoti*, *Monachi Fuldens*, *Chronica* down to 1083. and *Sigebertus Gemblacens*, *Chron.* down to 1112 (in *Pertz*, T. VII. and VIII.) Conf. **Wattenbach*, *Germany's Sources of History*.

II. *For the Greek Church.* The Byzantines: *Constantinus Porphyrogenetes* (†959) to 886; *Jos. Genesius* (about 940), from 813-867; *Georgius*, *Monachus*, to 959; *Simcon Logotheta*, to 967; *Leo Grammaticus*, to 1013; *Georg. Cedrenus* made an extract therefrom, to 1057; *Jo. Zonaras*, to 1118. (See the editions of the Byzantines, in our Vol. I., p. 31 n. 1.)

WORKS: *Baronii*, *Annal. Fleury*, *Natalis Alex.*, *Stolberg-Kerz*, Vol. 26-36. *Damberger*, *Synchronist. Hist.*, Vol. 3-6. *Hock*, *Gerbert*, or *Pope Sylvester II.*, and *Hofler*, *The German Popes*; *Weiss*, *Hist. of Alfred the Great*, *Schaffhausen*, 1852; *Vogel*, *Ratherius of Verona*, *Jena*, 1854, shed much light on the tenth and eleventh centuries, so little studied, and so very much misunderstood. For further literature, see above, p. 10., especially the *Hist. of Rome*, by *Papencordt*, *Gregorovius*, and *Reumont*.

CHAPTER I.

PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE GERMANS—CONVERSION OF SLAVIC NATIONS.

§ 179. Christianity in Scandinavia.

I. *Adam. Brem.*, *Hist. ecclesiast.*, libri IV., from Charlemagne to 1076, ed. *Fabricius*, Hamb., 1706, transl. into German, with notes, by *Carsten Misesgæes*, Bremen, 1825. *Ejusdem*, *De situ Daniæ et reliquarum, quæ trans Daniam sunt, regionum natura, morib. et relig.* ed. *Fabricius*, Hamb., 1706, fol. *Remberti*, *Vita St. Ansharii* (*Pertz*, *Monum.*, T.

II., *Bolland.* ad I. m. Febr.); German, with notes, by *Carsten Misegaess*, Bremen, 1826, by *Drewes*, Paderborn, 1864. *Anskarii St. pigmenta*: St. Ansharius' prayers accompanying the psalms, communicated by *Lappenberg*, Hamb., 1844. *Saxonis Grammatici Hist. Danica*, ed. *Klotz*, Lps., 1771, 4to.

II. *Münster*, Ch. H. of Denmark and Norway, Vol. I., p. 266 sq. *Karup*, Hist. of the Cath. Church in Denmark, transl. fr. the Danish into German, Münster, 1863, p. 1-58. *Biographies of Ansgar*, according to Remberus, by *Krummacher*, Bremen, 1828; by *Reuterdahl*, transl. fr. the Swedish into German by *Mayerhoff*, Berlin, 1837; by *Kraft*, narratio de Anshario, Aquilonar. gentium Apostolo, Hamb., 1840; by *Klippel*, Bremen, 1844. *Böhringer*, Ch. H. in Biographies, Vol. II., Divis. 1., p. 170-228. **Daniel*, St. Ansgar, the Ideal of an Apostolic Messenger (*Theol. Controversies*, Halle, 1843); by †*Tuppehorn*, Münster, 1862. Conf. *Gfrörer*, Universal Ch. H., Vol. III., p. 797 sq. *Dahlmann*, Hist. of Denmark, Hamb., 1840 sq., 3 vols., whose *chronological dates* have been generally adopted.

CHRISTIANITY had been preached to the Saxons during the reign of Charlemagne, and a bishopric had been established at *Bremen*. The tree of faith thus planted on German soil grew up and flourished till its wide-spread and life-giving branches cast their shadow upon the neighbouring country of Scandinavia.

The Danish king *Harold*, having been expelled from his own country, sought an asylum at the court of Louis the Mild; and in the year 822, the latter sent an embassy into Denmark to compose the difficulty between the king and the other claimants to the throne. But the ambassadors had, besides their political mission, another of quite a different character. They were charged with making arrangement for the establishment of a Christian mission in this Pagan land. Hence, the Council of Attigny, with the consent of Pope Pascal I., sent thither, as missionaries, *Ebbo*, Archbishop of Rheims, and the monk *Halitgar*, who, it would seem, lacked the courage and perseverance necessary to contend successfully against the difficulties which at every step beset apostles.

In the year 826, Harold was again driven from his kingdom, and sought refuge with the Emperor at Metz, where he, his wife, and a numerous retinue received baptism. He now conceived the design of giving security and stability to his throne by converting his subjects to the Christian religion. But to undertake a task of such magnitude and difficulty with any hope of success required a missionary of no ordinary gifts, and such was found in the person of *Anschar*, or *Ansgar*, a pious and learned monk of Corbie, in the diocese of Amiens, in France—a man who equalled St. Boniface in active zeal and untiring energy.

ANSGAR, THE APOSTLE OF THE NORTH.

Ansgar was born not far from Corbie, in the diocese of Amiens, A. D. 801. From his earliest youth he had been religiously inclined, and, after he had grown up, was placed by his parents with the monks of the monastery of Corbie. He was the favourite pupil of Paschasius Radbert, one of the most learned men of his age, and afterwards became his assistant. In the year 822, he was removed to a monastery founded not far from Höxter, on the Weser, and which from the parent

house received the name of *Corvey*. He here undertook the direction of the monastic school, and preached to the people of the surrounding country.

Ansgar had many visions, in one of which his future destiny was made known to him. Transported to the abode of the saints, a heavenly voice said to him: "Descend to earth, and again return hither crowned with martyrdom." Accompanied by King Harold and one monk, *Autbert* by name, who alone, of all the monks of the monastery, volunteered to share with him the perils and labours of the new mission, he set out for Denmark, A. D. 827. His first care was to establish a school at *Hadeby* for the education of *ransomed Pagan slaves*, who he intended should be the future missionaries of their country.

Harold, who had rendered himself obnoxious to his nation by embracing Christianity, was again expelled the country (A. D. 828), and his expulsion extinguished, for the time being, all hope of converting the people to the Christian faith.

But if one field of labour was thus closed against Ansgar, another was opened to him. An embassy which had been sent into Sweden by the Emperor Louis, in the year 829, informed him, on their return, that there were many Christians in that country desirous of being better informed as to their religion, and of obtaining priests to minister to them. Authert, the companion of Ansgar, on his former mission, was compelled by sickness to return to Corvey, where he shortly died.

Witmar, also a monk of Corvey, accompanied *Ansgar* on his second mission, and the two, embarking on a trading vessel, set out for Sweden, A. D. 829, taking with them many costly presents for the Swedish king *Olaf*, and a letter of recommendation, in which Ansgar is described by Louis as "the best and most faithful man he had ever known." Having obtained permission from the king to preach the Gospel and baptize such as were willing to embrace Christianity, Ansgar continued his labours for a year and a half amid the most disheartening difficulties, and, at the close of that period, had the gratification of seeing his efforts crowned with un hoped-for success. He had converted many of the inhabitants, and among them some of rank and importance, and had erected numerous churches. The favourable report which he brought back, of the prospects of Christianity in Sweden, induced the Emperor Louis to carry into effect a noble and pious project of his father, Charlemagne. With the permission and by the authority of Pope Gregory IV., he founded the archbishopric of *Hamburg* (A. D. 831), which he intended to serve as a centre of operations for the missions of the North, and had Ansgar, though only in his twenty-ninth year, consecrated its first archbishop. He was also created Papal Legate for the countries of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway (A. D. 834).

Owing to the increasing complications of the Frankish Empire, the efforts of Ansgar to propagate the Christian religion in Denmark,

whose king, *Horic*, was very hostile to any such enterprise, met with but trifling success. In the year 845, *Horic*, at the head of a Norman army, attacked and pillaged the city of Hamburg, laid the country waste with fire and sword, and scattered the little flock, some of whom were slain, and nearly all the others led away into captivity. It was only with considerable difficulty that Ansgar succeeded in saving his life and his relics. He now took refuge in the monastery of Turholt, in Flanders, which had been assigned to him by the Emperor, as a source of revenue for his support, on taking the see of Hamburg. But he soon lost even this. After the treaty of Verdun, Turholt became the property of Charles the Bald, who disposed of it to one of his courtiers. The condition of things was somewhat improved, when, in the year 849, Pope Nicholas I., at the request of King Louis the German, united the *two sees of Bremen and Hamburg* into one archbishopric, over which Ansgar was set. *Günther*, Archbishop of Cologne, under whose jurisdiction the diocese of Bremen had formerly been, consented to this arrangement, and yielded all his former rights.¹ From this time forward, Ansgar laboured indefatigably for the conversion of Denmark and Sweden. By his address he obtained the permission of *Horic*, the Pagan King of Denmark, to preach the Gospel and build churches.

In the year 853, inspired with the zeal of an apostle, Ansgar again visited Sweden, where the mission which he had established in 829 had been destroyed during a popular tumult. His new efforts met with a protracted opposition, and were not received with favour by King Olaf, till a fortunate cast of *lots* had reassured the royal mind that the *preaching of the Gospel* might be permitted without detriment to the State. To give security and permanence to his labours, Ansgar established a new mission. He spent the closing days of his life, as he had those of his youth, in laborious missionary work—sometimes in his own archdiocese, but principally in efforts to convert the Danes; and, whether at home or abroad, always subject to the same trials and enduring the same hardships and privations which had been his portion from his early years. He wore a shirt of hair-cloth, earned his living by the toil of his hands, and, by close economy and self-sacrifice, managed to lay by something for the support of his missionary priests and for the purchase of costly presents for Pagan princes whose minds it was necessary to soften and conciliate. After having spent above thirty-four years in labouring for the conversion of the Danes and Swedes, and, when in the sixty-fifth year of his age, he was prostrated by a violent fever for four months, during which time he continued cheerful and serene. He had, in his youth, longed to die the death of a martyr,² but this blessing was not granted him. Having received Holy Communion, he

¹ *D'Aix*, De Ecclesiæ metropolitanæ Coloniensis in Bremensem olim suffraganeam jure metropolitano primitivo, Bonnæ, 1792.

² *Næander*, Memorabilia, III. 2, p. 125 sq. *Stolberg-Kerz*, Pt. 26, p. 314-419.

repeated, as long as he could speak, the words, "Lord, be merciful to me, a sinner; into thy hands I commend my spirit;" and died, on the day revealed to him in a vision, viz., the day after the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, February 3, A. D. 865.¹

Rembert, the disciple and successor of *Ansgar*, inherited the apostolic spirit of his master. The Church of Denmark was again oppressed by cruel persecutions during the reign of *Gorm*, the *Old*, king of *Lithra*, in *Zealand*, who, in the year 900, became chief of all the Danish tribes; and *Hamburg* was again taken and destroyed. But, in the year 934, the German Emperor, *Henry I.*, compelled *Gorm* to cease persecuting the Christians; and *Unni*, who had been Archbishop of *Hamburg* and *Bremen* since 918, availing himself of this favourable condition of affairs, made a missionary tour to the North, and succeeded in obtaining from the old king the largest toleration for himself and for the Gospel which he preached.

Harold, surnamed *Blaatand* (Blue Tooth), the son of *Gorm*, who reigned for fifty years (A. D. 936-986), had already been drawn to the Christian faith by the teachings of his mother, *Thyra*, the daughter of the first Christian *Harold*, but did not receive baptism until after the disastrous issue of a war with the emperor *Otho I.* (C. A. D. 965.) An ancient tradition widely diffused among those Northern people, and which seems to be based on truth, states that *Harold* was brought to the determination of receiving baptism through the instrumentality of a certain priest, *Poppo* by name, a missionary who had come into Denmark from North Friesland. One day, when *Poppo* was present at a royal banquet, the conversation chanced to turn upon the respective merits of the two religions. The missionary characterised the heathen divinities as evil spirits, and, upon being asked by the King to prove the truth of his assertion by miracle, willingly assented, saying that he would demonstrate, by ordeal, that Christ was God, and thereupon taking up a piece of glowing iron, carried it some distance without scorching his hands.²

The religious zeal of *Harold* soon excited against him the enmity of his Pagan subjects, and brought about his dethronement. His son, *Svend* (A. D. 986-1014), favoured the Pagan party, which had placed him on the throne, and threatened to destroy the bishoprics of *Odensee* and *Roskild*; but, after returning from his conquest of England, he became more temperate in his opposition to Christianity in Denmark. His son, *Canute* the Great (*Knud*) (A. D. 1014-1030), who had been brought up under Christian influences in England, acting from a motive of duty and at the instance of his consort, the English princess *Emma*, established Christianity upon a permanent basis in his native

¹ *Ansgar* also left behind him some written documents—a diarium, containing the history of his mission, which was (A. D. 1261) sent to Rome by Abbot *Tymo*, but is now missing; moreover, the "pigmenta" adduced above, and the vita *St. Willehadi*, the preface of which might well be placed before every life of the Saints.

² *Adam. Brem.*, Hist. Eccl., II. 36. Conf. *Gröner*, Univ. Ch., II., Vol. III., p. 1291 sq.

land, and was himself drawn more closely to the centre of unity by a visit which he made to Rome in the year 1026.¹

The conversion of this people, which was as yet only partial and lacking in thoroughness, was much improved by the influence of the new bishoprics of *Lund*, in Schonen, of *Börghum*, and of *Viborg*, in Jutland, established during the reign of *Svend Estrithson*, who died A. D. 1076. Paganism, however, was not at once abolished. Traces of it still survived, and continued to infect the manners of the people and to defile the whiteness of their baptismal robes.

Moreover, *Knud*, surnamed *the Holy*,² prompted doubtless by a holy but misguided zeal, collected the tithes with such rigorous exactness, that the people rose against him and put him to death, July 10, A. D. 1086. Urban II., at the request of King Eric, raised *Lund* to the dignity of a metropolitan see, to which the diocese of both Denmark and Sweden were made suffragan, and those of the latter country continued so until it had obtained a metropolitan of its own.

The seed of faith, which had been sown in Sweden by Ansgar, flourished, came to fulness of growth, and was now ready to be garnered into the storehouse of the Lord. Archbishop *Unni*, quitting his see of Hamburg, passed into Sweden, where he laboured during a year in consolidating the institutions of the Church, and, when about to return, died at Birka (c. A. D. 940). His successors in the see of Hamburg were equally zealous and energetic in prosecuting the same work, and sent many missionaries into that country, by whose labours those simple and vivacious sons of nature were attracted to Christianity, and their first king, *Olaf Skötkonung*, drawn into the fold of the one Pastor (A. D. 1008). The first bishopric was established at *Skara* in West Gothland. King *Inge* (A. D. 1075) destroyed the last remnants of heathenism.³ King *Sverker* (A. D. 1133-1155) set to work to promote the progress of the Church in a more Christian temper of mind. He invited the monks of St. Bernard into the country, founded monasteries for them, and had the gratification of seeing those noble sons of the Church achieve among his subjects the splendid successes which had followed upon their labours in other lands. The bishopric of *Upsal*, which was established during the reign of *St. Eric* (A. D. 1155-1160), was intrusted to *Henry*, the Apostle of Finland. In the last-named country, the bishopric of *Randamecki* had already been long established, but was transferred in 1200 to *Abo*.

Pope Alexander III. made Upsal the metropolitan see of Sweden in 1163, with *Skara*, *Linköping*, *Strengnäs*, *Westerås*, and, at a later period, *Wexio* and *Abo*, as suffragan bishoprics.

It was during their hostile incursions⁴ into other lands, that the

¹ *Saxo Grammaticus* (Provost of Roskild ? † about 1204) hist., libb. XVI., ed. *Stephanus*, Sor. 1644, 2 T. fol., ed. *Klotz*, Hal. 1771. *Pantoppidan*, annal. eccl. Dan. diplomatici, Hafn. 1741 sq., T. I. *Münter*, L. 1. Vol. I., pp. 214 sq. *Dahlmann*, Vol. I., pp. 99-112.

² Conf. *Dahlmann*, Vol. I., pp. 185-203.

³ *Claudius Oernhjeltn*, Hist. Suecorum Gothorumque eccl., libb. IV., Stockholm, 1689, 4to. *Rühs*, Hist of the Swedes, Halle, 1803, 5 pts. ⁴ *Dahlmann*, Vol. II., pp. 91-97.

Norwegians (Norwayans) obtained their first knowledge of Christianity. During the tenth century, several of the Norwegian kings made efforts to introduce it among their subjects. *Harold Haarfagr*, or Harold of the Fair Hair, having made himself master of Sweden, over which he exercised a sort of suzerainty, took an oath in an assembly of the people to sacrifice only to the God of the Christians. His son, *Hacon the Good* (A. D. 936 until about 951), who had been baptized, and received a Christian education in England, at the court of King Athelstan, returned to Norway while still a young man and full of zeal for the spread of Christianity. For a time he practised his devotions in secret, but having gained over to his side a number of the most influential of his subjects, he felt himself sufficiently secure to propose, before an assembly of the people, that the whole nation, without distinction of rank, age, or sex, should embrace the Christian religion. Their answer was prompt and decisive: "How," said they, "can a strange God put any trust in us, if we thus easily relinquish our fealty to the old ones?" The indignation of the people against Hacon for having given up the belief of his ancestors, was so great that he gradually yielded to their demands, till finally his religious practice consisted of a mixture of heathen ceremonies and Christian rites. When dying of a wound received in battle (C. A. D. 960), the grief he felt for having denied his faith weighed so heavily upon his conscience that he declared, should he recover, he would resign his kingdom, retire to a monastery, and pass the remainder of his days in works of penance. The courage displayed by Harold in battle, and the fact that he had lost his life in fighting for his country, produced a reaction in favour of the religion which he had professed and loved so dearly. Moreover, the people felt that as he had participated in their rites, they should treat his belief with toleration, if not with favour. Hence they were, in a measure, favourably disposed towards Christianity when *Harold Blaataud*, King of Denmark, having obtained possession of Norway, by treachery, attempted to introduce it into the country (C. A. D. 960). But the powerful Norwegian, *Yarl Hacon*, by whose assistance Harold had obtained possession of Norway, and whom he had appointed Stadtholder, more intent on forwarding his own interests than on serving those of his master, sought to secure his own independence, and recommend himself to the favour of his countrymen by destroying all the Christian establishments which had been set up during the Danish domination. Hacon, having shortly rendered himself odious to the people by acts of oppression, was put aside to make room for *Olaf Trygvesen* (A. D. 996-1000), a Norwegian general, who had travelled in many lands, and gained a knowledge of Christianity, which he embraced, and was baptised at the Scilly Isles, off the south-west coast of England. Olaf had fallen in with a Saxon priest, by name *Thangbrand*, whom he brought with him when returning to his own country, and the two set to work to introduce Christianity by force. The king went about overturning idols, destroying Pagan temples, importuning

some and compelling others to receive baptism, and declaring to all that the only purpose of earthly kingdoms is to form citizens for the kingdom of heaven. His reign came to a close in a war against the united powers of Denmark and Sweden, in which he was defeated, and was obliged to leap into the sea to escape the fury of his pursuers.

Those who held the government after him, being but lieutenants of the kings of Denmark and Sweden, took little or no interest in religious affairs. When, however, *St. Olaf* became King of Norway (A. D. 1019), he at once set about establishing the Church upon a firm basis. He at first experienced much opposition, but being ably seconded in his work by the labours of some English and German missionaries, his efforts were finally crowned with success. He built the magnificent church of St. Clement, at *Nidaros* (Drontheim), the most splendid specimen of architecture in the North; made his subjects take an oath to observe a code of Christian laws, drawn up by Bishop *Grinckel* and the priests residing at his own court; established schools all over his kingdom; destroyed the colossal wooden figure of the god Thor; organised a *crusade*, into which he admitted none but Christians, against *Canute the Great*,¹ King of Denmark and England; and fell mortally wounded, fighting against his heathen subjects, who had allied themselves with the Danes (July 29, A. D. 1030). His tomb at *Nidaros* was soon frequented by many pious Christians, by whom he was honoured as a *Martyr*. The veneration in which his memory was universally held, produced a reaction of public sentiment in favour of Christianity. In the year 1148, *Nidaros* was raised to the rank of an archbishopric, and the sees of *Bergen*, *Hammer*, and *Stavanger* made its suffragans.

Such of the *Scandinavians* as had quitted their native country and settled among Christians, were, as a rule, quite willing to embrace the faith of Christ. They were no longer influenced by ancient traditions, which gradually lost their hold upon their minds, as distance, time, and new surroundings weakened old beliefs and prejudices, and familiarized new rules of conduct and modes of thought. Thus, for example, the Normans who founded the Eastmannic kingdom of Dublin, in 948, were shortly afterwards converted to Christianity. So also *Rollo*, the powerful Norman sea-king, who had been the terror of France for above a quarter of a century, pledged himself by the treaty of *Epte* (A. D. 912) to become a Christian, and, in return, obtained as a fief that portion of north-western France lying between the *Epte* and the sea, to which the name of Normandy was afterwards given. Rollo, at his baptism, took the name of *Robert*. He wore his baptismal robes for seven days, on each of which he bestowed rich donations on churches. Under his rule, this portion of France flourished and prospered. Old and ruined churches were repaired and restored, new ones built, cloisters erected, and on all sides might be seen evidences of peace and contentment. France had then no fairer province than Normandy.

¹ *Dahlmann*, Vol. II., pp. 122-129. Conf. Vol. I., p. 112.

Iceland,¹ that bleak and barren island of the North, was discovered by the Norwegians in the year 861. Colonists settled there in 870, and founded a free state, which soon became the seat and centre of the culture and literature of the Northern Germans. The Gospel was preached to the inhabitants (A. D. 981) by *Frederic*, a Saxon priest, but with little or no success. *Olaf Trygvesen*, King of Norway, also took a warm interest in the conversion of the Icelanders, and sent to them the missionaries *Stefner*, himself an Icelander, *Thangbrand*, a Saxon, and many others. These zealous men announced to the people of Iceland the glad tidings of the Gospel, and laboured earnestly for their conversion. The number of Christians was gradually increased by migrations from Norway, and in the year 1000, at the proposal of *Lagmann Thorgeir*, a Pagan priest, who dreaded a civil war, if the people should be divided into two opposing parties, Christianity was formally introduced under the following conditions: 1. That all the inhabitants of the island should receive baptism and profess the Christian religion; 2. That all temples containing idols, and all images exposed to public view, should be destroyed; 3. That anyone publicly sacrificing to idols or performing other heathen rites should be banished; 4. That, owing to the barrenness of the island and the great number of its inhabitants, it should be permitted to expose infants and eat horse-flesh; and 5. That it should be permitted to practise heathen rites *in private*.

It took time, patience, and prudence to entirely extinguish Paganism in the island, but it gradually yielded to the subduing influence of Christianity. English, Irish, and Saxon priests, and even bishops, laboured zealously to firmly establish the Church. In the year 1056, *Adalbert*, Archbishop of Bremen, consecrated *Isleif* first Bishop of *Skalholt*. He died A. D. 1080, in the odour of sanctity. A second bishopric was established at *Horlum*, in 1107, and from this time forward, Iceland could boast some authors of name and merit, such as *Snorro Sturleson*, who is well known, both for his capacity as a statesman and as the father of Northern history.²

The *Faröes*, the *Orcades*, and the *Shetland* islands are indebted to the zeal of *Olaf Trygvesen* for their knowledge of Christianity. A bishopric was established in the *Faröes* in 1150, of which *Matthias* († A. D. 1157) was the first incumbent. The Icelanders discovered Greenland in 982, and converted its inhabitants to Christianity about the year 1000. It is said that the first bishop of Greenland went thither from *Bremen*, and succeeding ones from Norway.³ The see was established at *Gardar*.

¹ *Finni Johannæi*, Hist. eccl. Islandiæ, Hafn. 1772 sq., 4 T. fol. *Münter*, Vol. I., p. 519 sq. *Dahlmann*, Vol. II., p. 106-122.

² *Snorro Sturleson* († 1241), *Heimskringla*, ed. *Schoening*, Hafn. 1777 sq., 5 T. fol.; transl. into German, by *Mohnike*, Stralsund, 1835, nro. I., by *Wachter*, Lps. 1835 sq., Vols. I., II. Conf. *Dahlmann*, Vol. II., p. 77 sq. *Gfrörer*, Pope Gregory VII., Vol. II., p. 529 sq.

³ *Torfæi*, Grœnland. antiqua, Hafn. 1706. *Münter*, Vol. I., p. 555 sq.

The conversion of the Northern tribes was an event of the most vital importance to the progress and civilisation of Europe;¹ for, as long as these fierce and warlike seamen inhabited or skirted her coasts, her advancement and development were impossible.

§ 180. *The Slavonians and their Mythology.*

Mone, Hist. of Paganism in Northern Europe, Vol. I., p. 111 sq. *Hanusch*, Doctrine of Slavonic Mythology in its widest acceptation, comprising also ancient Prussian and Lithuanian myths, Lemberg, 1842. *Schaffarik*, Hist. of the Slavic Language and Literature, Buda (Ofen.), 1826; the same, Origin of the Slaves, Buda, 1828. *Joh. Lasicki*, De diis Samogitar., Basil. 1615; *idem*, De Russorum, Muscovitarum, etc., religione, Spiræ, 1582. *Frenzel*, De diis Sorabor, et alior. Slavor. (*Hoffmann*, Scriptor. rer. Lusat., T. II.) *Naruszewicz*, Historya narodu polskiego., T. II. (only nomenclature of Slavic gods). *Narbut*, Dzieje starożytne (on Lithuania), Wilno, 4 T. *Rettberg*, Ch. II of Germany, Vol. II., p. 545 sq. *Mickiewicz's* Lectures on the Slavic Literature, 4 vols., Lps. 1849.

Among those nations which came prominently forward during the Middle Ages, the Slavonians are, in numbers and importance, second only to the Germans. They occupied that tract of country lying between the river Saale and the Ural Mountains, and between the Baltic and the Adriatic Seas. Their early history is but little known, being derived, for the most part, from legends of a *later* date, which are not unfrequently disfigured by the hostile representations of the Germans. They produced no native poet to transmit to future generations in popular song an account of their origin and early history; neither were they fortunate enough to have their character, manners, and customs described by another Tacitus.

Slav (the real name being Slowene or Slowane), the *generic* and distinctive appellation of this people, has, from the seventh century onward, being variously derived from *slawa* (fame), *slowcz* (man or mankind), and perhaps more correctly from *slowo* (a word, whence Slovanians and Slavences), meaning “speaking” or “articulate,” and hence a confederation embracing only nations of one tongue. This derivation is supported by the fact that Slavonic tribes call such as do not belong to them *Niemetz*, or Mutes (in Polish, Nimiec)—a term in general use among all Slavonians, and implying that those designated by it do not enjoy community of language.

The Slavonians first became known in *history* by their conflicts with the Germans; but even at this early period, they had *ceased* to be distinguished for sterling independence and nobility of character.² Of large and compact frame and well-formed head, they seemed incapable of fatigue and insensible to pain. Being by nature courageous and active, they opened an attack with gallantry and conducted it with skill. They were, in social life, frugal, good-natured, and hospitable; were uniformly cheerful, and gifted with an inexhaustible fund of gaiety, which, at their popular feasts, rose to hilarity and boisterous-

¹ *Adam. Bremens.*, De situ Dan., c. 96.

² *Heffner*, The Struggle of the Germans and Slavonians for the possession of a great part of the world, Hamburg, 1847.

ness. Their popular songs, which were numerous, were, at times, spirited and cheerful, and again, tender and mournful. Accustomed to live under Asiatic despots and tyrants, they were fully imbued with the spirit of passive obedience; but what was still more astonishing, was the wonderful capacity they possessed of adopting the manners and acquiring the language of any people among whom they chanced to live.

Unlike the Germans, the Slavonians did not regard their women as companions and equals; but, like all Asiatic peoples, treated them with contempt, and looked upon their wives as no better than their slaves. Mothers were allowed to destroy their female infants immediately after birth; and a wife was frequently obliged to share the fate of her husband, and to cast herself into the fire that consumed his body.

As there was a community of language, so was there also one of religious belief among all the branches of the Slavonic family. It is probable that their religion consisted, at first, like that of the Germans, of a pure worship of nature; but it was not long before they acknowledged an extravagant number of deities which Christian annalists have designated by *Roman* names.

They appear to have had only a vague idea of a "Being Supreme and Eternal," from whom, as was natural with a people of corrupt and unchastened imaginations, they derived, through *Bielobog* and *Czernobog*, the Black God and the White, a numerous progeny of inferior divinities belonging to either class, in which, as has been demonstrated by *Hanush*, in his *Slavic Mythology*, it is easy to discover the prominent features of Persian Dualism. There was a community of religious worship, not only in each of the several branches of the Slavonic family, but even among those nations which were under different and distinct governments. There were sanctuaries at which all worshipped, and which served as a bond of union among tribes having no political connexion. Such were the temple at Arcona, on the island of Rügen, where Swantewits, the four-headed idol, was adored; that at Rhethra, and others. It is said that the chief-priest of Nowgorod maintained an intercourse with the priests of Courland and Semgallia. Among the more popular shrines were those of *Perun*, at Kiew and Nowgorod, who was honoured among the Russians and Moravians as the God of Thunder; that of *Swantewit*, at Arcona; that of *Radegast*, the God of Friendship, at Rhethra; that of *Shiva*, the Goddess of Life; and that of *Lado*, the Goddess of Love and Beauty.

Besides the universally honoured gods and goddesses, the Poles had a great number of local divinities. A belief in *ghosts* was general and deep-seated. The elements, and every form and aspect of nature, were regarded as the manifestations and abodes of an equal number of inferior divinities, of good and evil genii. These were honoured in the gloom of sacred groves and on the banks of rivers, but were not at first represented under any sensible form. The images of the

gods, which were introduced at a later date, were entirely destitute of all artistic merit, frequently having many heads and many faces. Thus the statues of *Triglaw*, at Stettin and at Julin, had each three heads, and that of *Swantewit*, at Arcona, four. Human beings were not unfrequently sacrificed to render the gods propitious. The *priests* who participated in this sacrificial worship were highly honoured and very influential. They made their influence felt in the family and in nearly every department of social life. On every Monday, the day consecrated to *Prove*, the Goddess of Justice, they held court and adjusted difficulties. This circumstance will, in a measure, account for the high honour in which the Christian priests were afterwards held among the Slavonians, the vast influence which they acquired, and the title of *Prince* (*Knez*, *Xiadz*), by which they were known. Hence the title still in use, *Xiadz Bisup*, *Xiadz Proboszez*—i. e., Prince Bishop, Prince Parish-priest—the title being usually indicated by X prefixed.

The Slavonians believed that the future life would be no more than a continuation of the present one.

§ 181. *Conversion of some of the Slavonic Nations.*

Wittichindus, *Ditmarus Mersch.*, *Adam. Bremens.*, at head of § 178. *Helmoldi* (Presbyter at Bosow, †1170), *Chronica Slavor.*, ed. Bangert., Lub., 1659, 4to; in *Leibn. script.* Bruns., T. II., p. 537; also in **Pertz*, T. XXI. *Assemani*, *Kalendaria eccles. univ.*, Rom., 1755, 4to, T. I.-V. *Fabricii*, *Salutaris lux evangelii*, etc. *Wegierski*, *Systema historico-chronologicum ecclesiarum slavonicarum per provincias varias, præcipue Poloniæ, Bohemiæ, Lithuanix, Russiæ, Prussiæ, Moraviæ*, etc., *distinctarum VIII.*, libb. IV. continens *historiam eccles. a Chr. ad a. 1650*, Trajecti, 1652, 4to. Important: *Epistola Episcoporum Germanicæ ad Joan. papam VIII. de Slavis ad fidem christ. conversis et eorum archiepiscopo et episcopis* (*Mansi*, T. XVII., p. 253 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., P. I., p. 126 sq.) Conf. *Gfrörer*, *Univ. Ch. H.*, Vol. III., p. 1276 sq. For details on particular bishoprics, see the *Freiburg. Eccl. Cyclopædia*, under the respective denominations.

The *Croatians* (Crownians) were the first of the Slavonic nations to embrace Christianity. In the reign of Heraclius, they emigrated from Southern Russia and settled on that tract of land included between the Adriatic Sea and the Danube and Save rivers. Their prince, *Porga*, requested Constantine Pogonatus to send him Christian missionaries. Constantine referred him to Rome, whence a number of missionaries were obtained, who, in the year 670, baptised the prince and many of his people. The Pope then took this country under his immediate protection, and obliged the inhabitants to give up their habits of plunder and predatory warfare. No positive mention is made of Croatian bishops before the year of 879.

The *Servians*, who inhabited ancient Dacia, Dardania, and the sea-coast of Albania, were prevailed upon by the Emperor Heraclius to receive baptism shortly after they had come into these countries. But, in the year 827, when they severed their connexion with the Greek Empire, they at the same time rejected Christianity, and remained separated until the year 868, when they submitted to the authority of the Emperor Basil, and were again converted.

The *Carantani*, who, during the first half of the seventh century, took up their abode in the Windish March, a tract of country including Carinthia, Carnia, and Styria, were converted to Christianity in the course of the eighth century. Their conversion was due, in a great measure, to their intercourse with the city of Salzburg, and to their condition of dependence upon the Frankish Empire. Two of their princes, *Carost* and *Chetumar*, the former the son and the latter the nephew of their chieftain, *Boruth*, had, with his consent, received a Christian education in Bavaria. Chetumar, having succeeded to the supreme power in 743, entered into an alliance with the Bavarians. At his request, *Virgilius*, Archbishop of Salzburg, sent Bishop *Modestus* and a number of priests to undertake the conversion of the Carinthians; and in the year 800, *Arno*, his successor in the see of Salzburg, sent Bishop *Dietrich* to labour in this country and among the neighbouring Slavonians.

A controversy which broke out in 810 between Arno and *Ursus*, Patriarch of Aquileia, relative to the jurisdiction over Carinthia, was terminated by Charlemagne, who decided that the river Drave should form the boundary-line of their respective dioceses. In the year 870, Carinthia, which had hitherto been governed by regional bishops or vicars, became subject to *Adalwin*, who then occupied the archiepiscopal see of Salzburg.¹

The *Moravians*, a Slavonic people, who derived their name from that of the river called Morava, and inhabited the territory of the ancient Quadi, which they took possession of in 534, became acquainted with Christianity through means of the military expeditions undertaken by Charlemagne for purposes of conquest. At his request, *Virgilius*, Archbishop of Salzburg, and *Uolf*, Bishop of Passau, sent missionaries into Moravia in the beginning of the ninth century. Uolf forwarded an account of his labours to the Pope, who conferred upon him (A. D. 824) the restored archiepiscopal see of *Laureacum*, with four suffragan bishoprics, two of which were in Moravia. But whether it was that the Papal decree was never carried into effect, or that both the suffragan bishoprics and the metropolitan see soon became extinct, it is certain that, after the death of Uolf, no further mention was made of Laureacum, and that the former jurisdiction of the see of *Passau* reverted to it. There were many obstacles to retard the conversion of the Moravians. They detested Germans and German domination; were ill-disposed towards the missionaries, because the latter were ignorant of the Slavic language; and objected to the use of the Latin tongue, with which they were wholly unacquainted, in public service. But the condition of affairs was changed by the arrival of *Cyril* (Constantine) and

¹ *Anonymi* (priest of Salzburg at the end of the ninth century), *De conversione Bojariorum et Carentanorum*. (*Oefele*, *Scriptor. rer. Boic.*, T. I., p. 280. *Frcher*, *Scriptor. rer. Bohemicar. and Hansizii*, *Germania sacra*, T. II., p. 103 sq.) *Conf. Kleinmayern*, *Accounts of Juvavia*, Salzburg, 1784, fol., *Append.*, p. 10. *Wattenbach*, *Contributions toward a Hist. of the Christian Church in Moravia and Bohemia*, Vienna, 1849, *Retberg*, Vol. II., p. 557 sq.

Methodius, the apostles of the Chazari and the Bulgarians, whom *Wratislaw*, a Moravian prince, had secured through the kind offices of the Greek Emperor, *Michael*. They arrived in Moravia in the year 863; baptised Prince *Wratislaw* and his nephew, *Svatopluk*; invented and brought into general use an alphabet of the Slavonic (Glagolitic) language; preached and held divine services in the ancient Slavonic tongue; and at the end of four and a half years were gratified to see their labours crowned with the most splendid success.¹ At the close of this time (A. D. 868), both these missionaries set out for Rome, to give an account of their labours. *Cyril* retired to a monastery, where he died; but *Methodius*, having been consecrated bishop by Pope *Hadrian II.*, with jurisdiction over Pannonia and Moravia, but without any fixed see, returned to continue his missionary labours among the Slavonians. He now set about and completed the work of translating the Scriptures into the Slavonic tongue. After *Methodius* had returned home, some of the priests of the archdiocese of Salzburg questioned the motives which led him to use the Slavonic language in the liturgy, and sought to throw suspicion upon his conduct, but he successfully defended his course of action at Rome (A. D. 879), and, besides obtaining permission from Pope *John VIII.* to continue the practice, was invested with plenary jurisdiction over all the clergy of Moravia.² Shortly

¹ *Vita Constantini* by a contemporary, in *Bolland. mens. Mart.*, T. II., p. 19. *Presbyteri Diocleatis* (about 1161) regnum Slavor., c. 8 sq. (*Schwandtner*, Scriptor. rer. Hungaric., T. III., p. 474.) Conf. *Ginzel*, Hist. of *Cyril* and *Methodius*, Apostles of the Slavonians and of the Slavic Liturgy, *Leitmeritz*, 1867, with the literature incident to the subject, and an appendix, "*Glagolitic* (Moravian-Slavonic) *Fragments*." Dr. *Dudík*, O.S.B., General History of Moravia, Brunn, 1860, Vol. I. *Bily*, Hist. of the Apostles of the Slavonians, SS. *Cyril* and *Methodius*, Prague, 1863.

² *Joannis VIII.* ep. 195. ad. *Method. Archiepisc. Pannoniens.*, a 879: Audivimus, quod non ea, quæ *St. Romana Ecclesia* ab ipso Apostolorum principe didicit et quotidie prædicat, tu docendo doceas, et ipsum populum in errorem mittas. Unde his Apostolatus Nostri literis tibi jubemus, ut omni occasione postposita, ad Nos de præsentì venire procures, ut ex ore tuo audiamus et cognoscamus, utrum sic teneas et sic prædices, sicut verbis et literis te *St. Romanæ Ecclesiæ* credere promissisti, aut non, ut veraciter cognoscamus doctrinam tuam. Audivimus etiam, quod missas cantes in barbara, h. e. in *slavina lingua*: unde jam literis Nostris per *Paulum Episcopum Anconitanum* tibi directis prohibuimus, ne in ea lingua sacra missarum solemnia celebres; sed vel in latina, vel in græca lingua, sicut *Ecclesia Dei* toto orbe terrarum diffusa et omnibus gentibus dilatata cantat. Prædicare vero aut sermonem in populo facere tibi licet, quoniam *Psalmista* (Ps. CXVI.) omnes admonet Dominum gentes laudare, et *Apostolus*: omnis, inquit, lingua confiteatur, quia Dominus *Jesus* in gloria est *Dei Patris*. (Phil. ii. 11; *Mansi*, T. XVII., p. 133.) After coming to an agreement with Rome, the Pope wrote to *Svatopluk* (Conf. *Joan. VIII.* ep. 247, a. 880, ad *Sfentopulcrum*): Literas Slavonicas a *Constantino* quodam (?) philosopho repertas, quibus Deo laudes debite resonant, jure laudamus, et in eadem lingua Christi Domini nostri præconia et opera, ut enarrentur, jubemus. Neque enim tribus tantum, sed omnibus linguis Dominum omnes gentes, etc. (Ps. cxvi.; Act. ii.; Phil. ii. 11; 1 Cor., c. xiv.) Nec sane fidei vel doctrinæ aliquid obstat, sive missas in eadem slavonica lingua canere, sive sacrum evangelium, vel lectiones divinas N. et V. T. bene translatas et interpretatas legere, aut alia horarum officia omnia psallere; quoniam qui fecit tres linguas principales, hebræam, græcam et latinam, ipse creavit et alias omnes ad laudem et gloriam suam. Jubemus tamen, ut in omnibus Ecclesiis terræ vestræ propter majorem honorificentiam evangelium latine legatur, et postmodum slavonica lingua translatum in auribus populi latina verba non intelligentis annuncietur: sicut in quibusdam ecclesiis fieri solet. (*Mansi*, T. XVII., p. 182.) Conf. *Joan. VIII.* ep. 194, in *Mansi*, T. XVII., p. 132. See *Glagolitica* on the Origin of the Roman-Slavic Liturgy, 2nd ed., Prague, 1832.

after (A. D. 881), he again set out to Rome to submit some controverted points to the judgment of the Apostolic See, after which his name disappears from history. He probably died about A. D. 885.

Owing to the ill-feeling and mutual jealousies which the Moravians entertained for the Germans, with whom they had carried on many wars, *Mojmar*, a Moravian Prince, requested and obtained from Pope John IX. a grant, by which the Church of Moravia was made independent of that of Germany, with an archbishop and two suffragan bishops. In the year 900, the archbishops of Mentz and Salzburg protested against this change. But, as the kingdom of Moravia ceased to exist in 908, when its territories were divided between Bohemia and Hungary, its ecclesiastical jurisdiction was, by order of Pope Agapetus II., restored (A. D. 952) to *Gerhard*, then Bishop of Passau, who appointed *Sylvester* first Bishop of Moravia.

In the year 973, and, after a short interruption, again in 981, Moravia was placed under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Prague, to which it remained attached until the establishment of the bishopric of Olmütz, in 1062.

In 844, many of the Czechs, who, in the course of the sixth century, had passed from Croatia into *Bohemia*, embraced Christianity. They were baptised at Ratisbon (A. D. 845), whither they had gone for that purpose by order of the German king, Lewis. Subsequent efforts to propagate Christianity in Bohemia were prosecuted with comparatively small difficulty from the neighbouring country of *Moravia*.¹

In order to repel the attacks of the Germans, *Borziwoi*, Duke of Bohemia, entered into an alliance with *Swatopluk*, King of Moravia, and, while engaged in this transaction, obtained a knowledge of Christianity, which he at once embraced, he and his whole retinue receiving baptism at the hands of *Methodius*.² Here again *Methodius*, owing to his partiality for a Slavonic liturgy, fell under suspicion of heterodoxy, and accusation against him was sent to the Pope; but the only effect of such a measure was a more complete understanding and a closer alliance between the Church of Bohemia and the Holy See.

Duke *Borziwoi* and his wife *Ludmilla*, the first of Bohemia's saints, acting under the prudent counsel of *Methodius*, laboured most effectively, in the presence of innumerable difficulties, for the propagation of Christianity and the establishment of the Church throughout the length and breadth of their territories. The work

¹ *Cosmas Prag.* (+1125). Chron. Bohemor. (Scriptt. rer. Bohem., Prag., 1784, T. I.). Vita St. Ludmillæ et St. Wenceslai auct. Christiano de Scala Monacho. (*Bolland. Acta SS. m. Sept.*, T. V., p. 354; T. VII., p. 825). *Gelasii* a St. Catharina (Dobner) Hajeki *Annales Bohem. illustrati.*, Prag., 1761-1777, V. P. 4to. *Balbini*, *Miscellanea hist. bohém. and epitome hist. rer. bohemicar.*, Prag., 1677, fol. *Palacky*, *Hist. of Bohemia*, I. Pt. *Frind*, *Church History of Bohemia*, Prague, 1864-1866, 2 vols. *Zeleny*, *De relig. crist. in Bohemia principiis*, Prague, 1855. Conf. the articles "*Bohemia*" and "*Prague*" in the *Freiburg Eccl. Cyclopædia*.

² In the year 894, according to *Cosmas Prag.*; but according to *Dombrowsky*, between 870 and 880.

which they had commenced was zealously taken up by their son, Duke *Spitignew*, who did not slacken his efforts till the day of his death, A. D. 915.

But, after the death of his brother, *Wratislaus* (A. D. 925), *Drahomira*, the widow of the latter, took sides with the malcontents; had *Ludmilla*, her mother-in-law, put to death; banished the clergy, and demolished the churches. Her own son, *Wenceslaus*, who had been taught by his grandmother, *Ludmilla*, to walk in the ways of virtue, continued faithful to Christianity.

After the death of *Wenceslaus*, who was slain in 938 by his unnatural and Pagan brother, *Boleslaus*, Paganism enjoyed a temporary triumph, which was checked by *Otho I.*, who compelled (A. D. 950) *Boleslaus* to restore the Christian Church in Bohemia. His son and successor (A. D. 967-999), *Boleslaus II.*, surnamed the Pious, effected the complete triumph of the Christian Church. He had a bishopric established at Prague in 973. Pope John XIII. confirmed the establishment of this bishopric, but only on condition that the language of the liturgy should be, not Slavonic, but *Latin*.¹ The new see was subject to the metropolitan of Mentz. Its first two bishops, *Ditmar*, a Saxon, and *Adalbert* (*Woyciech*), a Bohemian, who had been educated at Magdeburg, while endeavouring to make the manners of the people conform to Gospel purity, were obliged to contend against the strongest human passions and the most degraded of vices, such as polygamy, incestuous marriages, arbitrary divorces, and traffic in captives. But, what was still worse, *Adalbert* had the misfortune of possessing a dissolute clergy. On two different occasions he quitted his diocese and returned to his monastery, where, having remained for a season, he would again go forth in the hope of being able to correct the morals and subdue the refractory spirit of his clergy; but, finding all his efforts unavailing, he gave up the task in despair, bade a last farewell to his flock, and withdrew to Rome, whence he went as a missionary to distant countries, and was finally martyred in Prussia, A. D. 997.

In the year 1347, and while *Charles IV.* was emperor, Prague was raised to the rank of a metropolitan see.

The Slavic tribes of the *Wends* (the Serbs, between the Elbe and the Saal; the Leutizians or Wilzians, between the Elbe and the Oder; and the Obotrites, in Mecklenberg) carried on an unceasing conflict against the Germans, and stubbornly maintained their independence until the reign of *Henry I.* (A. D. 926.)² And when they

¹ Joan. XIII. ep. ad Boleslaum, a. 967 (?): Unde apostolica auctoritate et St. Petri Principis Apostolor. potestate . . . annuimus et collaudamus atque incanonizamus, quod ad ecclesiam SS. Viti et Wenceslai Martyrum fiat sedes Episcopalis. . . . Verum tamen non secundum ritus aut sectas *Bulgaricæ gentis, vel Russiæ, aut Slavonicæ lingue*; sed magis sequens instituta et decreta apostolica, unum potiorum totius ecclesiæ ad placitum eligas in hoc opus Clericum, latinis litteris apprime eruditum. (*Cosmæ, Chronic. lib. in Dobneri ann. Hajeki, T. IV., p. 194.*)

² *Masch*, Antiquities concerning the worship of the Obotrites, Berlin, 1771. *Gebhardi*, Hist. of all the Wendo-Slavic States, Halle, 1790, 2 vols. 4to.

were finally subjugated, the event proved a new obstacle to the introduction of Christianity among them ; while, on the other hand, Otho I. regarded their conversion as essential to the security of Germany. "He wished to prove in this instance, as in the cases of Denmark and Bohemia, that he had not been invested with the title of Protector of the Universal Church of Christ to no purpose." With a view of carrying this idea into effect, he caused to be established among these subjugated tribes, the bishoprics of *Havelberg* (A. D. 946), *Brandenburg* (A. D. 949), and the still more important sees of *Meissen* (A. D. 955), *Merseburg*, *Zeitz* (transferred to Naumburg in the year 1029), and *Oldenburg*, established about the year 968, and transferred to Lübeck in 1164. All these bishoprics, with the exception of the last-mentioned, still later on, passed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *Magdeburg*, whose see had been established in the year 968, and richly endowed. But these sees, being generally, besides the residences of bishops, also political centres and the strongholds of foreign power, led the people to include Christianity in the detestation which they entertained for their conquerors. Hence, in the year 983, the Obotrites and Leutizians rose in insurrection under the leadership of their prince, Mistewoi, renounced Christianity, and martyred its priests. Afterwards, however, *Gottschalk*, who had been brought up a Christian at Lüneburg, united all the Wendish tribes into one powerful Slavic confederation, and laboured with becoming zeal and earnestness to again introduce and establish Christianity among them. The bishoprics of *Mecklenburg* and *Ratzeburg* are among the evidences of his success. These sees, as well as that of Oldenburg, were made suffragan to the metropolitan see of Hamburg. In 1066, the inhabitants again rose in insurrection ; murdered *Gottschalk* at Lentzen ; martyred close upon sixty priests ; demolished the churches ; and even went so far as to offer *John*, Bishop of Mecklenburg, as a sacrifice upon the altar of the idol Radegast, at Rhetra. The persecution of the Christians which followed this popular outburst, extended as far as Hamburg and Slesvig. Still the good work went on. In the very year of the breaking out of this popular fury, *Benno*, Bishop of Meissen, began his labours among the Serbs, which he continued uninterruptedly for twenty years, and prosecuted with such heroic zeal and splendid success that he merited, and has been honoured with, the title of Apostle of the Slavonians.¹ He died, A. D. 1100, in the ninety-sixth year of his age, after having endured and borne up under all manner of trials and persecutions heaped upon him by Henry IV. because of his attachment to Pope Gregory VII.

¹ Conf. *Buttler*, *Lives of the Saints*, German by *Räss* and *Weiss*, Vol. VIII., p. 205 216. He was canonised, on the authority of early processes, by Pope *Hadrian VI.*, who hoped in this way to bring the Saxons back to the Church.

§ 182. Conversion of the Poles.¹

Lengnich, Diss. de religion. christ. in Polonia initiis, 1734, 4to. *Ejusdem*, Jus publicum regni Polonicæ, T. II., ed. alt. Gedani, 1735-1766. Hence the Polish revision, *Lengnichia Prawo pospolitæ Krolestwa Polskiego*, Krakow, 1836, Vol. III., c. 5, p. 225.

† *J. A. Zaluski*, Conspectus novæ collectionis legum ecclesiasticar. Poloniæ (Synodicon Poloniæ orthodoxæ), Varsow, 1774, 4to. *Lelewel*, Introduction of Christianity in Poland, by *Ossolinski*, Vincent. Kadlubek, German by *Linde*, Warsaw, 1822, p. 565-570. *Friese*, Ch. H. of the Kingdom of Poland, 2 Pts., Breslau, 1786. † *Ostrowski*, Dzieje i prawa kościoła polskiego, Warszawa, 1793, 3 T. **Röpell*, L. l., p. 95-104, especially Appendix IV., "Introduction of Christianity in Poland," p. 622-650.

It is related that the Gospel had been anonounced to the Poles by the disciples of Methodius. Nay, more; it is even asserted that *Ziemovit*, the great-grandfather of Duke Mieczyslaus, and his successors, if they did not positively favour, at least put no obstacles in the way of the propagation of Christianity. But these assertions do not rest on the authority of any of the older historians. It is, however, tolerably well ascertained that, after the fall of the Moravian monarchy, such of the conquered people as fled into Poland carried with them thither the knowledge of Christianity. But it was not until after *Mieczyslaus* had recognised the right of suzerainty of the Emperor Otho I., that the Church in Poland grew in importance and became firmly and permanently established. We are told by *Ditmar*, Bishop of Merseburg, to whose writings we are indebted for the most ancient accounts of this people, that in the year 965 Duke Mieczyslaus espoused *Dombrowka*, the daughter of Boleslaus, Duke of Bohemia. Soon after their marriage, the Duke, at his wife's request, embraced Christianity, and was baptised² by a Bohemian priest named Bohuwid. He at once issued orders that, on a designated Sunday in the year 967, all the idols in the country should be broken into bits and the fragments cast into the rivers. This act was taken ill by the bulk of the people, whose memories were wound up with their ancient faith, and who, when they beheld their long-venerated idols destroyed, burst into loud cries and lamentations.³

Mieczyslaus established a bishopric at *Posen* in 968, which was made a suffragan of the metropolitan church of Magdeburg.⁴ *Jordan*,

¹ The most celebrated Polish historians are: *Martini Galli* (about 1130), together with Vinc. Kadlubek, ed. Gedani, 1749; ed. Bandtkie, Varsow, 1824; ed. *Klimes*, Ad cod. sec. XIII., Teplens., Prag. 1859. *Dlugosz* (*Longinus*, Canonic. Cracov. postea episc. Leopoliens. † 1480, interesting and reliable as to what he has written on his own age, i. e. since 1413, but neither very critical nor very reliable as to former ages), *Historia Poloniæ* ed. Huysen, aux. Grodeckius, Frcf. 1711, II. T. f. *Cromeri*, Varmiensi. episc. († 1589) *Polonia, sive de origine et reb. gestis Polon.*, Basil. 1554. *Naruszewicz*, *Historia narodu polskiego* (until 1386), new ed., Lips. 1836; *Röpell*, *Hist. of Poland*, I. Pt., Hamb. 1840 (down to the fourteenth century).

² *Bogufal*, near *Sommersberg*, Scriptt. Siles., relates: Qui (Meszko) tandem anno 965 Dombroviam sororem st. Venceslai duxit in uxorem; anno sequente cum tota gente Lechitarum seu polonica, uxore suadente ac gratia divina inspirante, sacrum baptismate suscepit, de qua uxore anno 967 filium generavit, cui nomen Boleslaus in sacro baptismate imponi fecit; anno vero 968 *Jordanum* in episcopum Poloniæ ordinavit.

³ Conf. *Jac. Grimm*, German Mythology, p. 446 sq.

⁴ Ancient legends relate, and even historians, such as *Dlugosz*, *Cromer*, and others, affirm, that *Mieczyslaus*, immediately after his baptism, established the metropolitan sees of Gnesen and Cracow, besides seven other bishoprics, viz., Posen, Smograu (Breslau)

the first Bishop of Posen, laboured with a zeal truly apostolic for the conversion of the remainder of Poland.¹ *Boleslaus Chrobri*, or the Powerful (A. D. 992-1025), the son of *Mieczyslaus*, went to work, in a spirit of persevering earnestness and zeal, to establish the Church in Poland upon a still more solid basis. He invited the Camaldulense monks into the country,² and founded the Benedictine abbey of *Tyniec* (C. A. D. 1006). The Benedictine abbey on the *Bald Mountain* and the one at *Sieciechów* were probably founded by *Boleslaus III.*, a hundred years later.³ The holiness of the life of *Adalbert*, and, still more, the incidents of his heroic death (April 23, A. D. 997), among the barbarous and idolatrous Prussians, touched and subdued the hearts of the Poles, and won them over to the cause of truth. His tomb at *Gnesen*, soon became a much-frequented pilgrimage, and his incomparable hymn in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary has been always treasured by the gallant Poles as a rich legacy, and sung by them when dashing into battle.⁴ It is said that the Emperor *Otho III.*, having formerly known *Adalbert* at Rome, and entertained a great reverence for him, went on a pilgrimage to his tomb, and, while there, made arrangements with *Boleslaus* to have *Gnesen* raised to the dignity of an archbishopric, with the sees of *Colberg*, in Pomerania, *Cracow*, in Lesser Poland, and *Breslau*, in Silesia,⁵ under its jurisdiction. Some time during the reign of *Mieczyslaus II.*, the bishoprics of *Plock*, for the Masovians⁶ and *Kruszwice* (?) (probably *Wrocław*), for the Cuiavians,⁷ were, if not newly established, at least reorganised. During the anarchy which prevailed between the years 1034 and 1042, the Church of Poland was in imminent danger of going to destruction—a danger which was still further increased by the tyranny

Kruszwick (Leslau), *Plock*, *Kulm*, *Lebus*, and *Kaminiec*—and erected many churches and convents, and all with the knowledge and consent of Pope John XIII. This Pope is represented as having sent Cardinal *Ægidius* (Giles) (Bishop of Tusculum) into Poland during the lifetime of Duke *Mieczyslaus*, to organise the dioceses of that country. But there is evidently a mistake here, and reference is probably made to a Cardinal *Ægidius* who was sent into Poland to look after the affairs of the Church, in the year 1123, during the reign of *Boleslaus III.* (*Krzywousty*).

¹ *Ditmar* relates: *Jordanus, primus eorum antistes, multum cum iis sudavit, dum eos ad supernæ cultum vineæ sedulus verbo et opere mutavit.* Ed. *Wagner*, p. 97.

² Related by *Peter Damian*, in the vita *St. Romualdi*, c. 28. (Opp. *Sti. P. Damiani*, ed. *Cajetani*, Bassani, 1783, T. II., p. 453. *Bolland.*, Acta SS. ad diem 7. mensis Februarii.)

³ *Sczygielski*, *Aquila Polono-Benedictina*, Cracov. 1663, 4to.

⁴ Tradition traces this magnificent hymn in honour of Mary, *Boga rodzicza*, back to *St. Adalbert*. Conf. *Wisniewski*, *Historia literat polskiej*, Krak., T. I., p. 374-386. The biographies of *St. Adalbert* (*Canisii*, Lectt. antiq. T. III., Pt. I., p. 41 sq.) and other traditions, carefully collected by *Voigt*, *Hist. of Prussia*, Vol. I., Appendix III. *Tornwaldt*, *The Life of St. Adalbert of Prague, Apostle of the Prussians* (*Illgen*, *Hist. Periodical*, 1853, p. 167 sq.)

⁵ *Grünhagen* and *Korn*, *Regesta episcopatus Vratislaviensis*. Extracts from documents, Breslau, 1864, Pt. I., until the year 1302. *Herber*, *Silesiæ sacrae origines*. Adnexæ sunt tabulæ chronolog. in annal. hist. dioc. Vratislav. 1821. *Ritter*, *Hist. of the diocese of Breslau*, Pt. I., Brsl. 1845 (to 1290). † *Heyne*, *Authenticated Hist. of the bishopric and chapter of the Cathedral of Breslau*, ibid. 1860, Vol. I.

⁶ On the several bishoprics just mentioned, conf. *Rzepnicki*, S. J., *Vitæ præsulum Polon. libris 4 comprehensæ*. Posnanie, 1761.

⁷ It has been shown by canon *Frank* of Posen, in the *Jabczynski Gazeta Koscielna*, year 1833, n. 44, that most probably there did not exist any episcopal see at *Kruszwice*.

of the nobles and the dissoluteness of the clergy. It was fortunate for Poland that, at this time, a man distinguished alike by his virtues and his ability, was called to the throne. This was *Casimir I.* (A. D. 1043-1058)—a name that will be always held in veneration by the Poles. He averted, by prudence and firmness, those disasters by which his country was threatened; restored the Benedictine abbey of Tyniec, near Cracow; and, as is supposed, founded that of *Leubus*, in Silesia. By thus founding houses which, by their very character, were nurseries of the Christian clergy, he secured the permanency of the Christian Church in Poland.¹

It is true, as Pope Gregory VII. complained, the Church of this country was not consolidated by the centralising bonds of a metropolitan see;² but, for all that, it was so powerful, and its authority so universally respected, that even the King could not outrage its rights with impunity. For when, in 1075, *Boleslaus II.* slew *St. Stanislaus*, Bishop of *Cracow*, at the foot of the altar, for having reprimanded him for conduct unbecoming a prince, he was obliged to take flight to escape the indignation and fury of his subjects. He was excommunicated by the Pope, and died a miserable death (C. A. D. 1081).

§ 183. Christianity in Hungary.

J. Thwroc, *Chronica Hungar.* (*Schwandtner*, *Script. rer. Hungaric.*, Vindobonæ, 1746, fol.) *Inchofer*, S. J., *Annal. eccl.*, regni, Hung. 1644. *Pray*, *Annal. vet. Hunnorum*, Avarorum et Hungarorum, Vindobonæ, 1761, fol. *Fejer*, *Codex diplomaticus Hungar. eccl. et civil.*, Budæ, 1828, T. I., *Mailáth*, *Hist. of the Magyars*, Vienna, 1828, Vol. I. Conf. *Stolberg*, *Kerz*, Pt. 33, p. 412-439.

The migration of the Magyars (Hungarians) into ancient Pannonia dates from the close of the ninth century. Though their origin has given rise to many doubts, it is now established that they belong to the *Finnish* race. Their dualistic religion and the name of their evil genius, which they called *Armányos* (Ahriman), go to show that they are of Persian descent. They offered sacrifices on the mountaintops, in groves and by the side of fountains. *White horses* were believed to be the most acceptable victims. The first knowledge of Christianity which this people received came to them from Constantinople, about the year 950. *Bolosudes* and *Gylas*, two Hungarian chiefs, having been baptised at Constantinople, returned to their native country in company with a monk named *Hierotheus*, who had been consecrated Bishop of Hungary.³ His efforts to bring the people

¹ *Naruszewicz*, L. c., T. IV., p. 193-210, and *Röpell*, Vol. I., p. 180, have clearly shown that Casimir never was a monk, either at Clugny or at Brauweiler, and consequently stood in no need of any papal dispensation to take upon himself the government of Poland. *Billuart*, *Darras*, &c., are to be amended accordingly. (Tr.)

² *Gregory VII.* ep. 73. ad Boleslaum Polonorum ducem., a. 1075, complains: Quod Episcopi terræ vestre non habentes certum Metropolitanæ sedis locum, nec sub aliquo positi magisterio huc et illuc pro sua quisque ordinatione vagantes, ultra regulas et decreta SS. Patrum liberi sunt et absoluti; deinde vero, quod inter tantam hominum multitudinem adeo pauci sunt Episcopi et amplæ singulorum parochiæ, ut in subjectis plebibus eorum episcopalis officii nullatenus exsequi aut rite administrare valeant. (*Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1318. Mansi, T. XX., p. 183.)

³ Conf. *Schröckh*, *Christian Ch. Hist.*, P. 21, p. 225 sq.

into the fold of Christ were shortly crowned with unlooked-for success. Duke *Geisa* (A. D. 972-997), who had married *Savolta*, the daughter of *Gylas*, a lady very devoted to the faith and equally active in extending the knowledge of it among others, was, by her efforts, brought to profess Christianity and receive baptism. The Church of Hungary was brought into close union with the Church of the West by means of the labours of numerous missionaries, by the relations which existed between *Geisa* and the Emperor *Otho III.*, and by the influence of the Christians who had been led into captivity from western countries, and who almost equalled in number those who remained in bondage.

About five hundred Hungarians were baptised (A. D. 974) by missionaries who had been sent into the country by *Pilgrim*, Bishop of Passau, and *Adalbert*, Bishop of Prague. But it is somewhat strange that, notwithstanding their conversion, both they and *Geisa* continued, for some time longer, to offer sacrifices to their gods.

Geisa's son, *Stephen* (A. D. 997-1038) possessed more character and resolution, and a stronger and more enlightened faith. He was brave, upright, and magnanimous; an enlightened legislator, a benefactor of his native land, and one of the most noble and distinguished characters of the Middle Ages—a prince whose exalted virtues have entitled him to rank with *Alfred* of England and *Louis IX.* of France, and raised him to the dignity of a saint. By his marriage with *Gisela*, the sister of *Henry II.*, he became still more closely connected with Germany, whose civilisation he introduced in his own country. His first care was to secure the permanency of the Church.¹ To this end, he founded four *Benedictine* abbeys; established the archbishopric of *Gran* and ten suffragan bishoprics, viz., *Veszprim*, *Fünfkirchen*, *Raab* (*Bacs*, *Colocza*, *Erlau*, *Waitzen*, *Csanad*, *Grosswardein*, and *Weissenburg?*). He also endeavoured to cultivate among his subjects a love for pilgrimages, and thereby keep up a communication between them and other Christian nations. He erected and endowed hospitals and cloisters for their use and convenience, at Constantinople, Jerusalem, Rome, and Ravenna. These pious works were applauded by the Emperor *Otho III.* and Pope *Sylvester II.*—the latter of whom, it is said, sent *Stephen* a crown and cross of gold, as symbols of royal authority, and conferred upon him the title of *Apostolic King*, a term intended to express his great influence in ecclesiastical affairs.² Unfortunately, his son *St. Emmeric* died while still young, A. D. 1032. His nephew, *Peter*, was deposed on account of his debaucheries, and the insurgents, who were all

¹ *Charvitus* (a Bp. of Hungary), *Vita St. Stephani*. (*Schwandtner*, L. c., p. 414 sq. *Bolland. Acta SS.* d. 2. m. Sept.)

² Conf. de sacræ coronæ regni Hungariæ ultra 700 annos clarissimæ virtute victoria, fortuna commentarius. (*Schwandtner*, T. II., p. 416 sq. Conf. p. 602-837.) *A. Horanyi* (a Hungarian Priest), *Commentar. de sacræ corona Hungariæ ac de regibus eadem redimitis*. Pesth, 1790. *Palma*, Præl. h. e., Vol. II., p. 120 sq. (Tr.)

unbelievers, called to the throne from Russia, *Andrew*, one of the race of the Arrpád (A. D. 1045). This prince consented to the restoration of Pagan worship, the last vestiges of which were forcibly and completely destroyed by his successor, Béla, who began to reign A. D. 1060

CHAPTER II.

THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE.

I. *Anastasii Bibliothecarii* (about 870) *Lib. pontificalis, seu Vitæ Romanor. Pontificum a Petro Apostolo usque ad Nicol. I.* [from Constantine (708) full, and, as a rule, supported by documents], ed. *Blanchini*, Romæ, 1718-1735, 4 T. fol.; emend. *J. Vignolius*, Romæ, 1724-1753, 3 T. 4to. (*Muratori*, *Rer. Ital. scriptor.*, T. III., Pt. I.) *Flodoardi* (†966), *Lib. de Roman. Pontificib. (715-935)* in *Muratori*, *Scriptor.*, etc., T. III., Pt. II., and *Mabillon*, *Annal. ord. S. Benedict. sæc. III. Vitæ Romanor. Pontificum exeunte sæculo IX. ad finem sæc. XIII.* ed. **Watterich*, Lips., 1862, 2 T. The histories and chronicles of *Luitprand*, *Hermannus Contractus*, *Ditmar of Merseburg*, *Glaber Radulphus*, *Landulphus* (senior and junior), *Martinus Polonus*, and others.

II. *Baronii*, *Annales*; *Muratori*, *Annali d'Italia* (Germ. transl., Lps., 1745, sq., 9 vols, 4to.) *Gregorovius*, *Hist. of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, Vols. III. and IV. *Von Reumont*, *Hist. of Rome*, Vol. II., p. 183-365. *Hock*, *Gerbert*; *Höfler*, *German Popes*; *Weiss*, *Alfred the Great*.

§ 184. Summary.

The history of the three centuries, upon which we are about to enter, proves, beyond all manner of doubt, the paramount importance of the *Holy Alliance concluded between Pope Leo III. and the Emperor Charlemagne*. It is impossible not to recognise in this instrument, by which the Pope was invested with plenary religious and ecclesiastical authority, and the Emperor with plenary civil and political power, the hand of God directing all things, in both the spiritual and temporal orders, in such way, that the two worked harmoniously and in perfect accord for the religious and social improvement and temporal advancement of the nations of Europe.

And it is a fact worthy of observation, that, as long as the two powers continued to work together energetically, each in its own sphere, without serious jar or misunderstanding, the two mutually came to the aid of each other, and Church and State respectively went steadily on to a more perfect development. But no sooner had the power and consideration formerly enjoyed by the Emperor begun to wane, than the well-defined and established principles which had hitherto regulated the intercourse of the nations of Europe were disregarded, and violent disorders ensued. In like manner, when the despotic princes of Italy had hampered and paralysed the authority and influence of the Head of the Church, ecclesiastical life decayed in nearly every country of Europe.

Hence, during the close of the ninth century and the early half of the tenth—i. e. during the period when the Holy Alliance between the Pope and the Emperor was broken off—the condition of both Church and State was most deplorable. And again, during the latter half of the tenth and throughout the whole of the eleventh century, or after the alliance between the two powers had been renewed, Church and State once more prospered and flourished, and the life-giving principle, going forth from a common centre, imparted vigour and strength, and insured harmonious action, to the members of the body, social and ecclesiastical.

A.—THE POPES UNDER THE CARLOVINGIANS (814-899).

(PERMISSION GIVEN TO THE EMPEROR, OR HIS REPRESENTATIVES, TO BE PRESENT AT THE CORONATION OF THE POPES.)

Capitularia regum Francorum in *Baluz.* L. c.; in *Pertz*, Monument. Germ., T. II., and in *Mansi*, Collectio concilior., as Appendices to T. XII.-XVIII. Conf. *Phillips*, Hist. of Germ., T. II., p. 88-172. *Gfrörer*, Hist. of the Carolingians, Freiburg, 1848, 2 pts. *Dümmler*, Hist. of the East-Frankish Empire, Berlin, 1862, Vol. I.

§ 185. Under Louis the Mild and his Sons.

CHARLEMAGNE, while still full of hope that the most gifted and promising of his children might be blessed with length of days, had laid upon them the solemn obligation of faithfully and inviolably executing the conditions of the alliance into which he had entered with Pope Leo III.¹ The grand design of Charlemagne, of becoming protector of the Church, was warmly taken up, and on various occasions carried into practical effect, by *Louis the Pious*, or the *Mild* (*le Débonnaire*), the only one of his sons who survived him.² Owing to the mature judgment of this prince, and the kindly feeling which he was known to entertain towards the Church, it was hoped he would early set himself to the work of correcting the many and serious abuses which had crept in during the reign of his father. This hope was still further strengthened by his subsequent conduct. He sent the *Missi Dominici*, or Imperial Messengers, into every part of his kingdom to receive the grievances of the people; caused a number of councils to insist on the observance of the canons relative to the morals of the clergy and the community-life of ecclesiastics; took measures to secure his frontiers against the incursions of the Slaves, and reduced the Duke of Benevento to subjection.

Stephen V. (IV.?), who succeeded to the Papal throne (June, 816) upon the death of Leo III., in accordance with the conditions of the alliance entered into with Charlemagne by his predecessor, made the Romans take an oath of fealty to Louis. He then set out for France, for the purpose of crowning the Emperor. He was received with every mark of distinction and honour; and even the Emperor, on approaching him, prostrated himself three times. Louis was crowned by the Pope, at *Rheims*, notwithstanding that he had been previously (A. D. 813) designated as Emperor by his father, and in an assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle had placed the crown upon his own head.

¹ The original document makes the Emperor say: "Non ut confuse atque inordinate, aut sub totius regni dominatione, jurgii controversiam eis relinquamus, sed trina partitione totum regni corpus dividentes—super omnia autem jubemus atque præcipimus, ut ipsi tres fratres curam et defensionem Ecclesiæ sancti Petri simul suscipiant, sicut quondam ab avo nostro Carolo et beatæ memoriæ genitore nostro Pippino rege et a nobis postea suscepta est."

² Sed quoniam complacuit divinæ providentiæ, nostram mediocritatem ad hoc constituere, ut sanctæ suæ Ecclesiæ et regni hujus curam gereremus, ad hoc certare et nos et filios ac socios nostros diebus vitæ nostræ optamus, ut tria specialiter capitula et a nobis et a vobis, Deo opem ferente, in hujus regni administratione specialiter conserventur; id est, ut *defensio et exaltatio vel honor sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ* et servorum illius congruus maneat, et pax et justitia in omni generalitate populi nostri conservetur. Capitulare Lud. Pii a. 823, c. 2. (Capitularia reg. Francor. ed. *Baluz.*, T. I., p. 429.)

It is said that Pope Stephen, in the year of his election, assembled a synod at *Rome*, in which he published a decretal, ordaining that in future the popes should be elected by the (cardinal) bishops and the Roman clergy, in presence of the Roman Senate and people; but that their consecration should take place in presence of the imperial ambassadors (*præsentibus legatis imperialibus*).¹ The high hopes which had been entertained of Louis, during the early days of his reign, were soon blighted. It was not long before it became abundantly evident that he was little more than the pliant instrument of his court favourites, and particularly of his second wife, *Judith* (after the year 818). Like his father, he divided his kingdom among the three sons, born of *Irmengard*, his first wife. *Pepin* was made King of Aquitaine; *Louis*, the youngest, was created Duke of Bavaria and lord of the Avaric and Slavic provinces; and *Lothaire*, who shared with his father the government of the empire (A. D. 817), was declared King of Italy (A. D. 821) upon the death of his cousin, *Bernard*. The last-named prince, dissatisfied with the portion which had fallen to his lot, violated his solemn engagements and appealed to arms; and, having been defeated and taken prisoner, had his eyes plucked out, and died of the torments which he was made to suffer.

But *Judith* was sufficiently cunning and far-seeing to so change or modify this order of succession as to consult for the best interests of her son, *Charles*, who had been born June 13, A. D. 823; and to this end she prevailed upon the Emperor to set apart for the young prince the provinces of Suabia, Alsace, and a portion of Burgundy. This new arrangement was so displeasing to the sons of Louis by his first wife, that they placed themselves at the head of a party of malcontents, drew the sword against their father, and demanded that he should resign the crown, that his queen should enter a convent, and her brothers take holy orders. Their efforts, however, were unavailing, and *Lothaire*, who aspired to be sole ruler of the empire, was obliged to submit to the superiority of his father, who, with the powerful aid of the East-Frankish and Saxon nobility, triumphed over all his enemies.

But, though Louis was weak and vacillating in the government of his empire, there was no lack of stubborn energy when there was question of maintaining his rights against the Head of the Church. Hence he entered his protest against the right of *Pascal I.* (A. D. 817-824) to ascend the Papal throne, because he had been elected and consecrated before the arrival of the imperial ambassadors, whose presence was required, according to the articles of agreement entered into between the Pope and the Emperor during the lifetime of Charlemagne. The Pope pleaded, in excuse, that personal violence had been offered to himself, and that, to meet the growing disorders

¹ *Muratori* and several other modern historians, against *Baronius*, *Natalis Alexander*, *Pagi*, and others, claimed for Pope Stephen V. this decretal, which appears also in the *Corpus Jur. can.*, c. 28, Dist. 63. Its adversaries either deemed it to be spurious, or attributed it to Pope Stephen VI. (VII.) Conf. *Hefele*, *Hist. of Councils*, Vol. IV., p. 7

of the factions within the city of Rome, there was need of prompt and energetic action. The Emperor, satisfied with this explanation, confirmed and somewhat enlarged the grants that had been made by his father and grandfather to the Holy See,¹ and the Pope, in turn, crowned Lothaire, who had been again associated with his father in the government of the empire (A. D. 823).

Pope Pascal took advantage of the season of peace that followed, to erect new and restore old churches and convents, into which the monks who had been driven from the East by the fury of the Iconoclasts were received and provided for. The Pope would have been glad to do more for those oppressed people, but his means were not commensurate with his will. He also cheerfully seconded the missionary labours undertaken among the Danes by *Ebbo*, Archbishop of Rheims.

Lothaire made a second journey to Rome, whither he was sent by his father to put an end to the disgraceful scenes that were daily enacted by the factious partisans of the various aspirants to the papacy. *Eugene II.* (A. D. 824-827) was successful over all his competitors. In order the better to insure the obedience of the Roman nobility and people, Eugene and Lothaire entered into the following arrangement: The Pope, on his part, published an edict, requiring the Roman clergy and people to take an oath of fealty to the Emperor, which ran as follows: "I promise, in the name of the Almighty God, by the holy Gospels, by the holy Rood, and by the body of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, that I shall be ever faithful to our lords the Emperors Louis and Lothaire; *excepting, always, whatever may interfere with the loyalty I have pledged to the Sovereign Pontiff.* Moreover, I shall never consent that a papal election be carried on in a way contrary to canonical rule or the prescriptions of justice; *neither* shall I consent that the Pope-elect be consecrated *before* having taken an oath similar to that taken by Eugenius, for the common weal of all, in the presence of the people and the imperial ambassadors."

The object of this edict was to prove that it was the Pope's desire to show to the Emperor the honour due to him as protector of the Church.²

The Emperor, on his part, published a constitution,³ consisting of

¹ *Paschalis*, Vita, epistolæ et decreta, in *Mansi*, T. XIV., p. 539 sq. *Harduin*, T. IV., p. 1223 sq. The Constitutio of Louis the Mild, in *Mansi*, L. c., p. 381 sq. *Harduin*, L. c., p. 1236 sq. The Papal possessions were now classified in the following manner: 1. *Ex jure antiquo*; 2. *Ex donatione Pipini et Caroli M. donatione*; 3. *Ex pacto Carisiacensi* (Chiersy) *et jure Carolo regi probato*; 4. To which, afterwards, Louis the Mild still added, "*curtem regalem*," in Germany. *Conf. Hefele*, Hist. of Coun., Vol. III., pp. 541, 542.

Eugenii, Vita et decreta, in *Mansi*, T. XIV., p. 411 sq. *Harduin*, T. IV., p. 125 sq. *Cf. Baluz.* Capitul., T. I., p. 435 sq.

³ The Constitutio Hlotharii imperator. in *Mansi*, L. c., p. 479. *Harduin*, p. 1261. We extract from it what follows: *Constituimus ut omnes, qui sub speciali defensione domini Apostolici seu nostra fuerint suscepti, impetrata inviolabiter utantur defensione. Quod si quis in quocumque violare præsumperit, sciat se periculum vitæ suæ incursum.*—In electione autem Romani Pontificis nullus sive liber, sive servus præsumat aliquod impedi-

nine articles, in which the mutual relations of the imperial to the papal power in Rome were clearly marked out and accurately defined. By this instrument it was ordained that no one should punish with death such persons as enjoyed the special protection of either the Pope or the Emperor; that all should render obedience to the Pope, and to the dukes and judges of his appointment; that a commissioner, appointed conjointly by the Pope and the Emperor, should inquire into the administration of justice and the observance of the constitution, and report to the Emperor; that all complaints against dukes and judges should be submitted to the Pope, who might either return an immediate answer to them, by his nuncios, or refer them to the Emperor; that all property unjustly taken from the Apostolic See should be restored; and that all dukes and judges should repair to Rome, to give the Pope an opportunity to learn their names and number, and to instruct them on the various duties of their offices. Finally, the duty of obeying the Pope was made obligatory upon all persons.

From the above it will be seen that while the Emperor, as protector of the Roman Church, enjoyed, in some sort, a limited jurisdiction, the Pope was practically sovereign of Rome and the Roman State. And, in matter of fact, the Pope could not have got on amid the conflicts of factions, or escaped falling a victim to the machinations of some one of the contending parties within the city, unless he had been sustained by the authority and protection of the Emperor.¹

After the iconoclastic heresy had broken out afresh in the East, during the reign of Michael the Stammerer, this Emperor made an effort to gain over Louis to his side. The latter, having obtained the consent of Pope Eugene, assembled a *synod at Paris*, A.D. 825, whose judgment was, for well-known reasons, unfavourable to the mission of the Greek embassy. Louis, after having removed from the acts of this synod whatever seemed offensive or objectionable, had a copy of them made and sent to the Pope. It still remains to be stated, before closing this pontificate, that, during it, the archbishopric of *Lorch*, which had been destroyed by the migratory tribes, was restored.

The conditions agreed to, in the compact between Lothaire and Eugene, were carried out at the elections of the Popes *Valentine* and *Gregory IV.*—the former of whom reigned only forty days, and the latter from the year 827 to 844.² Neither of them was consecrated

mentum facere. Sed illi solummodo Romani, quibus antiquitus concessum est constitutione SS. Patrum, sibi eligant Pontificem. Quod si quis contra hanc nostra constitutionem, facere præsumpserit, exilio tradatur.—Volumus etiam, ut Missi constituentur a domno Apostolico et a nobis: qui annuatim nobis renuntient, qualiter singuli duces et iudices justitiam populo faciant, et quomodo nostra constitutio servetur.—De rebus autem ecclesiarum injuste retentis sub occasione quasi licentia accepta a Pontifice volumus, ut a legatis nostris in potestatem Pontificis et Romanæ ecclesiæ celerius redigantur.—Novissime præcipimus et monemus, ut omnis homo, sicut Dei gratiam et nostram habere desiderat, ita præstet in omnibus obedientiam atque reverentiam Romano Pontifici.

Vide *Döllinger*, Ch. Hist. Vol. III., p. 121 sq., *Cox's* trans. (Tr.)

² *Gregorii IV.*, Vita epistolæ et decreta, in *Mansi*, T. XIV., p. 503 sq. *Harduin*, T. IV., p. 1269 sq.

until after the imperial ambassadors had arrived. *Ansgar*, the apostle of the Swedes and Norwegians, came to Rome during the pontificate of Gregory, and the latter conferred upon him the pallium, and created him Legate Apostolic of all the Northern nations. It was also during the pontificate of Gregory that the sons of Louis the Mild rose in arms against their father. They were apprehensive that Judith, coming forth from the cloister of the convent, would again set on foot fresh intrigues for the overthrow of the sons of Louis by his first wife, and the aggrandisement of her own son, Charles. It was now that Gregory, feeling that he was called upon, by his direct relations to the Emperor and his duty to the whole Christian world, to act a decisive and energetic part, hastily quit Italy, in the hope of preventing so unnatural a conflict. His character of mediator, and his presence in the camp of the three brothers, placed him in a position which filled him with anxiety and a sense of danger. Moreover, Lothaire, who well knew that the presence of the Pope would lend a sanction to his criminal designs in the eyes of those who were enlisted under his father's standard, forcibly and perfidiously retained Gregory in his camp. In this way the Holy Father was made the abettor of the infamous treason of the sons of Louis, caused the latter to be abandoned by his troops, and was, though unwillingly, instrumental in making him the prisoner of his unnatural children. The scene of this action was the plain of Rothfield (Redfield), between Strasbourg and Basle, and has ever since been called, by a sort of spontaneous and popular instinct, "the Faithless Field."

The Pope, indignant at this disgraceful act of treachery, and deeply grieved that so great a misfortune should have befallen Louis, set out at once for Italy. But the Emperor, though thus humbled and dishonoured, had not yet experienced to the full the bitterness of his humiliation. He was arraigned, in October of this same year (A. D. 833), before an assembly of bishops and nobles at Compiègne, presided over by *Elbo*, Archbishop of Rheims, and there, prostrate upon sackcloth, read aloud a confession by which he acknowledged himself guilty of homicide, sacrilege, tyranny, and misgovernment. And, as if this act were still insufficient to complete his disgrace, the unfortunate Emperor, with tears in his eyes, himself performed the ceremony of degradation upon his own person, while the bishops, as is usual on such occasions, imposed hands and enjoined the penitential prayers. The three sons, now feeling themselves secure, made no secret of the satisfaction with which they regarded the disgrace of their afflicted father, whose only offence was that his paternal authority had been intolerable to his unnatural children. But the bulk of the people were far from sharing their sentiments. That a sovereign who had been uniformly kind and considerate, and whose goodness of heart had made him universally respected, should be thus humbled and dishonoured by those who owed him but love and reverence, was shocking to every noble impulse and manly instinct, and popular indignation was soon turned against the perpetrators of the foul deed.

The punishment of Lothaire was hastened by his arrogant bearing towards his two brothers. The generous-hearted Louis the Younger, keenly alive to the disgrace that had been put upon his father, made an appeal to arms, in which he was shortly joined by his brother Pepin. Lothaire, hearing of this hostile movement, taking his father with him, hastily quitted Aix-la-Chapelle, but being closely pressed, he released the Emperor at St. Denys, and at once withdrew to his kingdom of Italy. No sooner had the lords, bishops, and military officers felt themselves safe from the anger and resentment of Lothaire than they hastened in a body to St. Denys, threw themselves at the feet of Louis, and begged him to again take upon him the office and insignia of Emperor. Louis and Pepin humbly sought and obtained their father's forgiveness; and even Lothaire, now forsaken and despised, came craving pardon for his treachery and impiety. The conduct of the Emperor Louis was in keeping with the surname which he bore. He forgave all those who had betrayed him, and, as far as possible, forgot the outrages they had put upon him.

Forty-seven bishops, assembled at Thionville (A.D. 835) declared the acts of the Synod of Compiègne null and void; received the resignation of Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, which was submitted to the Pope and accepted; released Louis from the penance which had been laid upon him, and solemnly restored him to the imperial dignity.¹

It should seem that so bitter an experience would have taught Louis important lessons as to his future conduct; but such was not the case—it was entirely lost upon the weak-minded Emperor. The Empire was threatened by the *Normans* and *Arabians* from without, while the people were groaning under the oppression of the imperial commissioners, whose duty it was to protect them against the arbitrary exactions of the counts. But neither external dangers nor internal abuses seemed to have any claim upon the time and consideration of Louis, who was wholly engaged in schemes to gratify the ambition of his wife, Judith, by promoting the interests of her youngest son, Charles. Not content with the considerable portion he had already marked out as the inheritance of the young prince, including a great part of Austrasia and Neustria, situated between the Meuse and the Seine, several counties of Burgundy, lying beyond the Jura, and the country between the Seine and the Loire, he proposed, after the death of Pepin, to divide his kingdom of Aquitaine, between Charles and Lothaire, the latter of whom had been gained over to the project by the insinuating address of Judith.

Louis of Bavaria, to whom the Emperor owed his deliverance from his enemies, was naturally indignant at these arrangements, and once more drew the sword against his father. But the two armies had scarcely come up with each other when the aged Emperor was taken suddenly ill, and died on an island in the Rhine (A. D. 840).

It was but the dread of the Frankish name, with which Charle-

¹ Vide Darras, General Ch. Hist. Vol. II., p. 452 sq., Eng. transl. (Tr.)

magne had inspired foreign nations, that kept them in check during the troubled reign of Louis the Mild.

The quarrels within the imperial family were a source of *much sorrow and disquietude to the Church*. The well-established power of the Empire within its own territorial limits, and its authority abroad, had enabled the Church to lay the foundations of the social fabric, and to undertake, conjointly with the civil power, the education of so many nations still groping in barbarism. But this great work was now to be given up—at least for a time and in part. When the Church beheld the unnatural sight of sons contending in battle against their august father, and then, again, armed and struggling with equal fury against each other, she wisely concluded that she, too, should prepare to meet, if she could not avert, the storms which threatened her.

Lothaire wished to govern, with the title of Emperor, all those countries that had been formerly included in the empire of Charlemagne, and, the better to carry out his design, entered into an alliance with his nephew, Pepin of Aquitaine. Louis and Charles leagued together to resist this pretension. In the battle of *Fontenay* (Fontenaille), in Burgundy (A. D. 841), forty thousand men fell victims to the fury of this fratricidal strife. In vain did holy bishops interpose their authority and volunteer their kind offices to put a stop to it. Lothaire was implacable. He even went so far as to incite to rebellion the Saxon subjects of Louis. But he was finally compelled to forsake his ambitious designs, come to terms with his brothers, and sign the articles of the famous *Treaty of Verdun* (Virten), A. D. 843. This treaty stipulated that the Empire should be divided among Lothaire, Louis, and Charles the Bald. The last-mentioned was also to exercise a suzerainty over the kingdom of Aquitaine, which was given to young Pepin. The peace was not of long duration. These fratricidal wars brought with them their curse, and it lay heavily upon each of the three brothers. Each regarded the other with suspicion and distrust, and they were all equally ready to seize every opportunity to embarrass and overreach each other. Now was the time for the aggressions of foreign enemies, and they were not slow to appreciate the occasion. The *Normans*, or Northmen, a nation of pirates and the allies of the Bretons, made descents upon the western coast of France, and devastated the kingdoms of Charles the Bald and Lothaire. Gliding in their light boats up the Seine and the Loire, the Garonne and the Rhone, they sacked the cities of Rouen, Paris, and many others, laid the country waste round about, and met and overthrew the royal armies. These daring seamen and bold marauders, skirting along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, entered the bays and rivers of Italy, demolished her cities, and overran her fair fields. But, bold as the Northmen were, they were not equal in reckless audacity to the pirates of *Arabia*. These adventurers, starting at Barcelona, laid waste the entire Spanish frontier and the adjacent countries, then returned and carried the terror of their name

to the Sicilian shores, and, advancing to the north, made the Pope tremble for his safety within the walls of Rome.

The depredations of the Northmen within the kingdom of Louis the German were comparatively light. They did, indeed, advance up the Elbe with six hundred boats, and burn the city of Hamburg, but they were soon beaten back by the Germans, and compelled to give up the hope of any further conquest. But, if Louis suffered less from the Northmen than his two brothers, he was amply compensated for any such exemption by the inroads of the Slavic tribes. This prince, throughout the whole period of his reign, was constantly engaged in repelling the *Bohemians*, *Moravians*, *Serbs*, and *Obotrites* from his eastern frontier. Even his own children rose up against him; and thus the empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces before the dissolution with which it was threatened by the second migration of nations could overtake it.

As is usual with such princes, neither dissensions from within nor wars from without prevented Lothaire from guarding, with the most suspicious jealousy, his rights and position with regard to the Head of the Church,

Thus, for example, he sent his son Louis to Rome, at the head of an undisciplined army of marauders, to demand satisfaction, because, upon the death of Gregory IV., *Sergius II.* (A. D. 844-847) had been hastily elected and *consecrated* before the arrival of the imperial ambassadors; notwithstanding that this had been done to prevent any violent measures on the part of the deacon John, who meditated a usurpation of the papal throne. But the Pope was equal to the emergency, and firmly refused to open the doors of the Vatican Basilica to Louis until after he had given his solemn assurance that he had no hostile design upon the Holy See. The Pope then crowned him King of the Lombards.

The *Scala Santa*, or Sacred Stairway, near the Lateran Basilica, consisting of the eighteen marble steps upon which our Saviour mounted to the Court of Pontius Pilate, and which were sent to Rome by order of the empress Helena, was also built by Pope Sergius. Towards the close of this pontificate, the Saracens made a descent upon Italy, and, ascending the Tiber, pulled up before the very walls of Rome, disembarked, spread themselves over the adjacent country, pillaged its fields, and even plundered the basilicas of SS. Peter and Paul, without the walls.¹ Owing to this condition of affairs it was impossible, upon the death of Sergius, to defer the election of his successor, *Leo IV.* (A. D. 847-855),² until the imperial ambassadors should have arrived, and it was therefore at once proceeded with; but, in order to prevent any future complication, it was expressly declared that, in so doing, there was no intention of "*violating the fealty which the Pope owes, next after God, to the Emperor.*"

The new quarter of Rome which Leo built upon the Vatican hill,

¹ *Sergius II.*, Vita et epp., in Mansi, T. XIV., p. 799 sq. *Harduin*, T. IV., p. 1463 sq.

² *Leon IV.*, Vita et epp., in Mansi, T. XIV., p. 853 sq. *Harduin*, T. V., p. 1 sq.

and which, together with the Church of St. Peter, was surrounded with a wall, and has since been called the Leonine City, was at first intended to serve chiefly as an outwork and protection to the city proper.

In the year 848, the Saracens appeared before Ostia, and, having taken and destroyed this centre of Roman commerce, threatened the Eternal City with a similar fate. But their hopes were disappointed. Leo IV., himself an experienced warrior, organised a well-appointed army, and, coming up with the Saracens near Ostia, gained over them a complete and decisive victory. Even the elements appeared to be on the side of the Christians. Many of the vessels of the Moorish fleet were driven to the shore and stranded by the fury of the winds. Those of the vanquished who had been fortunate enough to escape the sword of the victor and a watery grave were taken prisoners and led away to Rome, to assist in erecting and embellishing buildings projected by Leo for the adornment of the city. This victory has elicited the eloquent praises of *Voltaire*, a writer not usually partial to popes or their achievements, and has called forth the genius of *Raphael*, whose pencil has immortalised it in one of the most beautiful and spirited frescoes in the whole cycle of the twelve stanzas in the Vatican Palace.

In the year 850, the Emperor Lothaire sent his son, Louis II., who had been already crowned King of the Lombards and associated with his father in the government of the Empire, to Rome, to receive from the Pope's hands the imperial crown. In the year 853, the Pope also anointed the English prince *Alfred*, son of *Ethelwolf*, King of Wessex, who had been sent to Rome, to be educated, when he was only five years of age. If we except Charlemagne, Alfred was unquestionably the most eminent of all Christian princes. This same year, the Pope held a *synod at Rome*, attended by sixty-seven bishops, at which forty-two canons were enacted, giving excellent precepts and rules for the observance of ecclesiastical discipline. During this pontificate, public documents were for the first time issued, bearing a date indicating the year of the Pontiff's reign.

A commander of militia, by name Daniel, having represented to the Emperor Louis that there had been a plot set on foot, which was then being rapidly carried into execution, for the destruction of the Franks, so worked upon the mind of the latter that he at once set out for Rome at the head of a numerous army. The Pope faced the Emperor with firmness and resolution, boldly denying the truth of the representation; and Louis, after having listened to the story of Gratian, also a commander of militia, and the person charged with being the head of the plot, but who satisfactorily cleared himself of the imputation, and proved Daniel to be a slanderer, broke up his camp, and withdrew from Rome.

According to a fable related by some chroniclers, who lived from the eleventh to the thirteenth century—such as *Marianus Scotus* († A. D. 1086), *Martinus Polonus* († A. D. 1278), and *Stephen de Borbon* († A. D. 1261)—a female occupied the Papal throne, in the

interval between the death of Leo IV., July 17, A. D. 855, and the accession of Benedict III. The fable represents this female as having been born at *Mentz*, and educated at *Athens*, in the arts and sciences. And it goes on to relate further, that she ascended the Papal throne under the name of John VIII., and that, on a certain occasion, during a procession from the *Vatican*, she was suddenly taken with the pangs of childbirth, and forced to submit to the humiliation of exposing her sex, and the imposition she had practised upon the public. But it is now established, beyond all question, that Benedict (A. D. 855-858) was the immediate successor to Leo, and that consequently the imaginary interval between the two reigns is the merest fiction. Moreover, the fable is not mentioned by any writer from the ninth to the eleventh century,¹ and is disproved by the testimony of well-established facts. The story, though of doubtful origin, had about it the flavour of romance, and when gracefully decked out to meet the popular taste, like all fiction, had the charm of novelty, and ran its course. But even Protestants, after having examined the matter, and subjected the supposed facts upon which it rested to the canons of historical criticism, have pronounced the whole story as a fiction.²

¹ Some of the manuscripts of *Anastasius the Librarian*, a writer of the ninth century, do not contain it, while it is introduced into others from the works of *Martinus Polonus*. Neither is it to be found in the oldest manuscripts of this author—quite the contrary; for in them the opening words of the life of Benedict run as follows: "Immediately after the death of Leo IV., Benedict was unanimously chosen to succeed him."

Moreover, the short passage relating to this affair, contained in the works of *Marianus Scotus* († A. D. 1086) and of *Sigebert of Gemblours* († A. D. 1112), is by no means authentic; for, according to *Pertz*, *Monum. Germ.*, T. V., p. 551, and T. VI., pp. 340, 370, it is to be found only in the older printed editions of the writings of these authors, and not in the manuscript copies. That this tale is a fiction, is evident from the account given of it in *Martinus Polonus*, the first writer to mention it, who represents the pseudo pope as residing at the Vatican, whereas it is well known, that, until the eleventh century, the Popes uniformly resided at the Lateran Palace.

Moreover, it has been proved to a demonstration, that *Martinus Polonus* himself was entirely ignorant of this fable, and that it was introduced into his chronicle between the years 1278 and 1312. Cf. *Döllinger*, *Papal Fables*, p. 10 sq.

² The testimony of *Hincmar* is here of special importance (Ep. 26 ad Nicol. I., A. D. 867, opp. ed. *Sirmond*, T. II., p. 298). It is here related that a messenger whom *Hincmar* had sent to obtain a favour from Pope Leo, hearing of the latter's death while on his way, continued his journey, and, having arrived at Rome, had his master's prayer granted by Benedict.

The *Diploma of the Monastery of Corbie* (*Mabillon*, *De rédiplomat.*, p. 436; *Mansi*, T. XV., p. 113) is equally decisive of the question.

Finally, there exists a Roman *Denarius*, bearing the names of Benedict and Lothaire, concerning which *Carol. Jos. Garampi* published a very learned dissertation at Rome, in 1749, entitled, "*De nummo argenteo Benedicti III. Pont. Max.*" This silver coin bears upon its obverse the words *SS. Petrus*; running round, in the form of a circle, in the centre of which is the monogram, *Be., Pa.*; and on its reverse, arranged in a similar order, is the inscription, *Holtharius Imp.*, within which is the word *Pius*. The reason for having the two names upon the same coin is plain enough; for while Benedict was sovereign of the Roman State, Lothaire was Protector of the Roman Church. It is not necessary to enter into any argument to show that the persons meant are really Benedict III. and Lothaire I., for this is the only instance in the whole course of history in which these two names came together.

To exclude the possibility of the reign of Pope John VIII. between the death of Leo IV. and the accession of Benedict III., it is merely necessary to ascertain, first, the date of Leo's death, and, second, to determine as nearly as possible when the denarius was coined. Now, all accurate chroniclers state that Leo IV. died July 17, 855. This is the date given by *Anastasius the Librarian*, and the *Annalist of St. Bertin*, who says: "Anno 855, mense Augusti (16 Cal. Augusti), Leo Ap. Sedis Antistes defunctus est, eique Benedictus successit." On the other hand, it is historically certain that Lothaire died September 28, 855, in the monastery of Prüm, near Treves. Hence, the denarius could not have been coined later than the latter part of September, when, as the inscriptions show, Benedict III. was already on the Papal throne, which he could not have ascended prior to July 17th preceding, when Leo IV. died. Thus we have the two pontificates brought within a trifle more than two months of each other—an interval entirely too short to

§ 186. *Progress of the Power of the Popes from A. D. 855 to 888.*
False Decretals of Isidore.

I. *The Ensemble of the Pseudo-Isidorian Collection*, first printed in *Merlini*, *Collectio Conciliorum* (Paris, 1523, Colon., 1530, Paris, 1535) and in *Migne*, Ser. lat., T. 130; ed. **Hinschius*, along with the capitula Angilrami, Lips., 1863; in *Mansi* and *Harduin*, the particular parts inserted at the pretended dates.

II. *Constant*, De antiq. can. coll. (epp. pontif. Rom., § 10); *Ballerini*, *Observat. in diss. XII. Pasch.* Quesnelli de Cod. can. eccl. (*Leonis M.*, Opp., T. III.) *Blasci*, *Comment. de coll. can. Isid. Mercat.* in *Gallandii*, De vetust. can. collectionibus diss. sylloge, etc., Mogunt., 1790, T. II., p. 1 sq.; in the introductory comment. in *Hinschius*. *Möhler*, *From and on Pseudo-Isidore* (compl. works, Vol. I., p. 268-347). *Walter*, *Canon law*, 13 ed., Bonn, 1861, p. 200 sq. *Knust*, *De fontibus et consilio Pseudo-Isidori*. Götting. 1832. **Wasserschleben*, "Pseudo-Isidore," in *Herzog's Cyclopædia*, Vol. XII. *Gfrörer*, *Age, Scope, and Origin of the Decretals of the False Isidore*. *Phillips*, C. L., Vol. IV., p. 61-102. **Hefele*, 'The present stage of the Pseudo-Isidorian Question' (*Freiburg, Cyclopædia*, Vol. VIII., p. 849-860). *Rosshurt*, *Literature on the Pseudo-Isidorian Question down to the times of Gfrörer and Hefele*, in the *Heidelberg Annuaries*, 1849, n. 1. p. 62-92.

In the alliance between the Papacy and the Empire, so essential to maintenance of peace and the purity of morals throughout Christendom, the spiritual authority increased in influence and efficiency in proportion as the imperial power waned and ceased to be respected. It

bear out the theory of the fiction, which says that the Papess Joan reigned two years five months and four days.

See *Köhler's Pleasures of Numismatics*, Vol. XX., p. 305. There is also extant a diploma which Benedict III. issued October 7, 855, or very shortly after his elevation to the Papal chair.

Again, there is no mention of any disturbance having taken place in the early part of Benedict's reign, or of his being obliged to rid himself of this supposititious female Pope. Writers do indeed speak of a schism which took place in the beginning of this pontificate, but its author was one Anastasius.

Again, we have the positive testimony of a multitude of contemporary writers, who place Benedict III. immediately after Leo IV., in an unbroken line of succession. One of these, *Ado* of Vienne, then residing in Rome, writes as follows: "Pontifex Romanus Gregorius moritur, atque ipsius loco Sergius ordinatur; illo defuncto Leo succedit, quo obeunte Benedictus in Sede Apostolica substituitur." *Anast. Bibl.* is also most explicit on this subject (his annals, however, have evidently been interpolated); so again is *Nicholas I.*, in his letter to the Emperor Michael (Ep. 2, T. VIII., Conc. Labbei Collec. 273), and Eps. 8 and 9 to the same relative to the affairs of Photius and Ignatius, and Ep. 16, where he complains that Hincmar having in vain endeavoured to bring Leo IV. over to his own way of thinking, employed the same arguments with Benedict, who, the letter goes on to say, "Leoni successerat in ordine Pontificatus."

Even *Photius*, who was at pains to seek out whatever might cast odium upon the Latins generally, and the Popes in particular, does not so much as mention the fable of the Papess Joan, but, on the contrary, writes as follows: "Nobilis ille Leo . . . inclytus Benedictus, post eum in Archieratico throno successor." (*Palma*, H. E., Vol. II., p. 61-67. (Tr.))

The spuriousness of the tale is demonstrated by *Æneas Sylvius* (Pope Pius II.), *Platina*, *Baronius*, *Pagi*, *Leo Allatius*, *Lambeck*, *Labbe*, *Natalis Alexander*, *Jno. Geo. Eckard*, among the Catholics; and *David Blondel*, *Joanna Papissa*, *Amst.*, 1657. *Leibnitz*, *Flores sparsi in tumulum Papissæ* (Bibl. hist., Goetting., 1758, T. I., p. 297 sq.) *Bayle*, in his *Cyclop.*, art. *Papesse*; *Chr. Aug. Heumann*, in his *Sylloge diss. sacr.*, Vol. I., p. 2; The literature thereon, complete, in *Sagittarii*, *Introduct.*, T. I., p. 676, T. II., p. 626. *Fabricii*, *Bibl. gr.*, T. X., p. 935. Very exhaustively treated, by *Döllinger*, *Papal Fables*, p. 1-45. *Baronius* assigns as the cause of the rise of this fable, ad annum 879, nro. 5: Ob nimiam Joannis VIII. (in fact, rather John XI. and XII.) animi facilitatem et molliitudinem. *Gfrörer*, *Hist. of the Carolingians*, Vol. I., p. 288-293, thinks it to be designed as a satire on the pseudo-Isidorian collection, and the alliance struck with the Byzantines (Greeks) as *Mentz* and *Athens* are particularly dwelt upon in the narrative of *Martinus Polonus*!

rose upon the ruins of imperial power, and became indispensable as a check upon those disorders which grew out of a contempt for the laws, depravity of morals, and barbaric incursions. Developed in this way, it was shortly defended and sustained by the principles set forth in the False Decretals of Isidore, the character of which we shall now examine.

There existed, in each of the national churches, a collection of ecclesiastical laws, or canons,¹ which were made use of as circumstances required. One of these collections was in use in Spain as early as the sixth century, and was subsequently attributed to Isidore, Bishop of Seville.

Towards the middle of the ninth century, a new recension of these canons appeared in France, based upon the so-called Isidorian collection, but into which many spurious fragments, borrowed from private collections and bearing upon their face incontestable evidence of the ignorance of their authors, had been introduced. This recension contained also a number of forged documents. There were, altogether, above a hundred spurious decrees of popes, from Clement to Damasus (A. D. 384), not to mention some of other popes, and many false canons of councils. It also contained the forged *Deed of Donation* ascribed to *Constantine*.² However, these decretals, which, as they stand, are now proved, both by intrinsic and extrinsic arguments,³ to be impudent forgeries, are nevertheless, in matter of fact, the real utterances of popes, though not of those to whom they are ascribed, and hence the forgery is, on the whole, one of *chronological* location, and does not affect their essential character.

The majority of critics have confined their attention almost entirely to *questions of ecclesiastical law*, such as the Primacy, the relations of bishops to the secular power, to metropolitans, to provincial councils, and to others of a kindred nature; as if the *three parts* into which this collection is divided, in the most ancient manuscript copies⁴, contained only such, whereas their subject-matter includes *dogmatic and moral theology, liturgy, penitential discipline*, teachings on the prerogatives and dignity of the Roman Church, on the right of appeal to Rome, on the various degrees of the hierarchy,

¹ See Vol. I., p. 478.

² Even Otho I. entertained very serious doubts as to its genuineness, but its spurious character was proved, beyond all doubt, by *Laurent. Valla*, *De falso credita et ementita Constant. M. donatione* (opp. omnia, Basil., 1540, Venet., 1592), besides a number of separate editions of this work. Cf. Vol. I., p. 30, n. 2.

³ The first doubts as to their authenticity were raised in the twelfth century by *Petrus Comestor*. Cf. *Blasci*, *Comm. de collect. cann. Isid. mercat.* (*Galland., Syllog., T. II., c. 5, p. 30*); likewise, in *Nicol. Cusanus* (in the fifteenth century), *De concordia cath.*, lib. III., c. 2, and *Joh. a Turrecremata*, *Summa eccl.*, lib. II., c. 101. *Laurentius Valla*, *De falso credita—Constantini donatione*. Their defence, attempted by the Jesuit *Turrianus*, was refuted by *Blondel*, *Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes*, Genev., 1728.

⁴ *De libris manuscriptis Pseudo-Isidorianis*, conf. *Hinschius*, in his *Commentatio introductoria*, p. XI. sq.

and the like.¹ The Decretals lay down the rule that only such persons as are of acknowledged virtue, tried piety, and who shall have gone through a searching examination in presence of witnesses, shall be deemed qualified to pronounce judgment.²

There is probably some truth in the conjecture of *Luden*, who surmises that the quarrels between Louis the Mild and his children may have given occasion to this collection of decretals. These quarrels had become so violent and so subversive of all order, that there no longer existed any respect for things sacred, and even the bishops of the Empire were violently inflamed against each other, and carried away by the strongest partisan feelings. It is claimed that, to restrain the lawlessness, and check the violence and confusion that menaced the Church from every quarter, it was necessary to promulgate some code of laws which should carry with it the sanction of authority, and be *universally* accepted as an authentic exposition of *general ecclesiastical discipline*, and that to meet this want, the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals were collected and published.

It is altogether a matter of conjecture *when* these documents were *first* appealed to by any body of men whose recognition of them would invest them with an official authority; but it is probable that the Synod of Chiersy (A. D. 857) was the first to give them this character before the public.

The collection seems to have appeared first at *Mentz*, for Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, tells us that *Benedict Lerita*, Deacon of Mentz, having received it from *Riculphus*, Archbishop of Mentz, upon the return of the latter from Spain, inserted portions of it into his own supplement to the *Capitularies* of *Adelgesius* (between A. D. 840-842, or 847).

¹ The following is a summary of the Contents, as given by *Blunt* (Doctrinal and Historical Theology, art. False Decretals): (Tr.)

The oldest edition of this collection of canons is divided into *three* parts, of which the *first* contains (after a preface extracted from the genuine collection of Isidore of Seville) [*Law, Canon*] the Canons of the Apostles, followed by fifty forged briefs and decrees of the thirty earlier Popes, from Clement (A. D. 91) to Melchisedech (A. D. 313). The *second* part contains, after an introduction, the celebrated forged Donation of Constantine, more extracts from the preface to the Spanish collection, one extract from an old Gallic collection of the fifth century, and the canons of several Greek, African, Gallic, and Spanish Councils, also taken from the Spanish collection, in its augmented edition (A. D. 683). The *third* part, after another extract from the Spanish preface, contains, in chronological order, the decrees of the Popes from Sylvester (A. D. 335) to Gregory II. (A. D. 731), among which are thirty-five forged decrees, and the canons of several doubtful councils, the genuine passages being from the Gallic and Spanish collections, and from that of Denys the Little; many of these, however, falsified by interpolations. After the Decree of Gregory II., which appears originally to have closed the manuscript, there follow, in the same handwriting, several pieces under the name of Symmachus (A. D. 498-514), notably two fictitious Roman councils; this supplement being followed by a second from the same hand. To the whole is prefixed the name of St. Isidore of Seville. The forged portions treat of dogmatical questions; of the dignity, advantages, and privileges of the Roman Church; of the prosecution of bishops and other clergy; of appeals to the Papal chair; and of the due performance of a multitude of Church ceremonies.

² Non oportet eos a iudiciis ecclesie audiri, antequam eorum discutatur æstimationis suspicio vel opinio, qua intentione sua fide, qua temeritate, qua vita, conscientia et religione.

Pope *Nicholas I.* and Archbishop *Hinemar* were the first to draw general attention to these decretals.

Although arguments are not wanting which go to show that this collection is of *Spanish* origin, still those brought forward to prove that the original is *Frankish* are more numerous and convincing. The date of these decretals rests upon conjecture, and has been variously given. *Knust* places it between the years 836 and 845, or 840 and 845; *Wasserschleben* between 829 and 857; *Hinschius* between 851 and 852, and others between 845 and 857. All that is certainly known is, that it was first quoted according to its title by the Synod of Chiersy. As *Eichhorn* and *Theiner* have remarked: "No one who had given the subject any thought could possibly have ascribed to them a *Roman origin*; much less would they have pointed to Pope Hadrian I. as their author or compiler, when it is well known that this Pope sent to Charlemagne the Dionysian Code, whose articles are far less favourable to the claims of the Apostolic See than those of the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. When going through what has been said of this collection by modern scholars, one is strongly tempted to believe that they have as little knowledge of the condition of affairs in the ninth century as those writers of that age had of the centuries that went before them. Moreover, the assertion constantly made, that the one palmary object of the Decretals was the *exaltation of papal authority*, is not borne out by facts; for pseudo-Isidore, in speaking of the Pope and his rights, is careful never to forget the claims of the bishops. The author of the Decretals, whoever he may be, was certainly a Frank, and not unlikely either *Benedict Levita*, *Otgar*, Archbishop of Mentz (A. D. 826-847), or *Aldricus*, Bishop of Mans. In imitation of the practice of Spanish bishops, he humbly styles himself *Isidorus Peccator* (Mercator), and, throughout the whole course of his work, writes in a tone which would prove him to have been a man of piety, faith, and virtue, solicitous for the interests of the Church, and incapable of practising fraud upon his readers."¹

Moehler and *Rosshirt* have shown that there exists a striking analogy between the Decretals and the so-called *Apostolical Canons and Constitutions*, in the treatment of the subject-matter in both collections. Moreover, as the authors of the Apostolical Constitutions referred to the *Apostles* the productions of later ages, for the purpose of investing them with greater value and authority, so also did the compilers of the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals antedate decrees of *popes*, and canons of councils, and ascribe the whole collection to *Isidore of Seville*, a name universally venerated in the Church.

¹ *Hefele*, referring to *Richter's C. L.*, 2nd ed., p. 129, says: "It would seem that *Benedict Levita* was conscious of the forgery, for he says, in the preface to his Collection of Capitularies, that 'the *Schedulæ* collected by *Riculphus* were discovered only by *Otgar*,' as if it were his intention to turn away suspicion from the true author (probably *Otgar* or *Benedict*), and direct attention to *Riculphus*. *Hinschius* refuses to admit this conjecture."

The judgment of Walter is equally correct. He says: "No essential change was introduced in ecclesiastical discipline by the forged Decretals. They were only an expression of the principles and tendency of the age, and things would have gone on just the same if they had never existed."¹ It should, however, be added that the compilers of the Decretals, by stating as *facts* what were only the opinions or the tendencies of the age, by giving as ancient and authentic documents such as were supposititious and modern, and by putting forward, as established rights and legal precedents, claims entirely destitute of such warrant, did, in matter of fact, *hasten* the development and insure the triumph of the very ideas and principles they advocated, signally contributed to the growth of that spirit of freedom among the bishops which made them independent of the secular power, and gave a new impulse to the increasing influence of the Head of the Church (*episcopus universalis*), especially in its relations to *metropolitans* and *provincial synods*. But this gain was trifling and despicable in comparison with the injury the Church suffered in consequence from her enemies, who unjustly taunted her with having, in part at least, founded her *constitution* upon a "*tissue of lies*."

As has already been stated, upon the death of Leo, *Benedict* (A. D. 855-858) was unanimously elected Pope, though much against his own will. A faction led by Arsenius, Bishop of Gubbio, and supported by imperial authority, attempted to depose him and place in his stead the cardinal priest *Anastasius*, who had been deprived of his dignity in a synod held by Leo.² But the Roman clergy and people offered so determined a resistance that the imperial envoys were forced to release Benedict, who had been shut up in prison for three days, and consent to his consecration, at which they themselves assisted.³

In the course of his short pontificate, *Ignatius*, Patriarch of Constantinople, sent him for confirmation the acts of a synod which had been held in that city, and in which *Gregory*, the unworthy Bishop of Syracuse, had been deposed. The Pope approved the Constantinopolitan Acts, and also those of the Synod of Soissons, over which Archbishop *Hincmar* presided; but, in reference to the cause that led to Archbishop Ebbo's resignation, the Holy Father gave his approval, conditionally adding to it the clause "if it be so."

¹ Exactly the same view had already been expressed by *Luden*, in his *Universal History of the Peoples and States of the Middle Ages*, Book II., ch. 10, § 208. The same, *Hist. of the German Peoples*, Vol. V., p. 473. Conf. *Hefele's "Something New,"* condensed in six propositions, of which, however, but two were really new, and for that very reason impracticable, in the *Tübing. Quarterly*, 1847, pp. 640, 641. *Freiburg Cyclopædia*, Vol. VIII., pp. 854-860. (*Neander* is also of the same opinion.—Tr.)

² *Ex gestis Rom. Pontif.*: In synodo Anastasius presbyter cardinalis tituli B. Marcelli ad omnibus canonicis est depositus eo quod parochiam suam per annos quinque contra canonum instituta deseruit, et in alienis usque hodie demoratur. *Ex Anast. Bibl. Vita Leonis IV.* apud *Mansi XIV.*; *Decretalium*, lib. III., Tit. IV., c. 2. (Tr.)

³ *Benedicti III.*, Vita et epp., in *Mansi*, T. XIV., p. 102 sq. *Harduin*, T. V., p. 102 sq.

Lothaire did not long survive *Leo IV.* Some time before his death (A. D. 855), he partitioned his empire among his three sons. To Louis II. he gave Italy, with the title of Emperor (A. D. 855-875); to Lothaire II. the provinces lying between the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Maas, or Meuse, which were all called, after him, Lotharingia, and at present Lorraine; and to Charles he assigned the country of Provence. While the complications arising out of this partition were still being canvassed, and *Photius* was intriguing at Constantinople against Ignatius, the lawful patriarch, the energetic *Nicholas I.* (A. D. 858-867) was elected Pope at Rome. Louis II., being encamped in the neighbourhood, came in person, to be present at the ceremony of consecration. The assertion that this is the first instance on record of the coronation of a Pope does not appear to be well supported.¹

This second Elias, as Nicholas was called by Regino, while kind and affable to zealous and pious priests, was stern and relentless to such as led wicked lives. He rendered great services to the Church at a time when the Frankish dynasty was rapidly going to pieces, and the morals of nobles and bishops were daily becoming more relaxed. He comprehended clearly, and brought fully home to his own mind, what should be the duty and aim of a Pope in a season of trial and trouble like that in which his lot was cast. While the Emperor was still in the neighbourhood of Rome, the Pope paid a visit to his camp; and, on this occasion, Louis, taking hold of the bridle, walked by the side of Nicholas for a considerable distance, leading his horse.

This grand old Pope, believing it to be his duty to interfere wherever an abuse was to be corrected, a wrong avenged, or innocence and weakness protected, took upon him the defence of Thietberga, whom Lothaire II., the vicious King of Lorraine, wished to repudiate, that he might be free to gratify a guilty passion he had conceived for Waldrade, the sister of Günther, Archbishop of Cologne (A. D. 856). Lothaire, being bent upon having the sanction of the Holy See in justification of his course, descended to the baseness of accusing his wife, Thietberga, of having, before marriage, committed an unnatural crime with her brother, the abbot Hucbert. Thietberga, as a first

¹ This inference has been drawn from the words of *Anastasius*, in his Life of Nicholas I. In giving an account of the ceremonies that took place on the occasion of this Pope's coronation, he concludes, as is pretended, with the words, "*coronatur denique.*" The words are indeed to be found in the place indicated, but not in the alleged collocation. The passage has been wrongly punctuated, and should be distributed into members, as follows: (Nicolaus) cum hymnis et cantibus spiritualibus in patriarchium iterum Lateranense productus est. Coronatur denique urbs, exultat clerus, lætatur senatus, et populi plenitudo magnifice gratulabatur (not coronatur denique. Urbs exultat, etc.) See *Giesebrecht*, Hist. of the Times of the German Emperors, Vol. III., p. 1053 sq. On the character of this Pope, cf. *Regino*, Ad annum 858. Post beatum Gregorium usque in præsens nullus in Romana urbe illi videtur æquiparandus: regibus ac tyannis imperavit eisque ac si dominus orbis terrarum auctoritate præfuit. Pope Nicholas I., battling against the rudeness and immorality of his times. *Dr. Lämmer*, Pope Nicholas I. and the Byzantine Established Church, Berlin, 1857. † *Thiel*, De Nicolao I. legislatore ecclesiastico, Brunsbergi, 1864.

resource, submitted the decision of her case to the *judgment of the sword*, a species of vindication permitted by the popular superstition of the age. The champion who had taken upon himself the defence of her honour came uninjured from the combat, and she was accordingly declared innocent, and restored to her rights and dignity as spouse and queen of Lothaire. The King, however, was not to be thus balked. His unlawful passion soon suggested a fresh expedient. By threats and acts of violence, which the Queen was glad to escape at any cost, he forced her to make a confession of the crime of which she had been charged, which she did, in the year 860, before an assembly of eight bishops entirely in the interests of the King, at Aix-la-Chapelle. She repeated the same declaration before a second assembly of bishops, at Frankfort, by whom she was condemned to undergo public penance. She had, however, reviously advised the Pope that something of this sort might probably take place, and warned him against receiving any such confession, made under compulsion, as true. Her words are: "Should it come to the knowledge of your Holiness that I have finally been brought to make the false confession required of me, be persuaded that violence alone could have wrung it from me, a wretched queen, who have been more shamefully treated than the most menial slave could have been."

In the year 862, a second assembly of bishops convened at Aix-la-Chapelle, composed of *Günther*, Archbishop of Cologne, and *Thietgaud*, Archbishop of Treves, both servilely devoted to the interests of Lothaire, and the no less venal bishops of Metz, Verdun, Toul, Tongers, Utrecht, and Strasbourg, rendered judgment in favour of Lothaire, and granted him permission to espouse Waldrade.

In the meantime, Thietberga, who had sought an asylum in the kingdom of Charles the Bald, protested her innocence of the crimes of which she stood accused, and called upon Pope Nicholas to espouse her cause. The Pope called an assembly to meet at Metz (A. D. 863), to investigate the whole matter; but, in order to insure a fair hearing and to secure the proceedings against any undue influence on the part of Lothaire, he directed, besides the Bishops of Lorraine, the bishops of Provence, Neustria, and Germany to be present. The Pope himself sent two bishops as legates. But Lothaire, believing that he should be able to so arrange matters at the assembly of Metz as to procure a sentence in his own favour, celebrated his marriage, as has been stated, the year previous. The King did not miscalculate. He so directed affairs that none but Lotharingian bishops were able to assist at the synod, and these he was able to influence by threats and promises. He even succeeded in bribing the two papal legates. Archbishops *Günther* and *Thietgaud*, the pliant instruments of his will, directed the policy of the assembly, and succeeded in having a judgment rendered agreeably to his wishes. But the grounds for the divorce were changed, and it was now urged that there had been a marriage between the King and Waldrade previously to the union of the former with Thietberga. The bishops, having drawn up a report

of their proceedings, placed it in the hands of the two archbishops, Günther and Thietgaud, whom they commissioned to carry it to Rome and lay it before the Pope. Nicholas, whom the Neustrian bishops had informed of these proceedings in advance, convoked a council at Rome in the same year (A. D. 863), and, having carefully investigated all the facts, declared that the acts of the Synod of Metz were null and void; that the assembly itself, because it had favoured the cause of adulterers, was unworthy the name of Synod;¹ that the two archbishops, who arrived at Rome with the acts of the Synod of Metz while the council was in session, should be deposed from their episcopal offices and rendered incapable of exercising any priestly function; that the same punishment should be inflicted upon the faithless legates; and that the bishops who had subscribed to these foolish proceedings² should not receive pardon unless they would give unquestionable proofs of their repentance and submit to the instructions of the Apostolic See. Lothaire was also threatened with sentence of excommunication if he did not at once put away Waldrade.

The two archbishops, Günther and Thietgaud, instead of submitting to the equitable judgment of the Pope, withdrew to the camp of the Emperor Louis, who was then at Benevento, to whom they artfully represented that the Pope's conduct to them implied an insult to his brother, Lothaire, inasmuch as they were the envoys of that prince. Louis grew indignant at the fancied outrage that had been put upon his brother, and at once set out at the head of his army, for Rome, with the purpose of compelling the Pope to change the sentence that had been passed upon the archbishops, or to make some other apology for the insult that had been offered to the imperial dignity. But even the capture of Rome, and the presence of a rude and barbarous army within its walls, had no terrors for Nicholas. Conscious of the justice of his cause, and obedient to the call of duty, he boldly refused to make the slightest concession. He "stood as an immovable wall against the attempts of the wicked," and declared that under no consideration would he pronounce the marriage of Lothaire with Thietberga *unlawful*.³

The Pope proclaimed a public fast and a penitential procession, that God might deign to inspire the Emperor with right thoughts and with feelings of reverence towards the Holy See. The procession was interrupted by the rude soldiery, and the Pope was obliged to retire, for safety, to the Church of St. Peter, where he spent two days and nights in prayer and fasting. This event, and the sudden death of a soldier who had snatched a bronze cross, held in great veneration by the people, from the hands of a priest in the procession, and

¹ Nec vocari synodum, sed tanquam adulteris faventium prostibulum appellari decernimus. *Harduin*, T. V., p. 573. (Tr.)

² Gesta insania.

³ *Hincmar*, De divortio Hlotharii regis et Theutbergæ reginæ. (Opp. et *Sirmond*, T. I. Conf. *Mansi*, T. XV., pp. 319, 324, 373, 649.) The synodal acts of Aix-la-Chapelle and Metz, in *Mansi*, T. XV., p. 611 sq. *Harduin*, T. V., p. 539 sq.

trampled it under foot, produced a great reaction among the soldiers. Moreover, the Emperor, having been himself stricken down by disease, came to regard these occurrences as tokens of divine anger, and sent the Empress to the Pope to ask the favour of a reconciliation. The Pope begged him to give up the cause of the archbishops and leave Rome, which he at once did. Some idea of this Pope's character when in the discharge of duty may be had from the fact that no intercession of princes or bishops could ever prevail upon him to remit one iota of the sentence which he had passed upon the two archbishops through whose intrigues the acts of the Synod of Metz had been done.

Lothaire now sought to recommend himself to the Pope by professions of submission, offering to come to Rome in person, explain his conduct, and vindicate his course. But Nicholas absolutely refused to see him,¹ and through his legate, Arsenius, threatened him with excommunication unless he should immediately leave off criminal intercourse with Waldrade, and again receive and treat Thietberga as his lawful wife. Lothaire did as he was required, and gave Waldrade into the custody of the papal legate, to be conducted to Rome, and there to undergo suitable penance; but, while on the journey, she was seized and carried back again to the faithless prince. Pope Nicholas (A. D. 866) pronounced sentence of excommunication against her.

Lothaire now devised a new expedient for the gratification of his passions. He so ill-treated Thietberga that she was glad to be rid of him at any cost, and accordingly wrote a letter to the Pope, in which she said that her marriage with Lothaire had never been a valid one; that Waldrade was his lawful wife, and that she herself proposed to enter a convent. In conclusion, she begged the Pope to pronounce judgment in accordance with these representations. The Pope was immovable. He refused to listen to her appeal, and replied, in a letter full of dignity and firmness,² admonishing the unfortunate Queen not to be prevailed upon by fear or force to utter a falsehood, and exhorted her to stand firm, confessing the truth, having the assurance that, should she die on this account, she would merit a martyr's reward. The Pope also wrote to the bishops of Lorraine, and to Lothaire and Charles the Bald, reminding them of their duties under the circumstances. Thietberga was obliged to retire to the territories of Charles, where she was when Nicholas died.

Pope Nicholas endeavoured, in this case as in every other, to maintain or restore ecclesiastical discipline, which was rapidly becoming lax. At a diet, held in 863, abbots, bishops, and counts had already sounded the alarm, and deplored, in words of sorrow, the rapid extinction of Christian morality and public order. Should so great an

¹ Cui interdiximus et omnino interdicimus, ut iter talis qualis nunc est non arripiat eo quod Romana ecclesia talem respuat et contemnat. Ep. 27 to Louis, King of the Germans, and Charles the Bald. (Tr.)

² Ep. 48. (Tr.)

outrage against the very foundation of public morality¹ go unpunished, Nicholas felt that a new sanction would be given to the lax principles which had already taken so fast a hold upon the popular mind, and he therefore pronounced sentence of excommunication upon Lothaire.²

Pope Nicholas acted with equal vigour in other circumstances of quite a different character. *John*, Archbishop of *Ravenna*, had oppressed and plundered the inhabitants of his own and neighbouring dioceses. The Pope finally took the matter in hand, and ordered John to appear before a synod at Rome, and answer for his conduct. This the archbishop having refused to do, was excommunicated. He now turned to the Emperor for assistance, and the latter sent delegates with him to Rome. But Pope Nicholas, having been invited to come to *Ravenna*, made a visit to that city, and compelled John and his brothers to restore whatever they had taken from the inhabitants. In another contest, in which Nicholas was engaged, and one, too, which involved his supreme judicial jurisdiction, he was inflexible and rigorous in the assertion and maintenance of the rights of the Apostolic See. *Hincmar*, the talented and learned Archbishop of *Rheims*, had been long engaged in a quarrel with *Rothad*, Bishop of *Soissons*, whom he accused of having trespassed upon his metropolitan rights, and of many derelictions of duty. At a synod assembled at *Soissons*, A. D. 861, *Hincmar* had *Rothad* deposed and imprisoned, and another bishop consecrated in his stead. The acts of this synod were sent to Pope Nicholas for confirmation, but he declined, until he should have examined further into the matter, as many bishops had already interceded in behalf of *Rothad*. The Pope finally decided that the acts of the Synod of *Soissons* were invalid, and that *Rothad*, after having made an apology for his conduct, should be restored, or that both he and *Hincmar* should come to Rome, and lay their claims before the Holy See. *Rothad* complied, and having remained there nine months (A. D. 864), without anyone appearing against him, was pronounced free from all the alleged charges, and, returning with a letter from the Pope to the King and Archbishop, was restored to his former office and dignities.

But *Hincmar* now maintained that, even admitting the right of appeal to the Pope, the sentence was under the circumstances unjust, because, though *Rothad* had, in the first instance, appealed to the Pope, he had subsequently submitted his case to the adjudication of the bishops, and consequently, as was asserted, withdrawn it from the jurisdiction of the Holy See. This, however, was denied by *Rothad*, and, as *Neander* states, we should be slow to receive the accusations of "a passionate and ambitious man," like *Hincmar*. But, apart from this, Nicholas maintained that, even if *Rothad* had *not* appealed

¹ Concil. Pistense, in *Harduin*, T. V., p. 561; *Baluz*, T. II., p. 104 sq.

² Conf. *Döllinger*, C. H., Vol. II., p. 126 sq., and *Neander*, Hist. of the Church, Vol. III., p. 353 sq. (Tr.)

to the Pope, the Synod of Soissons had no authority to judge a bishop without having first received *special* jurisdiction for this purpose from the Holy See; because a case of this character, if there were any such at all, came within the category of the *causæ majores*, which were reserved to the decision of the Pope alone.¹ The Pope referred, in justification of his course, to the *pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*,² and when it was objected that this collection contained decrees of Popes not to be found in the collection of Dionysius the Little, he replied, that the authority of Papal decrees did not depend upon whether they were contained in this or that recension, but upon whether they were genuine and authentic, or not. He, moreover, reverted to the fact, that Hincmar had himself formerly cited the Isidorian Decretals without comment, as authoritative documents, when it suited his purpose to do so.

The three charges brought against Archbishop Hincmar were as follows: 1. That he had deposed a bishop without authority from the Pope, to whom jurisdiction, in such cases, of right belonged, because it was one of the *causæ majores*; 2. That he had prevented a bishop, who had appealed to the Holy See, from travelling to Rome; 3, and finally, That having deposed a bishop, he had appointed another in his stead, without having previously consulted the Holy See.

Archbishop Hincmar finally acknowledged his fault, and wrote, in extenuation of his course, a treatise of some length, in which he declared that he acted in the belief that he was right, and according to the laws of the Church, *as he then understood them* (*secundum sacras regulas, sicut eas intelleximus*).

Hadrian II. (A. D. 867-872) followed close in the footsteps of his predecessor, to whom he was not unlike in character. He had already reached his seventy-fifth year when he ascended the Papal throne. The imperial ambassadors who were in the city at the time of his election, expressed their displeasure at not having been invited to assist at the election; but they were pacified when it was explained to them that this had not been done lest it might constitute a precedent, and might hereafter be appealed to as a proof that *imperial representatives had a right* to be present at the election as well as at the coronation of Popes.

Hadrian finally put an end to the difficulty arising out of the marriage of Lothaire. In the year 869, the King came to Rome in person, accompanied by his cousin, Ingelberga, and a suite of nobles, and having gone with the Pope to the abbey of Monte Cassino, expressed a desire to receive Holy Communion from his hands, as a proof that he was not still under sentence of excommunication. The Pope expressed his willingness, but begged him not to receive the Body and

¹ The Pope, in his letter to the French bishops restoring Rothad, states: *Etsi Sedem Apostolicam nullatenus appellasset, contra tot tamen et tanta vos decretalia efferri statuta et episcopum inconsultis nobis deponere nullo modo debuistis.* *Harduin*, T. V., p. 591. (Tr.)

² *Nicolai I., Vita epp. et decreta*, in *Mansi*, T. XV., p. 149 sq. *Harduin*, T. V., p. 119 sq. Cf. *+Otto*, De causa Rothadi, episcopi Suession. dissertatio, Vratislav., 1862.

Blood of Christ if he had had intercourse with Waldrade since her excommunication by Pope Nicholas, and unless he was determined to have no further connection with her in the future. Lothaire having made solemn oath that such was the case as to his past conduct, and that he would observe a similar line of action in time to come, was admitted to Holy Communion, which he received from the Pope's hands, in token of his reconciliation to the Church. The Holy Father admitted to the Holy Table such nobles of the King's retinue as could say that they were conscious of neither participating in nor consenting to the acts of Lothaire and Waldrade. Very few of all those who accompanied the King withdrew from the altar, and both he and those who remained received with guilt upon their conscience. But as Lothaire, and all the nobles who had approached the altar with him, died a few days afterwards, on their return home through Italy (A. D. 869), their death was regarded by the people as a judgment of God. Both Thietberga and Waldrade retired into convents.

Upon the death of Lothaire, Hadrian did all in his power to have his kingdom of Lorraine settled upon the Emperor Louis, the lawful heir, who was at that time defending the States of the Church and the countries of Central Italy from the inroads of the Saracens. But Charles the Bald took no heed of either the representations of the Papal Legates or the warnings of the Pope's letters, and, being intent upon securing so great a prize, had himself crowned sovereign of Lorraine (A. D. 869), at Metz, by Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. Both the clergy and nobility were devoted to his cause; and when it was objected that Louis was the lawful heir to the crown, they replied that the *privilege of election* was an ancient Germanic right, and that Lorraine had more need than ever before of a powerful sovereign who would be able to protect her borders against the Normans and the Saracens, by whom they were constantly menaced. It is to be regretted that this pontiff lessened, in some degree, the high consideration in which the apostolic authority was then held, by taking under his protection Carloman, the rebellious son of Charles the Bald, who, besides being a renegade monk, was nearly incurring the sentence of excommunication for his shameful vices; and by the bitter and fruitless struggle which he brought upon himself by espousing the cause of *Hincmar*, Bishop of Laon, against his uncle, Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. The younger Hincmar, who had been accused of various violations of ecclesiastical law, and of having defied the authority of his metropolitan, was deposed by the Synod of Touzi, in the year 871. He appealed to the Pope for protection, but, under the circumstances, the latter could effect no more than to delay for a time the filling of the see of Laon.

The replies returned to the Pope's exhortations and claims by Archbishop *Hincmar* and *Charles the Bald* are significant and interesting, inasmuch as they furnish a means of forming some idea of the

character of the age.¹ *Hincmar*, in writing to the Pope on the question of succession to the crown of Lorraine, says: "The Pope would do well to remember the inglorious flight of Gregory IV., in the year 834;" and in reference to the threatened excommunication: "The kingdoms of this world are not obtained by the anathemas of either Pope or bishops, but are contended for in war, and are the reward of victory. Hence, at the last assembly of the lords, secular and ecclesiastical, the announcement of threatened excommunication was received with manifestations of indignation and anger." And, speaking of himself, in connection with the lords temporal, he says: "When I drew out in words an argument based upon the text of James, iv. 1, 10, by which I showed that a neglect to keep down the sinful desires of the heart and a thirst of earthly glory were among the fruitful causes of war, and insisted on the necessity of earnest prayer, the lords temporal made reply: 'If what you say be true, go you and defend, by your prayers, this realm against the Normans and other enemies, and come not to us to seek protection. This you do not, but when there is question of your own defence, you come and ask us to defend you by force of arms. This being the case, say to the Pope that he should not command us to take a king who, being at a distance from us, can afford us no protection, and whose bondsmen the Franks will never become.'"

The language of *Charles the Bald*, in which it is not difficult to detect the pen of *Hincmar*, is still more aggressive: "The Pope should bear in mind that the Frankish kings have ever been held to be the lords of their country, not the vice-gerents of bishops. But what hell," he goes on to say, "is that which has originated a law by which it is declared that the King appointed of God, and armed by Him with a two-edged sword, should not be allowed to punish a criminal in his own State, but must send him to Rome?"

Before his death, *Hadrian* had the joy of learning that the Eighth Œcumenical Council had reinstated *Ignatius* in place of the intruded *Photius* as Patriarch of Constantinople, and that the Greek and Latin branches of the Church had again united.

The position of his successor, *John VIII.* (A. D. 872-882), who was obliged to decide between the conflicting claims of two rivals for the imperial crown,² was embarrassing in the extreme. Never, since the establishment, in the person of *Pepin*, of the Carolingian dynasty by Pope *Zachary*, had a similar duty fallen to any pope. Of the two

¹ *Hadriani II.*, Vita, epist. et decreta in *Mansi*, T. XV., p. 805 sq. *Harduin*, T. V., p. 691 sq. *Hincmari*, Rem. Opusc. 55. capitulor. advers. *Hincmar*. Laudunens., anno 870 (opp. T. II., p. 377 sq.). An acquaintance with the commotions and discussions stirred up by *Hincmar* in the Frankish Kingdom, is most important for a thorough insight into the history of the church of that kingdom, at that epoch. *Natalis Alexander*, Hist. Eccl. sæc. IX., dissert. VI. and VII.; *Gess*, Memorabilia of the Life and the Writings of *Hincmar*, Archbishop of Rheims, Götting, 1806; *Katerkamp*, Ch. H., Pt. IV., p. 254 sq.; *Mattes* in the *Aschbach* and *Hefele* in the *Freiburg Cyclopædia*; and *Noorden*, *Hincmar*, Archbishop of Rheims, Bonn, 1863, (cf. Tüb. Quart., 1865, nro. 3), have well presented it.

² *Joannis VIII.*, Vita et epist., in *Mansi*, T. XVII., p. 1 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1 sq.

claimants, Louis the German, the brother; and Charles the Bald, the uncle of Louis II., who died A. D. 875, the latter-named was more acceptable to Pope John. Charles the Bald anticipating the movements of the unsuspecting German monarch, had crossed the Alps, marched down through Italy at the head of a powerful army, and was crowned at Rome on the feast of Christmas, in the year 875. Charles II., in his turn, relinquished his claims to the suzerainty of Italy, much to the detriment of the public peace and prosperity of that country, and acknowledged the force and validity of many important synodal decrees, making bishops independent of the temporal power.¹ Nay, more, he made no objection when the Pope appointed *Ansegis*, Archbishop of Sens, Primate of the French Church, and Apostolic Vicar, whose right and duty it was to convoke synods, to make known papal instructions to other bishops, and to report ecclesiastical causes to Rome.

It was to no purpose that the bishops generally, and *Hincmar* in particular, protested against this appointment as an invasion of the rights of metropolitans.² But the gratitude of Charles ended here. He gave little or no attention to the other duties to which he was obliged in consequence of having assumed the imperial crown. He made no attempt either to check the boldness of the enterprising Saracens or to put an end to the existing civil discords which were so detrimental to the well-being of the empire. Under the circumstances, the Pope did all in his power to repel the Saracens, who had now approached the very walls of Rome, and were laying waste the surrounding country; but, finding that his efforts were fruitless and his resources unequal to so great an undertaking, he despatched an embassy to France to beseech Charles the Bald to hasten to his aid. Charles crossed the Alps at the head of a large army, and was rapidly followed by Carloman, the eldest son of Louis of Germany, who was bent upon avenging the wrong his father had suffered in the loss of the imperial crown. Charles fled in terror before his enraged kinsman, and, being taken with a fever on his journey, lay down at the foot of Mount Cenis to die, October 13, 877.

Pope John, deprived, by the defeat and death of Charles, of all hope of assistance, was forced to purchase the safety of Rome by the payment of an annual tribute of 25,000 marks of silver to the Saracens.³

According to the principle which was now universally received and acted upon, *it belonged to the Pope, in contested cases, to choose and crown the Emperor*; ⁴ and hence it now became his duty to select

¹ *Synod. Ravenn.*, a. 877, in *Mansi*, T. XVII., p. 337. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 186 sq. *Synod. Tricassina*, a. 878 (capitul. Lud. II., in *Baluz.*, T. II., p. 187). *Harduin*, L. c., p. 191 sq. *Mansi*, L. c., p. 345 sq.

² *Hincmar*, seizing this opportunity, wrote *de jure metropolitānorum*, a treatise that most perfectly characterises the position and tendency of this *Bossuet* of the ninth century.

³ One mark of silver or gold, = to eight ounces of twenty-four carats. (Tr.)

⁴ The words of Louis II., in a letter to the Emperor Basil, are most remarkable. He there places the pre-eminence of the Emperor of the West in his being crowned by the Pope: *Præsertim cum et ipsi patrum nostri gloriosi Reges absque invidia Imperatorem nos vocitent, et Imperatorem esse procul dubio fatentur, non profecto ad ætatem, qua nobis majores sunt, attendentes, sed ad unctionem et sacrationem, qua per summi Pontificis*

from among the claimants of the Carlovingian dynasty, the one he might think most fit to assume and support the name and authority of Emperor.

When, at the Council of Troyes (A. D. 878), the Pope seemed inclined to favour the claims of Louis the Stammerer, the son of Charles the Bald; he next gave the preference to Bosso, Duke of Lombardy, and brother-in-law of Charles the Bald; but he finally settled upon Charles the Fat, or the Third, King of Alemannia, and youngest son of Louis the German († A. D. 876). He was led to make this selection because of the deplorable condition of Italy, which now, more than ever before, was likely to succumb to the terrible energy of the Saracens. *Charles the Fat* was crowned Emperor by Pope John, in the year 881. As most of the members of the Carlovingian dynasty followed one another in quick succession to the grave, shortly after the coronation of Charles, and as he became the natural protector and guardian of the survivors, he was enabled to once more unite, under one rule, nearly *all* the countries which had formerly belonged to the *Frankish monarchy as it had existed under Charlemagne and Louis the Mild*. But, notwithstanding these powerful resources, he was unable to make head against either his own enemies or those of the Pope. The last days of the Holy Father were embittered by the knowledge that the Saracens had made successful incursions into Italy, and were laying waste its fair fields.

The letters of this Pope, which have been brought together into one collection, are a standing memorial of his untiring energy. It is true that he pronounced sentence of excommunication against bishops and powerful lay persons more frequently than any of his predecessors, and was less inclined than they to settle his difficulties by the methods of diplomacy; but a sufficient explanation and justification of this course may be found in the prevailing depravity of the age, and in the deplorable condition to which the See of Rome was then reduced. This unfortunate Pope, after having reigned ten years, and devoted, during that period, his entire energies to the liberation of Italy from Saracen invasion, died, without seeing his hopes fulfilled, or his efforts crowned with success, December 15, A. D. 882. With the close of his reign, the short period of princely authority, to which the Papacy had risen simultaneously with the establishment of the temporal power of the Church under the Carlovingian dynasty, came, for the time being, to an end.

Marinus I. (A. D. 882-884) was the first Pope who had been consecrated bishop previously to his elevation to the Papal throne. He met Charles the Fat at Modena, in 883, but the interview had no important result. The Saracens, regardless of the compact they had entered into with Pope John VIII., overran the territories of Bene-

manus impositionem divinitus sumus ad hoc culmen provecti, et ad Romani principatus Imperium, quo superno nutu potimur, aspicientes,—quod jam ab avo nostro non usurpante, ut perhibes, sed Dei nutu et Ecclesiæ judicio summique Pontificis per impositionem et unctionem manibus obtinuit. (Baronii, Ann. ad a. 871, nr. 54 sq. Muratori, Script., T. II., Pt. II., p. 243.

vento and Spoleto, and pushed their incursions as far as the walls of Rome. The religious of St. Vincent's, on the Volturno, were put to the sword, and their monastery, as well as that of Monte Cassino destroyed (A. D. 884).

Hadrian III., who was elected in the year 884, died the year following while on his way to the Diet of Worms, whither he was going at the invitation of Charles the Fat, for the purpose of anointing Bernard, the natural son of the Emperor and heir-presumptive to the crown.

Stephen V. (VI.) was consecrated immediately after his election, and without having first obtained the approbation of the Emperor.¹ The latter, on this account, wished to depose him; but when Stephen had forwarded to Charles the deed of his election, to which were appended the names of the electors, and by which it was shown that the election had been approved by John, Bishop of Pavia, and the imperial ambassadors,² no further complaint was made.

But the inability of Charles either to defend the Empire against the invasions of the *Normans* and *Saracens*, or to quell the intestine disorders from which it was suffering, became daily more apparent. The bishops complained bitterly³ of the absence of all order, the laxity of discipline, and the corruption of morals. "Everywhere," say they, "have we to deplore the sack of cities, the pillaging and burning of monasteries, wasted fields, and depopulated plains."

Duke Henry had been the chief support of Charles the Fat, and when the latter lost him, he was not long permitted to enjoy the honour, or retain the authority of Emperor. Too weak to assert his rights, and too incapable to maintain them, he was deposed by an assembly of princes at Tribur, at the solicitation of *Arnulph*, the natural son of Carloman, who had himself raised to the imperial throne (A. D. 888-899). Charles survived this disgrace only two months, and died A. D. 888.

Among the immediate consequences of the fall of the Carlovingian dynasty was the assertion of independence by the dukes of Italy and the margraves or governors of the border territories of France, each of whom, acknowledging no superior, and ambitious of the imperial dignity, necessarily involved the Popes in their quarrels. The most conspicuous of those who contended for the honour of becoming Emperor were *Guido*, or *Guy*, Duke of Spoleto, and *Berengarius*, Duke of Friuli. The former, after having gained two important victories—the one on the banks of the Trebia, and the other near the town of Brixen—called an assembly of the Lombard bishops at Pavia. Here certain conditions were prescribed, which the bishops thought requisite to the right and lawful government of the Empire, and to these

¹ *Stephani V.*, vita et epist., in *Mansi*, T. XVIII., p. 6 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 365 sq.

² Conf. *Muratori*, Hist. of Italy down to the year 885, German transl., Pt. V., p. 198 sq.

³ *Concil. Troslejan.*, in *Mansi*, T. XVIII., p. 265. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., f. 505.

Guido subscribed, after which he was crowned *Emperor*. This ceremony was performed first by the bishops, and afterwards (A. D. 891) by Pope Stephen, at Rome. Stephen died shortly after, universally revered for his zeal and boundless charity.

He was succeeded by *Formosus* (A. D. 891-896), who was obliged to crown (A. D. 892) Lambert, the son of Guido, who, though still a minor, shared with his father the government of the Empire.

After the death of Guido (A. D. 894), Lambert governed conjointly with his mother Agiltrude, a woman of excessive ambition, whose power shortly degenerated into tyranny. A portion of Upper Italy was still in the hands of Berengarius, who had not given up the hope of placing the imperial crown upon his own head. He now took advantage of the disturbed state of society, and the feelings of indignation entertained against Lambert and Agiltrude on account of the oppressiveness of their government, to assert his claims. War was accordingly declared, and the whole of Italy, not excepting Rome, was divided into two conflicting parties, each equally zealous in defence of its champion. To put an end to this condition of things, the Pope called to his assistance the German King *Arnulph*, who, being a prince of the Carolingian house, declared his intention to make good his right to the government of Italy.¹ He marched into Italy at the head of an army of Germans; took Rome, where Lambert's mother had sought refuge, by storm; liberated the Pope from confinement, and was crowned by him amid the joyful acclamations of the people (A. D. 896). The Romans took the oath of fealty to the new Emperor, with the condition, however, that their obligations to him should, in no way, *interfere with the honour and loyalty which they owed to the Pope*.² Arnulph was quite equal to the task of maintaining himself in his new dignity, notwithstanding that Lambert, of Spoleto, and Albert, Duke of Tuscany, had formed a powerful league against him, with the purpose of putting an end to German dominion in Italy. Unfortunately he died in the third year after his coronation, and his son and heir, *Louis the Child*, was unable, owing to his extreme youth and the terrible inroads of the Hungarians into Germany, to successfully compete for the imperial crown.³ Here a lamentable and disastrous era opens upon the Apostolic See and the Roman Church.

Boniface VI., having been borne to the Pontifical throne by a disorderly assembly, made up chiefly of the partisans of the late Pope Formosus, survived his elevation only fifteen days. Upon his death, the opposite party succeeded in electing *Stephen VI. (VII.)* (A. D.

¹ *Formosi II. vita*, epist. et decreta, in *Mansi*, T. XVIII., p. 99 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 423 sq. Cf. *Auxilii* libb. II., de ordinat. Formosi. (max. bibl. T. XVII., p. 1 sq.) and dialog. super causa et negot. Form. (*Mabillon*, *Annal.*, T. II., p. 28 sq.)

² The oath is given in *Muratori*, *Hist. of Italy*, Vol., V., p. 254: Juro per hæc omnia Dei mysteria, quod salvo honore et lege mea atque fidelitate Domini Formosi Papæ, fidelis sum et ero omnibus diebus vitæ meæ Arnulfo Imperatori, et nunquam me ad illius infidelitatem cum aliquo homine sociabo. Et Lamberto, filio Agildrudæ, et ipsi matri suæ ad sæcularem honorem numquam adjutoriam præbebo.

³ *Dammert*, Hatto I., Archbishop of Mentz, and Louis the Child, Freiburg, 1865 (ogramme).

896-897), who, unmindful of the dignity of his office, and yielding to the instincts of hatred, called an assembly of bishops to give judgment upon the dead Pope Formosus, who, it was alleged, had violated the Canons in accepting the See of Rome. The ground of this charge was, that Formosus had, contrary to the discipline of the West, been transferred from the see of Porto to that of Rome. Accordingly, the body of Formosus was exhumed, robed in Pontifical attire, set up in the hall of the assembly, and an advocate given him to plead his cause. Then Stephen VI. (VII.), addressing the lifeless form, said: "*Bishop of Porto*, why did thy ambition lead thee to usurp the See of Rome?" Sentence of deposition was then pronounced upon him; his election to the Papacy declared contrary to the canons, and his official Pontifical acts null and void. The body was then divested of the Pontifical robes; the three fingers of the right hand, which had been the instruments of his supposed perjury, cut off; and, after other indignities had been put upon the corpse, it was cast into the Tiber. Finally, all those upon whom he had conferred Holy Orders, were deposed. Some of them were afterwards banished, and others re-ordained by Stephen.

These proceedings so exasperated the party hostile to Stephen, that they seized him, and, having loaded him with chains, cast him into a dungeon, where he was strangled, in the month of August, A. D. 897.¹ It is also probable that the two succeeding Popes—the pious *Romanus* and the upright *Theodore* (A. D. 897 and 898)—were murdered by the party friendly to Stephen, for having declared in favour of Formosus.

B—DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF THE PAPACY IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

§ 187. *The Roman Pontificate during its Disgraceful Dependence upon Tuscan Domination.*

Luitprandi Historia rer. ab Europ., etc. (unreliable and harshly exaggerating.) *Glaber Radulf.* Hist. Francor., libri V. *Flodoardi* Chronicon, cf. § 178. *Muratori*, Annali d'Italia, T. V. (Germ. transl., Vol. V., p. 266 sq.) *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 467 sq. *Mansi*, T. XVIII., p. 190 sq. *Dümmmler*, *Auxilius*, and *Vulgarius*, Sources and Researches on the Hist. of the Papacy at the opening of the tenth century, Lps. 1866. **Hefele*, the Popes and Emperors in the Darkest Ages of the Church (Contributions toward Ch. H., etc., Vol. I., p. 227-278. *Hergenröther*, Contributions toward a Hist. of the Popes of the tenth century (Würzburg Cath. Weekly, nros. 1 and 2, year 1865). *Darras*, Ch. H. Vol. II.

After the death of Lambert (A. D. 897), and of Arnulph (A. D. 899), the supremacy of Italy was contended for with varying success by *Berengarius* of Friuli, and *Louis III.*, surnamed the Blind, King of Provence.² But, as if these struggles were not sufficient to fill

¹ *Stephani VI.* vita et epist., in *Mansi*, T. XVIII., p. 173 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 461 sq. *Muratori*, Hist. of Italy, year 897, Pt. V., p. 263. *Bonn Periodical of Philos. and Cath. Theolog.*, 1847, n. 3.

² Those desirous of avoiding confusion of the personages of this age, would do well to consult *Höfler's* genealogical tables (German Popes, Pt. I., App. 5), where the descent of *Berengarius*, *Theodora*, and others, is given.

the measure of the country's misery, the Magyars again burst in upon its fair fields and spread devastation wherever they went. To increase, if possible, this condition of affairs, the party of the margrave, Albert of Tuscany, of the infamous courtesan, *Theodora* the elder, and of her no less infamous daughters, *Marozia* and *Theodora* the younger, was all-powerful at Rome. Benedict IV. was elected to the papal throne in the year 900. He was succeeded, three years later (903), by Leo V., who was, in the same year, dethroned by Christopher and cast into prison.

Through the influence of *Marozia*, the sister of *Theodora*, *Sergius III.*, her favourite, who, six or seven years previously, had been set up as anti-Pope against Romanus and John IX., was recalled from exile and placed upon the Papal throne (A. D. 904-911). Much has been said, upon the authority of Luitprand, against the moral character of this Pope; but, before assenting to the grave accusations of this writer, we should bear in mind that his testimony is, if not nullified, at least greatly impaired by that of two contemporaries, viz., Deacon John and Flodoard, both of whom are witnesses to the unexceptional life, to the virtues, the piety, and the zeal of *Sergius*. And their testimony is borne out by the words of his epitaph, which represents him as an "excellent pastor, beloved by all classes." He reigned seven years, during which time he conferred the pallium upon the Archbishops of Hamburg and Cologne, and placed the bishopric of Bremen definitely under the jurisdiction of the former.

The last-named measure did much towards spreading the Gospel among the heathens of the North. It was during his pontificate also that the Council of Trosly, near Soissons, was held, the canons of which have more the character of exhortations than rules of discipline. Harvey, Archbishop of Rheims, presided, and in the opening discourse, which he delivered, gives a frightful picture of the general relaxation of discipline and depravity of morals in those times. St. Bernon contributed not a little to the restoration of monastic discipline and public morals by the foundation of the famous abbey of Clugny, whose light cheered and whose benign influence comforted the hearts of many in that age of tyranny and darkness. *Sergius III.* died December 6, A. D. 911, and, with the exception of approving the acts of Stephen VI. (VII.) against Pope Formosus, is probably guiltless of the other charges which have been brought against him by such writers as Luitprand.

It should be borne in mind, when speaking of these times, and of the prevailing corruption, that many of those who filled the papal chair were distinguished for purity of life and disinterested zeal in God's cause. Such were *John IX.* (A. D. 898-900), *Benedict IV.* (A. D. 900-903), *Anastasius III.* (A. D. 911-913), and *Leo VI.* (A. D. 928, 929). It is well not to lose sight of this fact, for persons are inclined, judging from the accounts they read of those times, to condemn, indiscriminately, all the occupants of the Holy See as equally unworthy and selfish.

Again, it is well known that the picture of John of Ravenna, the relative of Theodora the Elder, who ascended the papal throne under the name of *John X.* (A. D. 914-928), as drawn by Luitprand, is not pleasant to look upon, whereas modern writers have drawn it, if not in bright, at least in less offensive and more harmonious colours. This Pope had proved himself a man of good parts and capacity while still Archbishop of Ravenna; and even the panegyrist of Berengarius, who will assuredly not be suspected of any partiality for him, speaks of him as follows:

“Summus erat Pastor tunc temporis urbe Johannes,
Officio affatim clarus sophiaque repletus.”¹

The first care of John X. was to put things to right in Italy. As a preliminary step towards the accomplishment of this purpose, he consecrated Berengarius of Friuli, Emperor (A. D. 915). He next secured an alliance for him with the Greek Emperor and with the princes of Italy. Having thus established friendly relations among all the princes, he united their forces for a desperate assault upon the Saracens, who were again overrunning Italy. Placing himself at the head of the combined army, he went forth to meet the enemy, and came up with him on the banks of the Garigliano. The Saracens fought with their characteristic daring and gallantry; but, being unable to withstand the resolute courage of the Christian army, were forced to give way on all sides. Their army was annihilated, their stronghold on the banks of the Garigliano taken and destroyed (A. D. 916), and their power in Italy broken.

The remaining days of this Pope were spent in consulting and providing for the interests of the Church. His answer to Harvey, Archbishop of Rheims, who, in the year 916, asked his advice as to how such of the newly-converted (A. D. 912) Normans as had lapsed into idolatrous practices should be treated, is characteristic of the man. He instructed the Archbishop not to enforce the rigour of the canons, as they, being young in the faith, could not bear what those of more mature years would joyfully accept, but to use forbearance, lest excessive strictness might entirely drive away these neophytes from the Church.

Upon the death of Theodora, John manifested a disposition to free himself from the degrading dependence to which he had been subjected. But Marozia, who was still powerful and in possession of the Castle of St. Angelo, had him cast into prison and put to death (A. D. 928). This woman had married Guido, Margrave of Tuscany, the conqueror of her former husband, Alberic, Duke of Camerino. She was led to take the life of Pope John, because he had entered into negotiations with Hugh of Provence, in the year 926, for the liberation of Italy, and especially of the Romans, who were groaning under the shameful servitude of these vicious women.

¹ Conf. *Duret*, in *Kopp's Hist. Papers of Luzerne*, Vol I., n. 3, year 1854. *Liviani*, Giovanni da Tossignano (X), Macerata, 1859.

At the close of the short pontificate of *Leo VI.* († A. D. 929), a man distinguished for his energy in enforcing ecclesiastical discipline and for his earnest efforts to raise the standard of morality, the papal throne was filled, for a brief period by *Stephen VII.* (VIII.), who was probably the creature of Marozia. Upon his death, this woman had her son by her first husband, Alberic, elected Pope. He is known by the name of *John XI.* (A. D. 931-936), and was, throughout his whole reign, subject to the baneful influence of either his mother or brother. In the year 932, after the death of Guido, the wily Marozia became the wife of Hugh of Provence, upon whose head she succeeded in placing the crown of Italy. Hugh, after a time, fancied that his power was sufficiently established to warrant him in aspiring to the imperial crown. The Pope had, indeed, requested him to accept it; but Alberic the Younger, a brother of Pope John, protested against this assumption as an infringement upon his patrimonial rights, took up arms in his own defence, defeated his stepfather, Hugh, and shut his mother up in prison. Having thus established his power (A. D. 932-954) as "*Princeps Romæ*," or Prince and Senator of Rome, he cast the Pope, his brother, into prison, in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he kept him shut up for three years together, and, during this time, assumed and exercised all authority, both temporal and spiritual. The popes who reigned under him were nearly all men of integrity and blameless lives. Such were *Leo VII.*, *Stephen VIII.* (IX.) (A. D. 939), *Marinus II.* (A. D. 943-946), and *Agapetus II.* (A. D. 946-955). But, notwithstanding their personal worth, they were, all the same, obliged to submit to a degrading and vexatious dependence. A change in the political condition of Upper Italy finally gave hope that the papacy might again rise to its pristine authority and honour.

The vassals of Hugh, but particularly *Berengarius*, Margrave of *Irrea*, grew daily more impatient of his rule, till finally their protests became so urgent and imperative that he thought it best to again retire to his hereditary kingdom of Provence (A. D. 946). Before going, however, he conferred the crown of Italy upon his son, Lothaire, who, though only eighteen years of age, had already been associated with his father in the government of the kingdom, and was espoused to *Adelaide*, daughter of Rudolph II. of Burgundy.

Lothaire did not long live to enjoy the honours and bear the burdens of royalty. He died in 950, and was succeeded by Berengarius and his son, *Adalbert*, both of whom were elected and crowned Kings of Italy at Pavia.

The young widow of Lothaire took refuge in the Castle of Canossa to escape the hard treatment of Berengarius, who tried every means to force her to accept the offer of his son's hand.

From the beginning of the reign of *Henry I.* of Saxony, surnamed *the Fowler*, the affairs of Germany, whether in the political or ecclesiastical domain, had been in a most satisfactory condition; and the accession of *Otho I.* gave still better promise for the future. Having

been invited by Adelaide, who was still shut up in the Castle of Canossa, to come to her rescue, he crossed the Alps (A. D. 951), at the head of an army, raised the siege of Canossa, drove Berengarius out of Italy, assumed the government of the kingdom of Lombardy, and sued and won the fair Adelaide (January 6, 952). At the Diet of Augsburg, held in the year 952, Berengarius consented to accept Italy from Otho as a fief of the German Empire; but having, on his return, raised the standard of revolt, he was shortly overcome and taken prisoner to Bamberg, in Bavaria, where he died (A. D. 966).

Otho was acknowledged King of Italy by a diet held at Milan, and was crowned with the Iron Crown of Lombardy. He was then invited to Rome by the Pope, declared Emperor, and again crowned (A. D. 962) and anointed.

In the year 956, *Octavian*, a youth only eighteen years of age, the son of Alberic, Duke of Tuscany, the husband of Marozia, succeeded, through the influence of his faction, in having himself raised to the papal throne. The custom, now common with popes, of changing their baptismal name upon their accession, into one more ecclesiastical in form, *was first introduced by John XII.* His pontificate lasted till the year 964.¹

Though young in years, this unworthy occupant of the papal chair was old in profligacy, and brought disgrace upon his exalted office by his many vices and shameful excesses. *But the Church, then in a most humiliating state of bondage, can not be made responsible for the outrageous conduct of this young debauchee.* It is a little singular that one who, by his wicked life, had done all in his power to bring discredit upon the Church and Holy See, should have been himself the unconscious instrument in restoring the honour of both.

C.—THE PAPACY AFTER THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE.

§ 188. *The Popes under the Saxon Emperors.*

(BOTH SAXON AND FRANKISH EMPERORS FREQUENTLY CLAIMED THE RIGHT OF TAKING PART IN THE ELECTION OF POPES.)

†*Contzen*, The Historiographers of the Saxon Emperors, their Lives and Works, Ratisbon, 1837. **Giesebrecht*, Hist. of the German Emperors, Vol. I., p. 189 sq. *Höfler*, German Popes. *Hock*, Gerbert, or Pope Sylvester II., Vienna, 1837. *Hefele*, Contributions, etc., Vol. I., p. 253 sq. †*Damberger*, Synchronistical Hist., Vol. V. †*Floss*, Papal Elections under the Othos, Freiburg, 1858. *Zöppfel*, Papal Elections from the 11th to the 14th cent., Göttg., 1872.

In the very midst of those clouds which overhung the Christian world, and had brought on so deep a night of darkness, both Church and State took the first steps towards an amelioration of their condition.

Charles IV., surnamed the Simple (†A. D. 923), King of the *West Frankish Empire*, made over to *Rollo*, the most skilful and daring of all the Norman chiefs, the province of Neustria (ever since called

¹ Conf. *Aschbach's* Eccl. Cyclopædia, Vol. IV., pp. 294-296.

Normandy), in fee-simple, and that of Britany conditionally. Rollo bound himself by treaty (A. D. 911) to embrace, together with his countrymen, the Christian religion on becoming the vassal of Charles. He was baptised under the name of Robert, by *Franco*, Archbishop of Rouen, who had formerly gone on an embassy of peace to his court, and shortly after married the royal princess Gisela. The country which he had conquered was indeed wild and desolate, but this did not prevent him from giving his utmost care to its government; and the wisdom and efficiency which he exhibited in the execution of his trust merited for him the love and gratitude of the inhabitants. From this time forward, Robert and his successors protected the frontiers of the West-Frankish Empire from invasion by the Normans. Thus protected from external enemies, religion flourished within its borders, and there shortly arose the great and *learned congregation of Chugny*, destined in future time to do so much for the glory of the Church.

Christianity beautified and ennobled all that was strong and energetic in the Norman character; and it was to the efforts of the Normans, who became the most zealous propagators of the Gospel, that every country of Europe, in that age, owed the revival of the Christian religion and the spread of Christian sentiments. They carried the weight of their influence and the power of their example into *France*, with which they constantly maintained intimate relations; into *Italy*, where a descendant of Rollo established a colony of Normans; into *England*, where William the Conqueror ascended the throne; and even into distant *Russia*, which owes not only its religious and political characteristics to their genius and zeal, but even its very name to one of their leaders. It was called *Ruriscia*, or *Russia*, from Rurik, the bold Varangian chief, who came originally from Scandinavia.¹

In *Germany*, the power of the nobles was constantly on the increase, and that of the king on the decline. What was lost by the latter was gained by the former, and so powerful did they become that even the royal commissioners, from fear of them, dared not carry out their instructions, and were not unfrequently induced to make common cause with them. It required a strong arm to defend the country against the continual aggressions of external enemies, and, as a consequence, hereditary dukedoms grew up, little by little, to supply this need. The Saxons were the first who possessed a duke of their own nation, but it was not long before the Franks, the Suabians, and the Bavarians, the three principal tribes of Southern Germany, enjoyed a similar distinction.

¹ *Rurik*, having been invited by the Slaves of Novgorod to come and rule over them, crossed over the Baltic from Scandinavia, accompanied by his brothers, Sindf and Truvor, at the head of a small army, took possession of the country to the south of the Gulf of Finland, Lakes Ladoga, Onega and Beloe, in 861 or 862, and laid the foundation of a monarchy. His brothers dying without issue, their principalities were united to Novgorod by Rurik. See *Cantii's Universal History*, and the art. *Rurik*, in *Chambers Cyclopædia*. (Tr.)

By the death of Louis the Child, the race of Charlemagne became extinct in Germany, and the Germans again asserted and exercised their ancient rights. Their *kings* were again *elected*, not, indeed, as formerly, by the voice of the whole people, but by the suffrages on the hereditary dukes of the four principal tribes.

Otho of Saxony, having refused the offer of the crown, recommended *Conrad of Franconia* as a fit person to wear it. This prince was descended from Charlemagne by the female line, and was a nephew of Arnulph of Bavaria. Pious, chivalric, and brave, but withal unfortunate, he was unequal to the task, either of repelling the devastating invasions of the Hungarians, or of suppressing the sanguinary feuds of the German princes. He closed his reign of six years (A. D. 911-918) by an act of magnanimity and patriotism worthy of a great prince, for which his memory is still held in honour by the German people. Conscious that the powerful Saxons, who had heretofore shown some hostility to the unity of the Empire, could alone successfully cope with the enemies of the German nation, and secure for it peace at home and respect abroad, he generously passed over the claims of his own house, and advised that his enemy, *Henry, Duke of Saxony*, a man already distinguished for bravery in war and prudence in counsel, should be elected his successor.

Summoning his brother Eberhard to his side when on his death-bed, he gave him the following commission: "When I shall have passed away," said he, "bear the insignia of royalty, the crown and the sceptre, to *Henry of Saxony*, a man truly deserving of them." The commission was all the more trying to Eberhard, inasmuch as he himself would have been the natural heir to the royal crown, for Conrad died without issue; but he showed a magnanimity equal to that of his brother, by faithfully executing the will of the latter.

Henry was hunting when the messenger reached him, and from this circumstance he has been surnamed the Fowler.

Henry the Fowler (A. D. 919-936), also called the *Builder*, fully realised the promise of his youth. He placed the army on a more efficient footing, and thus repelled the attacks of the Hungarians and Danes; introduced tournaments; built strongholds; fortified cities; drove back the Slaves and Normans from the German frontier; and established the three *margravates* of Slesvig, Brandenburg, and Meissen, for the protection of the border countries. After he had completed these preparations, he met and totally routed the Hungarians, near Merseburg, A. D. 933. Before engaging in this battle, he made a vow, that, if he should be victorious, he would employ every means in his power to put an end to the vice of *simony*. The genius of Henry I. was felt throughout the whole Empire, and gave a fresh impulse to religion, politics, literature, and art.

His example was closely followed by his more illustrious son *Otho I.* (A. D. 936-973), who, like Charlemagne, again assumed and faithfully executed the office of protector of the Church.¹ He was, in

¹ Conf. *Giesebrecht*, in l. c., pp. 241-567.

consequence, frequently called to Italy to put an end to the dissensions of the two contending factions at Rome. Berengarius II. and his son Adelbert were especially notorious for their abuse of power, and the tyranny they exercised, not only over the Pope, but all Italy. Otho I. was in consequence invited to come into Italy by Pope *John XII.*, and by the bishops and nobles.¹ He entered Rome at the head of his victorious army, January 1, 962, and made the following declaration before the Pope: "I swear to thee, Pope John, in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, that having, by the Divine mercy, reached Rome in safety, *I shall do all that in me lies to exalt the Church of Rome and her Pastor.*"² Never shalt thou, by my will or consent, or at my instigation, lose life or limb, or whatever of dignity belongs to thee. Never shall I, without having first obtained thy permission, pass judgment, or issue an ordinance relative to whatever concerns either the Romans or thyself; and should any portion of the Patrimony of St. Peter fall into my hands, I shall at once restore it to thee. And should I ever transfer the Kingdom of Italy to another, I shall oblige such one to promise under oath to his new lord that he will do all in his power *to uphold thy authority and defend the Patrimony of St. Peter.*" Then both the Pope and the Romans swore upon the tomb of St. Peter "never to give either aid or encouragement to Berengarius and Adelbert, the enemies of Otho." Otho—who, as has been stated, had already received the iron crown of Lombardy—was anointed and crowned Emperor, February 2, A. D. 962—the first, for forty-six years, to wear the imperial crown.³ A few days after, February 13th, the Emperor published his celebrated diploma,⁴ by which he confirmed to the Holy See all the donations that had been made to it by Pepin and Charlemagne. He therein specified by name all the provinces, cities, towns, boroughs, castles, and localities that belonged of right to the Patrimony of St. Peter. Moreover, in order to put an end to the scenes of violence which had hitherto been of common occurrence on the occasion of *papal elections*, he ordered that these should be conducted with the *fullest liberty*, and that the Pope-elect should promise, previously to his consecration, and in presence of the imperial ambassadors, to govern according to law, and with the strictest regard to justice.

When Otho was informed, upon the authority of the leading citi-

¹ *Joannis XII. vita et epist.*, Mansi, T. XVIII., p. 447.

² *Gratiani Decret.*, Pt. I., dist. LXIII., c. 33. *Watterich*, T. I., p. 45. Conf. *Mura-tori*, Hist. of Italy in the year 962, Pt. V., p. 492. *Gfrörer*, Ch. H., Vol. III., p. 1242 sq., vindicates the genuineness of this oath, unjustly doubted of. *Giesebrecht*, Hist. of the Period of the Emperors, Vol. I., p. 456. Conf. *Hefele*, Vol. I., p. 254.

³ *Darras*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 592. (Tr.)

⁴ Diploma Ottonis imperatoris de confirmatione jurium Rom. Eccl., in *Mansi*, T. XVIII., p. 451 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 623, in *Hüfler*, German Popes, Pt. I., p. 38-42. This public document is written on violet parchment, in letters of gold, and is still extant. It has often been questioned whether this beautiful copy be the *original text*. Some critics go still further, and call its very *authenticity* in doubt, as well as that of the oath of Otho to Pope John. This manuscript is probably a copy of the original diploma. Conf. *Hefele's Contrib.*, Vol. I., p. 255.

zens of Rome, that John XII. was stained with the guilt of immorality, simony, and other vices equally heinous, he dismissed the charges with the remark: "He is still young, and may, with the example of good men before him, and under the influence of their counsel, grow better as he grows older." But while the Emperor was still at Pavia, he learned that John had entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with Adelbert, and had endeavoured to persuade the Greeks and Hungarians to invade Italy, and drive the Germans beyond the Alps. Otho turned back, and laid siege to the town of Montefeltro, where Adelbert had taken refuge. After having reduced this place, he set out for Rome, where he arrived November 2, A. D. 962; but John and Adelbert, not daring to await his coming, had already fled, taking with them the treasure of St. Peter's Church. The Romans took the oath of fealty to Otho, promising never to permit anyone to take possession of the See of Rome who had not first obtained his consent, or that of his son, Otho II.¹

Thus far no fault could be found with either the conduct or policy of Otho; but now, acting under the advice of the German bishops, who, though they were justly incensed at the scandalous life of John XII., were but indifferent canonists, he ventured upon a step, the evil consequences of which were felt long afterwards, and involved results well-nigh fatal. He convoked (A. D. 963), a synod, to meet in St. Peter's Church, at which forty bishops and sixteen cardinals were present, for the purpose of deposing the Pope. Luitprand, Bishop of Cremona, who afterwards wrote the history of his times, acted as interpreter to the Emperor, who was acquainted with no language but the Saxon. This so-called Synod indicted the Pope on the charges of incest, perjury, blasphemy, murder, and others equally enormous, and cited him to appear before its tribunal,² to answer to the impeachment.

The Pope, instead of complying with this demand, wrote a sharp letter to the bishops, in the course of which he said: "It has come to our knowledge that it is your intention to elect another Pope. Should you presume to carry this intention into effect, know that, in such an event, we, of our Apostolic authority, and in the name of Almighty God, do pronounce you excommunicated, and forbid you to confer orders or celebrate the Divine Mysteries." This letter and warning produced no effect. The bishops proceeded against him all the same, and he was accordingly deposed. The transaction was wholly illegal, and in direct violation of the canons of the Church, according to which a pope can be deposed only on two counts, viz.,

¹ *Luitprand*, Lib. VI., c. 6. *Cives vero Sanctum Imperatorem cum suis omnibus in urbe suscipiunt, fidelitatemque promittunt; hæc addentes et firmiter jurantes, nunquam se Papam electuros aut ordinaturos præter consensum atque electionem domini Imperatoris Othonis.*

² Conciliabulum Romanum (Pseudo-synodus) out of *Luitprand*, VII., p. 6-11, in *Mansi*, T. XVIII., p. 466. sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 627. Conf. *Baronius* ad a. 962 and *Natal. Alex.* h. e. ad sæc. IX. et X., diss. XVI.

apostasy from the faith and obstinate persistence in heresy; and by only one tribunal, viz., an œcumenical council. Hence the bishops introduced into the sentence of deposition a clause embodying an axiom which might serve as a principle to justify their course. "An unprecedented evil," said they, "demands an unprecedented remedy."

Two days after the so-called deposition of John, Leo, a *layman*, and previously chancellor of the Roman Church, was, by the influence of the Emperor, elected Pope, and, after taking orders without observing the interstices, ascended the papal throne under the name of *Leo VIII.* After the departure of Otho, John, who had still quite a party devoted to his interests, returned to Rome, retaliated on his enemies, and drove out the antipope. He next assembled a synod, at which sixteen bishops and twelve cardinal priests were present, the majority of whom had already taken part in the former synod, declared the acts of the latter body null and of no effect, deposed and excommunicated Leo, and pronounced his ordination invalid.

No sooner had John gained this triumph over his enemies than he again went back to his former licentious habits and unseemly excesses. But, though God may tolerate such things for a time, His vengeance usually overtakes one in the end. John was suddenly stricken down with cerebral apoplexy, and died, at the end of eight days, without being able to receive the Holy Viaticum (May 14, A. D. 964).

Notwithstanding that the Romans had taken the oath of fidelity to Otho, they hated the Germans cordially; and when John had died, instead of closing the old and preventing a new schism by choosing Leo VIII. to succeed to him, they elected (A. D. 964), *Benedict V.*, whom they swore to defend, even against the Emperor himself. Even German historians concede that this Pope was both learned and virtuous—recommendations not very common in that age.

No sooner had Otho been informed of these events than he again set out for Rome. He besieged the city with a powerful army, and the inhabitants, yielding to famine rather than the sword, opened the gates to him, June 23, A. D. 964.

Otho immediately convoked a synod, at which the bishops of Lorraine, Italy, and Saxony were present. Benedict was summoned before this body, and was forced to go through the farce of having himself deposed and degraded, after which he was sent into exile to Hamburg.

It must be conceded that, whatever other faults Leo VIII. may have had, ingratitude to his imperial benefactor was not one of them. *It is said* that he published a decree "granting to Otho and his successors, for ever, the privilege of naming whom they liked to succeed to them in the kingdom of Italy; of appointing the incumbent of the *Holy See*, and of investing archbishops and bishops." Should any refuse to acknowledge the propriety of placing such plenary powers in the hands of this temporal prince, he was threatened with excom-

munication, perpetual banishment, or death.”¹ Whether all this be true or not, it is certain that, from this time forward, the Emperors interfered more than they had previously done in the election of popes, to the great detriment of the Church and the Holy See.

On the death of Leo VIII., in the beginning of April, A. D. 965, the Romans requested the Emperor to restore Benedict; but, while the matter was still under consideration, the latter died (July 5, A. D. 965).

The Roman clergy and people now assembled in presence of the imperial ambassadors, Luitprand, Bishop of Cremona, and Otgar, Bishop of Spire, and chose John, Bishop of Narni (A. D. 965-972), a protégé of the powerful family of the *Crescentians*, which was then, for the first time, coming into prominence in Italy, to succeed to Benedict. At his consecration he took the name of *John XIII.*

A party of discontented Roman nobles, who had taken offence at the boldness with which the new Pope asserted and maintained his royal prerogatives, stirred up an insurrection within the city, seized upon John, and cast him into prison. He was shortly delivered by the opposite party of the *Crescentians*, after which he took refuge at the court of Pandolf, Prince of Capua. Otho, hearing of the indignity that had been put upon the Pope, again marched into Italy, for the third time, and inflicted summary punishment on the authors of this insurrection. Of thirteen who had taken a principal part in it, some were beheaded, some hanged, and some deprived of sight (A. D. 967). The Emperor caused synods to be held at Rome and Ravenna, and, at the latter, restored to the Pope the city itself, and all those portions of the exarchate that had been seized by the last kings of Italy. But these can not have remained long in the power of the Holy See, for shortly afterwards we find the Venetians in possession of Ferrara, Comacchio, Ravenna, and other cities of the exarchate.

The Pope now crowned Otho II., a youth only fourteen years of age, who throughout the whole course of his life, proclaimed, both by word and deed, and by the adoption of the symbolical *Imperial*

¹ The pretended *Constitutio Leon VIII.*, in an abridged form, in *Gratian.*, P. I., dist. LXIII., c. 23: In synodo congregata Romæ in ecclesia S. Salvatoris. Ad exemplum B. Hadriani—qui domino Carolo—patriciatus dignitatem ac ordinationem apostolicæ sedis et investituram Episcoporum concessit (see above, p. 135, n. 2), ego quoque Leo Episcopus—cum toto clero ac Romano populo constituimus et confirmamus atque largimur dom. Ottoni primo, Regi Teutonicorum, ejusque successoribus hujus regni Italie in perpetuum facultatem eligendi successorem, atque summæ sedis apostolicæ Pontificem ordinandi, ac per hoc archiepiscopos sive episcopos, ut ipsi ab eo investituram accipiant, et consecrationem unde debent, etc. But *Baronius* and *Pagi* justly declare this document to be interpolated. *Muratori* (*Hist. of Ital.*, Pt. V., p. 510), says that it is an invention of a later age; but *Pertz* (*Monum. Germ.*, T. IV., Pt. II., p. 166 sq.) *Dönniges*, *Giesebrecht*, *Pertz*, *Gfrörer*, and *Floss* (see *Kraus'* Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 261), defend it as authentic; their position, however, is scarcely tenable. Cf. *Dönniges*, *Annuary of German Law*, ed. by Ranke, Vol. I., Pt. III. p. 102. The so-called “Privilegium of Leo VIII.,” conferred upon Otho I., recently published by *Floss* in an altered and enlarged form, is certainly a fabrication, dating from the epoch of the contest concerning Investitures. The very manuscript is not older than the eleventh century. No less spurious is *Leonis VIII.* cessio donatorum Rom. Eccl., in *Pertz*, T. IV., Pt. II., p. 168 sq. For particulars concerning the various forms and contents of this Diploma, consult *Hefele's Contrib.*, Vol. I., p. 268-273.

*Globe*¹ surmounted by a cross, which his father had already impressed upon all his own seals, the great principle that an *alliance between Church and State is essential*.

For long after he had passed away, a grateful people held his memory in benediction; and it was a common saying among them that, after Charlemagne, no one had worn the imperial crown with more honour, or had the conversion of Pagan nations, the restoration of order, and the progress and glory of the Church more at heart. And this, it was said, should be ascribed to the fact that he sought not his own glory, but that of his Saviour. He, therefore, justly merited the title of "Great," which posterity has willingly bestowed upon him. Some modern authors have attempted to show that Otho II. respected neither the freedom nor the possessions of the Church, but the proofs brought forward in support of the charge are not sufficient to establish it. The epitaph upon his sarcophagus is probably nearer the truth:

"A Christian and a king indeed was he,
Who here within this marble lies enshrined;
His country's glory and an Empire's pride,
Whose loss a grieved and grateful world deplores."

On the death of Otho I. (A. D. 973), a fresh insurrection broke out in Rome.² *Crescentius*, the grandson of Theodora, roused the indignation of the people against foreign domination, and, to avenge themselves, they seized Pope *Benedict VI.*, whose election had taken place in the presence of the ambassadors of *Otho II.* (A. D. 973-983), cast him into prison, and murdered him. Cardinal Boniface Franco, who had been at the bottom of this plot, was then placed upon the papal throne, under the name of Boniface VII., by the party of the Crescentians; but, after having with difficulty maintained himself for one month and twelve days, he was forced to seek safety in flight. He fled to Constantinople, taking with him a large quantity of the treasure of St. Peter's Church. *Donus II.* was then elected Pope, but survived his election only four days.

It was now the wish of Otho II. to place upon the papal throne Majolus, Abbot of Clugny; but this holy man, believing that it would be difficult for one of his pacific habits of life to rule an insubordinate people like the Romans, declined the distinguished honour. The choice then fell upon the Bishop of Sutri, who took the name of *Benedict VII.* (A. D. 974-983). His election was approved by the Emperor, Otho II., and, during his pontificate, the Church was governed with vigour and discretion. He was succeeded by Peter, Bishop of Pavia and chancellor to Otho, who took the name of

¹ It is commonly, but erroneously, asserted, that this so-called *Monde*, or *Globus Imperialis*, was first presented by *Benedict VIII.* to the Emperor Henry II., in the year 1014. The *Monde* consisted of a globe of gold, around the centre of which ran a zone. To either side of this was attached a quadrant, both of which met on top, and held the gold cross, that surmounted the globe, in position.

² On *Otho II.*, see *Giesebrecht*, Vol. II., pp. 567-607.

John XIV. By the death of Otho, which happened December 7, A. D. 983, John was deprived of the only person powerful enough to enable him to maintain his position in Rome.

Boniface now returned from Constantinople, and, supported by a powerful party within the city, seized the Pope, and shut him up in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he died of hunger, in the year 984. Happily, Cardinal Boniface was not long permitted to exercise his arbitrary authority. He died a few months later on, in the same year, and the indignities which the populace put upon his dead body may be taken as an index of the hatred which they entertained for him. He was succeeded by John XV., who, finding the exactions of Crescentius Numentanus (Cencius), the self-styled Patrician and Consul of Rome, intolerable, invited *Otho III.* (A. D. 983-1002) to come to his aid. Otho set out for Italy in the year 990; but, before his departure, he greatly offended the Germans, by giving expression to a design of transferring the seat of his great Empire to Rome. When he had reached Ravenna, learning that John XV. had died, he instructed the Roman embassy, which had come to consult him, though he was not yet Emperor, on the choice of a Pope, to bestow the office upon his nephew *Bruno*, the aulic chaplain, who, though only twenty-four years of age, was an accomplished linguist and a respectable scholar. The Roman people and clergy, acting on the advice of the Emperor, raised Bruno to the Papal Chair—the first *German* upon whom that honour was ever bestowed. He took the name of *Gregory V.* (A. D. 996-999), and, in his turn, crowned Otho III. Emperor and Protector of the Holy Roman Church. Harmony was once more restored between the Church and the Empire, and both Pope and Emperor, when adopting measures for the good of the Church,¹ wisely mistrusted their youth and inexperience, and took counsel of such prudent and distinguished men as *Willigis*, Archbishop of Mentz; *Bernward*, Bishop of Hildesheim; *Adalbert*, Bishop of Prague; *Abo*, Abbot of Fleury; *Notker*, of Liége; and *Gerbert*, the most illustrious and learned of them all.

During the reigns of *Louis Outre-Mer*, Lothaire (A. D. 954-986), and his grandson, Louis V. († A. D. 987), the last kings of the Carolingian line, the West-Frankish Empire had passed completely under the control of Hugh the Great, Count of Paris, and, after their death, his son *Hugh Capet*² was elected king. With him begins the *Bourbon* dynasty, and, from the year 987, the date of his ascension to the throne, the name of "*France*" has been in use. The country was then divided into a number of fiefs, of which those immediately dependent on the crown were the *four dukedoms* of Francia, Normandy (including Bretagne), Aquitaine or Guienne, and Burgundy; and the three counties of Toulouse, Flanders, and Vermandois. There was also a

¹ *Gregorii V.*, Vita et epist., in *Mansi*, T. XIV., p. 109 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 739 sq. Cf. *Höfler*, German Popes, Pt. I., pp. 97-195. **Giesebrecht*, Vol. II., pp. 607-770.

² So called from *Cappa*, or the robe which he wore as lay abbot. (Tr.)

distinction made at the same time between *Northern* and *Southern* France, founded on the difference of *language* (langue d'oui Française and the langue d'oc or Provençal), *manners*, and *legal codes*.¹

Hugh also renewed the friendly relations which had formerly subsisted between these countries and the Holy See.

During the reign of Hugh Capet, Arnulph, Archbishop of Rheims, had been deposed, and his see given to Gerbert, the tutor of the young prince *Robert*; but when the latter came to the throne, Arnulph was, by the authority of Pope Gregory V., restored to his archbishopric (A. D. 996). Robert was also finally persuaded to separate from Bertha, the daughter of Conrad I., Duke of Burgundy, and his own *fourth* cousin, whom he had married without having first obtained a dispensation from the Holy See. But the separation was not effected at once, or without difficulty. Robert, though a very religious man, was so devoted to his relative, that he could not bring himself to give her up on the first warning, but having been excommunicated, he at last yielded, in order to avoid the consequences that would follow having his kingdom laid under interdict.²

Scarcely had the Emperor Otho III. quitted Rome and returned to Germany, when Crescentius stirred up a fresh insurrection, drove Pope Gregory from Rome, and placed the usurper Philagathos, Bishop of Piacenza, a Greek from Calabria, upon the Papal throne (A. D. 997). But Gregory, though young, showed a becoming firmness in this crisis, and pronounced sentence of excommunication on Crescentius. Learning what had taken place, Otho hastened across the Alps, entered Rome in company with Gregory, and captured and beheaded Crescentius and twelve of his principal adherents. The antipope John XVI. was punished after the fashion of his country. His nose was cut off, his tongue wrenched from his mouth, and his eyes burnt out; and in this condition he was cast into a dungeon, where he was left to repent of his ambition, and to die a miserable death.

Gregory laboured zealously and unceasingly for the restoration of ecclesiastical life, which had now well-nigh become extinct. When at Rome, he preached in three languages, and it was his custom to feed twelve poor men every Sunday. While in the very thickest of his labours, his life of usefulness was cut short by premature death (A. D. 999).

Through the influence of Otho, Gerbert, his second tutor, was elected to succeed to Gregory, and ascended the Papal throne under the name of *Sylvester II.* (A. D. 999-1003). He was the *first French* Pope. Born of humble parents, at Aurillac, in Auvergne, he entered

¹ Pütz, *Mediæval Hist.*, p. 72. (Tr.)

² We find in *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 103 sq., the acts concerning the relations in which Gerbert and Arnulph stood to each other. Cf. p. 173 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI. Pt. I., p. 723. Cf. the note *Severini Bivii*, in *Mansi*, L. c. On Robert's marriage, conf. *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 225. *Helgaldus Floriacensis*, *Monach.*, Vita Roberti, c. 17. (*Bouquet*, T. X., p. 107).

the monastery of that place, and, after remaining there for a time, went to Cordova to complete his scientific studies. He was a man of great talents, which he put to the best account, and his proficiency was such in all branches of knowledge, that he was not only abreast, but in advance of his age. Having already filled with honour, successively, the archiepiscopal sees of Rheims and Ravenna under trying and difficult circumstances, he now exercised the pontifical authority with prudence and moderation.¹ After his accession, Otho, by a new diploma, added eight counties to the Patrimony of St. Peter.²

Sylvester II. has the honour of having been the first who conceived and put forth the idea of *arming Christendom for the purpose of delivering the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Infidel*.³

In the year 1002, the Emperor Otho III. died suddenly, without issue, at Ravenna, when he was only twenty-two years old.⁴ Though a young man of good parts and strong character, he was not wholly exempt from the influences of his age. There was a tinge of asceticism in his nature, and he frequently withdrew, for a time, from the bustle and distraction of public life, to give himself up to prayer and meditation. His mind was filled with chimerical and extravagant plans, which the shortness of his life prevented him from attempting to carry into effect. The idea, then prevalent, that the end of the world was at hand, was not without its influence on his mind; and, as people had given up to unseemly fear at the approach of the dreaded year 1000, so, after it had passed, and the world went on as before, they indulged in feelings and expressions of unwonted joy.

Educated under the supervision of three female relatives—Theophania, his mother; his grandmother, Adelheid; and his aunt, Mathilda, Abbess of Quedlinburg—he had conceived a taste for *foreign* customs, and the splendid court-ceremonial of Byzantium. Moreover, acting under the counsel of Gerbert, St. Romualdus of Vallombrosa, St. Odilo of Clugny, and Bernward, Bishop of Hildesheim, whose fine schemes had a great fascination for his youthful imagination, he made plans, and proceeded to carry them into execution, for the re-establishment of the Roman Empire. The design was not looked upon with favour by the Romans, who did not care to see the Rome of the Popes changed into the Rome of the Cæsars of the Western Empire, and they consequently did all in their power to

¹ *Sylvestri II.* Vita et epist., in *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 240 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 759 sq. Conf. *Hook*, Gerbert or Pope Sylvester II., and his Age, Vienna, 1837. *Büdingen*, Gerbert's Place in Science and Politics, Cassel, 1851. *Olleris*, Œuvres de Gerbert, Paris, 1867, in 4to; *ejusdem*, Vie de Gerbert, Paris, 1867, in 12mo. On the accusation of Magic, with which popular superstition charged Sylvester II., see the apology of an ancient author, in *Hook*, p. 165.

² *Gfrörer* and *Pertz* defend the authenticity of this diploma.

³ *Sylvestri II.* ep., A. D. 999, "Ex persona Hierosolymæ devastatæ ad universalem ecclesiam." *Murator*, Script., T. III., p. 400. *Bouquet*, T. X., p. 426.

⁴ It is asserted that he was poisoned by Stephania, the widow of Crescentius, who deliberately set herself to win the affections of the young Emperor, that she might have an opportunity of avenging the death of her husband, whom the former had beheaded for participation in the conspiracy against Gregory V. (Tr.)

throw obstacles in the way of the Emperor. Nor were they the only persons who opposed it. In Germany a strong party of loyalists, headed by *Willigis*, Archbishop of Mentz, offered the most determined resistance to this attempt to *transfer the capital of the Empire to Rome*. This affair was the occasion of another controversy, which would seem petty and despicable were it not for the high character of the persons engaged in it. It related to the jurisdiction over the aristocratic nunnery of Gandersheim, presided over by the haughty *Sophia*, daughter of Otho II. and Theophania, who refused to allow her church to be consecrated by the bishop of the diocese, and insisted on having a metropolitan to perform the function.¹ The German party sided with her in opposition to Pope Sylvester II. and Bishop Bernward.

There are not wanting those who confidently assert that the revival of the Empire and its incorporation with the kingdom of Germany has been a positive injury and source of weakness to the latter. But if, on the one hand, it be true that the Popes, while always the faithful allies of the German Emperors when there was question of opposing and putting down a third power, have, when such a contingency did not exist, been the steady enemies of imperialism; and that to retain German domination in Italy necessitated the carrying on of an uninterrupted war, which taxed the greatest energies of the German people;² it is, on the other hand, equally true that the papacy owed its rise from the corruption which surrounded it, and its liberation from the oppressive yoke of the Italian nobles, to the revival of the empire; and that the government of the Othos never could have acquired the influence which it wielded in European affairs, had the conviction not been strong upon men's minds, throughout the whole West, that no political unity, in the highest sense of these words, was possible, which in its constitution ignored the Universal Church.³

Sylvester did not long survive Otho III. He died in the year following (A. D. 1003), and with him perished, for the time, the hopes of the German party in Rome. The partisans of the Count of Tusculum and of the house of the Crescentians again regained the ascendancy and controlled the papal elections. The first occupant of the Roman See, after the death of Sylvester, was John XVII. (A. D. 1003), of the Tusculan family, and the next two, John XVIII. (A. D. 1003-1009), and Sergius IV. (A. D. 1009-1012), of the Crescentian family. The former family now gained the upperhand, and, for some years, raised whom they would to the See of St. Peter. *Benedict VIII.* (A. D. 1012-1024) was indeed a member of the house of Tusculum; but, for all that, did his best to serve the Church faith-

¹ Conf. *Freiburg's* Eccl. Cyclopædia, Vol. XI., pp. 1105-1107; Fr. tr., Vol. IX, p. 281.

² *Sybel*, *The German Nation and the Empire*, Düsseldorf, 1862, p. 48. (Tr.)

³ Some considerable additions have here been made from *Kraus'* Ch. Hist., Vol. II., pp. 261, 262. (Tr.)

fully, until he was driven from Rome by the Crescentians, who set up in his place a certain Gregory. *Henry II.* of Bavaria, a grandson of Henry the Fowler, had, chiefly through the exertion of Archbishop Willigis, been elected Emperor (A. D. 1002-1024), and upon him Benedict, in his distress, called for assistance. He set out for Rome in the year 1013, and arrived the year following. Having promised to defend the Church of Rome, and to be faithful to the Pope and his successors, both he and his queen, Cunigunde, were invested with the imperial dignity.¹ Benedict displayed considerable energy in his contests with the Saracens, whom he defeated, and, with the aid of the Pisans and Genoese, expelled from the island of Sardinia.

Henry II., besides being a brave and chivalrous, was also an extremely religious man. It was his custom, on visiting a city for the first time, to repair at once to a church dedicated to the Mother of God, and there pour out his soul in prayer. He at times grew so weary of the world that, on one occasion, while visiting the abbey of Verdun, he desired to lay aside his imperial robes and put on the habit of a monk, but was dissuaded by the Prior from carrying out his purpose. He kept up the most intimate relations with the Pope, to whom he secured by diploma all the grants that had been formerly made to the Holy See in Italy, and in Germany the abbey of Fulda and such other cloisters as had been under the immediate jurisdiction of Rome.²

In the year 1019, Benedict made a second visit to Germany, to consecrate the beautiful cathedral which the Emperor had built at Bamberg. A new bishopric was also established at this city, the revenues of which the Emperor gave to the Pope.

Another evidence of the harmonious relations which existed between these two princes is to be found in the fact that Henry gave the force of imperial laws to the decrees enacted by *Benedict*, at the *Synod of Pavia* (A. D. 1018), for the repression of the vices of simony and concubinage, so common in that age. But, before a thorough reformation could be effected, Henry II. was carried to the grave. He died July 13, A. D. 1024, at Grona, near Göttingen. "Let Europe mourn," writes a contemporary author, "for she has suffered the loss of her chief; let Rome lament, for she has been deprived of a protector; let the whole world deplore the death of Henry II., the defender of Europe, the terror of the disturbers of the public peace, and the foe of every form of despotism."³

He was, according to his own wish, interred in the cathedral of Bamberg, where, nine years later on, his holy wife, Cunigunde, who,

¹ *Antequam induceretur ab eodem (papa) interrogatus: si fidelis esse vellet Romanæ patronus et defensor ecclesiæ; sibi autem suisque successoribus per omnia fidelis respondit. Et tunc ab eodem unctionem et coronam—suscepit.*

² *Höfler*, German Popes, Pt. II., p. 367, gives a list of the churches and cloisters tributary to the Holy See.

³ *Damberger*, Vol. V., p. 889-890, and *Gfrörer*, Ch. H., Vol. IV., p. 1-209. *Gieselbrecht*, Hist. of the Period of the German Emperors, Vol. II., p. 13-210. *Löger*, *Henry II. and Joseph II.* in their relation to the Church, Vienna, 1869.

upon her husband's death, had entered a Benedictine convent, was laid by his side. Henry was the last of the line of Saxon Emperors, who, beginning with Henry I., had reigned for a century.

The States Ecclesiastical and Secular met and elected Conrad of Franconia, Emperor.

§ 189. *The Popes under the Franconian Emperors.*

Thietmar, Chron., in *Pertz*, V. *Glaber Radulph.* (monach. Cluniac., about 1016; Hist. sui temp. (*du Chesne*, T. IV.) *Wippo* (capellan. Conrad. et Henr. III.), de vita Conradi Salic. (*Pistorius*, T. III.) *Bonizo* (Episc. Sutrien. † 1039), lib. ad amic., seu de persecut. eccl. in (*Efeli* Script. rer. Boicar., T. II.) *Migne*, T. CXLII.; *Desiderii*, Abb. Casin. (Victoris III. † 1086), Dialogi, libb. III. (Max. bibl., T. XVIII.) *Jaffé*, Bibl. rer. Germ. II., Berl. 1865. *Stenzel*, Hist. of Germ. under the Franconian Emperors, Lps. 1827 sq., 2 vols. *Giesbrecht*, Vol. II., p. 213-336, concerning Conrad; V. II., p. 337 sq., on Henry III. Cf. *Damberger*, Synchronist. Hist. Vol. VI. *Gfrörer*, Ch. H., Vol. IV., p. 209-627. *Höfler*, German Popes, 2 vols., Ratisb. 1839. Cf. *Will*, The beginning of the Restoration of the Church from the Eleventh Century, Marburg, 1859-1864.

Benedict VIII., who died in the same year as the Emperor Henry, was succeeded by his brother, under the name of John XIX. (A. D. 1024). This Pope placed the imperial crown (A. D. 1027) upon the head of the German King, Conrad II. (A. D. 1024-1039), the first representative of the Franco-Salic line, who had already conquered the kingdom of Lombardy. Contemporary writers of every shade of opinion represent John XIX. as zealous in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs and relentless in the pursuit and punishment of brigands. But the Emperor, who was by no means indifferent to the abuses which then existed, did not, like his predecessor, co-operate with the Pope in carrying out the decrees for the reformation of morals and the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline. Conrad looked carefully after the interests of his subjects, and, in the course of his reign, made a journey through Germany, for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of their condition, administering justice, and removing such grievances and hardships as might exist. In order the better to effect these ends, he established the *Truce of God* (*Treuga Dei*), by which the right of feud for the redress of private wrongs was suspended during the Seasons of Advent and Lent, and on week days especially consecrated to the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord, or during the time intervening between the sunset of Wednesday and the sunrise of Monday.

The abbey church at Limburg, in the Hardt, and the unfinished cathedral of Spire, with its immense vaults in Byzantine style, as well as many other churches and monasteries, prove that Henry was possessed of taste and generosity rivalling, if not surpassing, any similar qualities in his predecessors.

Six members of the *house of Tusculum* had already been forced upon the papal throne, and now Count Alberic, the brother of Benedict VIII. and John XIX., succeeded, by means of unbounded bribery, in having his son, Theophylactus, a young man of only

eighteen (12?), but far more proficient in vice than became one of his age, elected Pope, under the name of *Benedict IX.* (A. D. 1033-1044). For eleven years did this young profligate disgrace the chair of St. Peter. One of his successors,¹ in speaking of him, said, "tha' it was only with feelings of horror he could bring himself to relate how disgraceful, outrageous, and execrable was the conduct of this man after he had taken priest's orders." The Romans put up with his misconduct and vices for a time; but, seeing that he grew worse instead of better, from day to day, they finally lost all patience with him and drove him from the city.

The Emperor Conrad had, in the meantime, come into Italy to suppress a revolt that had broken out at Milan, and was at this time at Cremona, whither Benedict went in order to obtain his assistance. He represented to the Emperor that he was an innocent and an injured person, and, to further recommend himself to the latter, excommunicated the Archbishop of Milan, who had taken part in the revolt. Conrad then conducted him back to Rome and reinstated him in his office (A. D. 1038); but, on the death of the former, Benedict was again forced to leave the city, and his enemies, by making liberal distributions of money among the people, reconciled public opinion to the election of an antipope in the person of John, Bishop of Sabina, who took the name of *Sylvester III.* (A. D. 1044). After an absence of a few months, Benedict was brought back by the members of the powerful family to which he belonged; but he had scarcely been fairly seated on his throne when he gave fresh offence to the people by proposing a marriage between himself and his cousin.

The father of the young lady refused to give his consent to the proposed union, unless Benedict would first resign the papacy, and the archpriest John, a man of piety and rectitude of life, fearing the consequences so great a scandal would bring upon the Church, also offered him a great sum of money if he would withdraw to private life. Benedict, who longed for privacy, that he might the more fully indulge his passions, listened with pleasure to these suggestions, and finally consented to resign and retire to live as a private citizen, in one of the castles belonging to his family.

It was the honest purpose of the archpriest John to raise the Holy See from the degradation to which it had been sunk by the tyranny and bribery of the nobles; but, at the same time, conscious that the only way to defeat them was to outbid them in the purchase of the venal populace, he distributed money lavishly, but judiciously, and thus secured his own election. He took the name of *Gregory VI.* But the love of power and notoriety soon grew upon Benedict. He repented of the step he had taken, and, coming forth from the privacy which had now lost its fascination, and supported by his powerful relatives, he again put forth his claims to the papacy. There were now *three* persons claiming the same dignity. This con-

¹ *Desiderius*, Abbot of Monte Cassino, as Pope Victor III. (TER.)

dition of affairs brought grief to the hearts of the well-disposed of all parties, and they coming together, invited Henry III. of Germany, the successor to Conrad (A. D. 1039-1056), to put an end to the confusion and restore order. On his arrival in Italy, he caused a *synod* to be convened at *Parva* (A. D. 1046); but, as the bishops refused to condemn the Pope without having first heard him in his own defence, the Emperor caused a second one to be held at *Sutri*,¹ at which Sylvester III. was condemned and ordered to retire to cloister, and there pass the remainder of his days. Benedict's claims, owing to his resignation, were not taken into account,² and Gregory came forward, and, on his own motion, declared that, though he had had the best intentions in aiming at the papacy, there could be no question that his election had been secured "by disgraceful bribery and accompanied by simoniacal heresy,"³ and that, in consequence, he should of right be deprived of the papal throne, and did hereby resign it." Accompanied by his disciple, Hildebrand, he afterward retired to the monastery of Clugny. It is evident that the respect and reverence of the people for the dignity and authority of the Head of the Church must have been deep-seated, and the result of a complete and overwhelming conviction, when they were not impaired by the disgraceful circumstances just related. The words of Leo the Great were verified then, if ever. "*The dignity of St. Peter*," said he, "*does not lose that character even when lodged in an unworthy successor to his office.*"

The Romans had sworn that they would not choose another Pope during the lifetime of Gregory, and they therefore begged Henry III., as he with his successors enjoyed the title of Patrician of Rome, to make choice of one. Henry selected for the office *Suidger*, Bishop of Bamberg, who took the name of Clement II. (A. D. 1046-1047.) The newly-elected Pope now placed the imperial crown upon Henry and his consort.⁴ At a synod, held in Rome in the year 1047, at which the Emperor also assisted, decrees were passed, declaring that any one who should purchase a benefice, or procure ordination by bribery, was thereby excommunicated; and that such as should accept orders from a simoniacal bishop, should undergo an ecclesiastical penance of forty days. This energetic work, at the beginning of his reign, gave promise that had Clement lived, he would have pursued the abuses which then existed in the Church, and particularly that of *simony*, until he had fully corrected them. But unfortunately he was not spared. Upon the representation of Peter Damian that the clergy, and notably

¹ The Acts, in *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 617 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 921 sq. *Conf. Engelhardt*, *Observationes de Synod. Sutrisensi*, Erlang. 1834, 4to *Giesbrecht*, Vol. II., p. 399 sq. * *Watterich*, T. I., p. 71-82, where also the *Laus Henrici III. imperatoris*, by *Peter Damian*.

² *Döllinger*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 144. (Tr.)

³ A dangerous or bad practice which might be traced back to an *heretical* principle was, in the Middle Ages, called a *heresy*. (Tr.)

⁴ *Clementis II.*, *Vita et epist.*, in *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 619 sq.; in *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 923. *Conf. Höfler*, *German Popes*, Pt. I., p. 199-268.

those of the Romagna, were frightfully degenerate and corrupt, he set out to try, by personal influence, to bring them back to a sense of their obligations and the dignity of their office; and, while engaged in this work of love, took sick and died, at the monastery of St. Thomas, at Aposella, October 9, 1047.

Hearing of his death, Benedict IX. again contrived, with the aid of his powerful relatives, to gain possession of the Holy See, which he retained for eight months. On the death of Clement, an embassy at once set out from Rome to bring the intelligence to the Emperor, and request him to appoint as pope, Alinard, Archbishop of Lyons; but the latter having declined, they settled upon Poppo, Bishop of Brixen, who took the name of *Damasus II.*¹ On the very day on which Damasus ascended the Papal throne, Benedict, seized with remorse, and desiring to do penance for the irregularities of his past life, withdrew to the monastery of Crypta, or Grotta Ferrata, near Frascati, where he spent the remainder of his days, and died A. D. 1065.

The newly-elected Pope died at Palestrina, twenty-three days after his elevation. His sudden death gave occasion to the rumour that he had come to his end by poison. This, together with the fact that the Church now seemed to be, if anything, worse off than ever, made the Papacy an object of little attraction to a German.

§ 190. *Continuation—Popes Elected through the Influence of Hildebrand.*

Leo Ostiens. (bibliothecar. at Montecassino, and later Cardinal Bishop of Ostia), *Chronic. Casin.* (*Muratori*, Script., T. IV.) *Petri Damiani*, Epist. et opusc. ed. Cajetani, Romæ, 1606 sq.; Bassani, 1783, 4 T. in fol. *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 144-145. *Bonizo*, in l. c. *Desiderius*, L. I.

* *Voigt*, Hildebrand as Gregory VII. and his Age (Weimar, 1815); Vienna, 1819, 2nd ed., 1846, at the beginning; especially, *Höfler*, L. c., On the German Popes, Leo IX., Victor II., Stephen IX., Nicholas II. *Giesebrecht*, Vol. II., p. 445 sq. *Gfrörer*, Pope Gregory VII., Vol. I., p. 560 sq. * *Will*, The Beginnings of the Restoration of the Church in the Eleventh Century, Marburg, 1859-1864, 2 pts.

The delegates who had set out from Rome on the death of Damasus II., met the Emperor at the great Diet of Worms (A. D. 1048). The latter conferred the Papal dignity upon Bruno, Bishop of Toul, his own uncle, a man universally beloved, and indefatigable in his efforts to do good, who was with difficulty prevailed upon to bear so heavy a burden. The monk Hildebrand, who had been selected as his companion, refused to accompany him, partly because he loved the peace and quiet of his monastery, but chiefly because he believed that it was the purpose of Bruno to govern the Church according to the principles of worldly wisdom and expedience, rather than ecclesiastical law.² Bruno, after his appointment, set out for Rome in the

¹ *Damasi*, II., Vita, in *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 629. Conf. *Höfler*, In l. I., Pt. I., p. 269-273.

² *Leonis IX.*, Vita et epist., in *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 633 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 927 sq. *Watterich*, Pt. I., p. 93-177. *Wibertus*, Bruno's archdeacon at Toul, Vita Leon. (*Muratori*, T. III., Pt. I.) *Brunon*, Episc. Segn. Vita Leon. (ibid., T. III., Pt. II., and in *Watterich*, L. c.) *Höfler*, L. c., Pt. II., p. 1-213. *Hunkler*, Leo IX. and his Age, Meutz, 1851.

garb of a pilgrim, in order to receive the suffrages of the Roman clergy and people. Having been unanimously elected Father of the Christian world, he took the name of *Leo IX.* (A. D. 1049-1054.) He immediately ordained Hildebrand sub-deacon, and appointed him administrator of the Patrimony of St. Peter, at that time not a very acceptable office, as there was not a penny in the Papal treasury, and no sources to draw from. *Henry III.* had arbitrarily disposed of the estates of the Holy See to the Roman nobility and to the Normans, and it was now in such an impoverished condition, that for two years Leo had only the slender revenues of the bishopric of Toul upon which to maintain the dignity of his court, and, in consequence, many of those who had followed him from Germany forsook him, and returned to their own country. He laboured with unceasing energy to root out from the clergy the vices of *immorality* and *simony*,¹ which were then so prevalent, and so detrimental to the interests of the Church, and which Peter Damian has painted in colours, if not too lurid, certainly not a shade brighter than the reality, in his work entitled "*Liber Gomorrhianus.*"

A great synod was held in Rome in the year 1049, after the close of which Leo put every appliance to work to accomplish his purpose. He held national councils, made journeys in person through Italy and into France and Germany, and where he was not able to go himself, he sent his legates. The great majority of the clergy were found guilty of the charges that had been imputed to them; many of them were deprived of their benefices and prohibited from officiating, but by far the greater number were only condemned to undergo severe penance.

It would seem that heaven itself was visibly allied with the Pope in this great struggle, for more than one culprit was overtaken by divine justice, and suffered what was generally regarded as a signal punishment of God.²

The Pope endeavoured to rouse and direct the courage of the sluggish Pisans against the Saracens, who, under the lead of their chief, Mugottus, had already subdued the Island of Sardinia; and to this end he sent them the standard of St. Peter, hoping that the sight of it might inspire them to undertake a crusade against these daring and aggressive infidels. Leo also put himself at the head of an inconsiderable army and marched against the Normans, who, since the year 1017, had been steadily gaining possession of the territories belong-

¹ *Leo Ostiens.*: Perrarus inveniretur, qui non esset uxoratus vel concubinator. De simonia quid dicam? omnes pæne ecclesiasticos ordines hæc mortifera bellua devoraverat, ut qui ejus morsum evaserit, rarus inveniretur. Vita St. Joan. Guald. So likewise *Desiderii* de mirac. St. Bened. dialog., lib. III., at the beginning: In tantum mala consuetudo adolevit, ut sacræ legis auctoritate postposita, divina humanaque omnia miscerentur: adeo ut populus electionem et sacerdotes consecrationem donumque Spiritus Sancti, quod gratis accipere et dare divina auctoritate statutum fuerat, data acceptaque per manus pecunia, ducti avaritia venderent, ita ut vix aliquanti invenirentur, qui non bujus simoniace pestis contagione fœdati—existerent.

² Conf. *Hefler*, L. c., Pt. II., p. 57 et passim.

ing to the Saracens and Greeks in Lower Italy. These conquerors acted with merciless rigour towards the inhabitants of the conquered territory, sacked their cities, and plundered and destroyed their churches and cloisters, and, still pursuing their conquests, finally seized upon portions of the Patrimony of St. Peter, situated in Calabria and Apulia. Leo was indeed defeated by an unexpected attack of the Normans; but, for all that, he had shortly the happiness of seeing *Robert Guiscard*, the notorious chief, at his feet suing for pardon for past deeds and begging a blessing on his future undertakings. *The Normans also accepted in fief, from the Holy Father, the lands they had already conquered, and such as they might in future conquer, from the Saracens, in Lower Italy and Sicily.* Although thus busily engaged at home, Leo watched with equal care and solicitude over every other country of the Christian world. He maintained the most friendly relations with Edward, King of England, and advanced the interests of the English Church in every way in his power; laboured to unite the Church of Spain more closely to the Holy See; offered his mediation and kind offices to put an end to the seditious and schismatical movement at Constantinople, of which *Michael Cerularius* was the head; and, in short, did whatever might in any way conduce to the prosperity of the State or the interests of the Church. His death occurred, April 19, A. D. 1054, and the loss which the Church then sustained is beautifully expressed by a legend, according to which all the bells of Christendom tolled spontaneously as soon as he had passed out of this world.

After the death of Leo, Hildebrand, as plenipotentiary of the Roman clergy and people, set out for Germany to request Henry III. to name a German for the office of Pope. The Emperor reluctantly consented to part with his relative and counsellor, Gebhard, Bishop of Eichstadt, whom he designated as his choice, and who, having been elected at Rome, ascended the papal throne under the name of *Victor II.* (A. D. 1055-1057.)¹ Victor, being a man of superior virtue, and now possessed of supreme authority, fully realised the hopes that Hildebrand had entertained of him. He continued, on both sides of the Alps, the combat against the vices of simony and immorality, which his predecessor, acting under the advice of Hildebrand, had prosecuted with so much vigour. He entered upon the work of reformation by holding a *synod at Florence* in May, 1055, the month after his election, in which canons were enacted against the prevailing vices. Hildebrand was sent into France, as legate, to complete there the ecclesiastical reform commenced by St. Leo, and at Lyons deposed six bishops who had been accused and found guilty of simony. The Archbishops of Aix and Arles were also invested with legatine authority for the correction of abuses in the south of France. In

¹ *Victoris II.*, Vita et epist., in *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 833 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1037. *Watterich*, T. I., p. 177-188. Cf. *Höfler*, L. c., Pt. II., p. 217-268. *Will*, *Victor II.* as Pope and Administrator of the Empire (1 übg. Quart. 1862, p. 185 sq.)

order to combat successfully *clerical concubinage* and *simony*, this Pope was obliged to go a step beyond what had heretofore been done by his predecessors, and demand not only the possession, but also the full administration of all estates belonging to the Church. He went resolutely to work to improve the almost hopeless condition of the Church in Italy, France, and Germany. If proof were needed to show that his administration was conducted on sound principles and directed by enlightened zeal, it might be found in the wise enactments of the synods of France and Rome held during his pontificate. He summoned *Berengarius* before a synod held at Tours, to give an explanation of the errors into which he had relapsed. He also sent his legates to Constantinople, who, by a public and solemn declaration made in the Church of St. Sophia, disclaimed all connection with the Greek Church. The Emperor Henry, apprehending that his days were drawing to a close, called the Pope into Germany, and, dying shortly after the arrival of the latter, recommended the Empress Agnes, and his young son, now only five years of age, to the protection of the Father of Christendom. Victor proved himself worthy of the confidence that had been reposed in him. By the influence which he exercised in virtue of his apostolic authority, he composed the difficulties existing between the empress and the discontented princes of the empire, regulated the affairs of State, and insured the succession of the young prince, Henry IV. He quitted Germany shortly after, and, on his way to Rome, passed through Tuscany, and while at Florence, where a number of Italian bishops had come to consult with him, fell sick and died, still in the prime of life (A. D. 1057).

Fortunately, the Church had gained a powerful ally in Italy by the marriage of Godfrey of Lorraine to *Beatrice*, the widow of the Margrave of Tuscany. Frederic, the brother of Godfrey, who had been appointed Abbot of Monte Cassino by the last Pope, was now forcibly, and much against his own will, elected and *at once consecrated* under the name of *Stephen IX.* (X.) (A. D. 1057, 1058.) He continued the measures of reform which had already been undertaken by his two immediate predecessors, and, in addition, promulgated severe ordinances against the concubinage of ecclesiastics and the marriage of persons nearly related by blood.¹

The elevation of *Peter Damian* to the cardinalate, under the title of Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, a title which placed him at the head of the Sacred College, was, as it were, the signal for the undertaking of an implacable war against the vices of simony and clerogamy. As there was then no representative of the imperial dignity, the confirmation of the new Pope by the German regency was not sought, nor could it be required. Still, lest this exercise of the right of free election should be the source of any future complications, Pope

¹ *Stephani IX.*, Vita et epist., in *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 861 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1051 sq. *Watterich*, T. I., p. 188-202. *Höfler*, L. c., Pt. II., p. 269 sq. *Gfrörer*, *Gregory VII.*, Vol. I., p. 562 sq.

Sect. 190. Popes Elected through Influence of Hildebrand.

Stephen sent the prudent Hildebrand into Germany to offer an explanation to the regent Agnes, and to consult with her on other ecclesiastical affairs. But the early death of the Pope, in 1058, prevented him from bringing these negotiations to a close. Before the setting out of the embassy, Pope Stephen had the Romans to promise under oath that, in case he himself should die during Hildebrand's absence, they would not proceed to a new election until after his return. Disregarding this engagement, the Roman nobility and the laxer among the clergy, supported by the powerful influence of the Tusculan party, got together, and elected John, Bishop of Velletri, who took the name of *Benedict X.* Peter Damian, and the more conscientious among the cardinals, taught by the experience of former scandals to expect naught but evil from such a proceeding, protested against the irregularity, and were in consequence compelled to leave the city. The intrigues of the new factions determined the majority of the cardinals to send a deputation at once into Germany to consult upon the choice of a fit person to be Head of the Church. Henry IV. being still a minor, the Empress Agnes designated *Gerard*, Bishop of Florence, a Burgundian by birth, and a man enjoying a wide reputation for ability, learning, purity of life, and charitableness, and equally acceptable to Germans and Italians. His election was secured by Cardinal Hildebrand, in an assembly of the exiled cardinals at Siena. When Gerard, accompanied by Duke Godfrey and the better class of Italian nobles, had approached within a short distance of Rome, Benedict, laying aside the papal insignia, withdrew to his church of Velletri. Having ascended the papal throne under the name of *Nicholas II.*, he placed the antipope under ban, and deprived him of his sacerdotal faculties, but the latter soon submitted, and received absolution.

Recent events had amply demonstrated that a change must be made in the mode of holding elections, if the baneful influence of the Roman nobles in the appointment of popes was to be counteracted. Accordingly, in a synod held at Rome, in the Lateran Palace (A. D. 1059), at which one hundred and thirteen bishops assisted, a decree was passed which ran as follows:

"Upon the death of the Pontiff of the Universal Roman Church,¹ it shall, in the first instance (*imprimis*), be the duty of the *Cardinal Bishops* to come together, and take the election (of a successor) seriously in hand; they shall next take joint action with the *Cardinal Clerics*, and, finally, obtain the consent of the *other clergy*, as well as of the people, to their choice; guarding in advance against whatever may, in any way, be an occasion of

¹ *Decretum de electione Romani Pontificis*, in *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 903; in *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1064 sq.; *Muratorii*, Script. T. II., Pt. II.; revised, in *Gratian*, P. I., dist. XXIII., c. 1. The often extravagant variations are not material. Cf. *Giesel*, Text-book of Ch. H., 4th ed., Vol. II., p. 236, note 10, and *Cuniz*, De Nicolai II. decreto de electione Pontif. Rom. diss. hist. crit., Argentorati, 1837, and *Höfler*, Vol. II., p. 302. The text, contained in the Vatican Codex, nro. 1984 (in *Pertz*, Monum. Leges, T. II., in the Appendix, p. 176; in *Watterich*, Vitæ Pontif. Rom., T. I., pp. 229-232), has passed as correct. Conf. *Hefele*, Hist. of. Counc., Vol. IV., p. 757, and Vol. V., p. 4: here the

bribery. If a fit person be found in the Roman Church, he is to be taken; if not, one may be sought elsewhere;' (*provided, always, that the honour and reverence due to our beloved son Henry, at present reigning, or to any future Emperor who shall have personally obtained the privilege from the Holy See,*² *shall, in no way, be impaired.*) But if, owing to the perversity of bad and wicked men, an honest, fair, and free election can not be had in the city (Rome), the Cardinal Bishops, together with such of the clergy and Catholic laity as have a conscientious regard to duty, though few in number, may assemble *where they conveniently can*, and proceed to elect the Bishop of the Apostolic See.

"Should, however, any one acting in opposition to this our decree, promulgated with the concurrence of the Synod, secure his election, or his consecration, or his coronation, by an uprising of the people, or by any unfair means whatever, he and his aiders and abettors shall be placed under perpetual anathema, cut off from the Church, and he himself be regarded as an antichrist, an invader, and devourer of Christ's flock."

This synod also renewed all the decrees passed against *simony and the concubinage of ecclesiastics* since the pontificate of Leo IX. A decree was even passed *forbidding any one to assist at the Mass of a priest known to keep a concubine or hold criminal intercourse with a woman.*³ The same synod obliged Berengarius to take an oath, formulated in the most precise terms by Cardinal Humbert, which effectually put an end to all further shifts and subterfuges on the part of the former.

The paternal solicitude and indefatigable labours of Nicholas II. for the restoration and maintenance of the unity of the Church, not in theory only, but in practice as well, met with unlooked-for success even in the distant countries of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Iceland. In Milan, Peter Damian, who had been sent thither by the Pope as papal legate, by the dignity, prudence, and firmness of his conduct, dealt a decisive blow against the *heresy of simony and of the Nicolaitanes* (the marriage of priests).

Guido, Archbishop of Milan, repented of his former life, cast himself at the feet of Peter Damian, and humbly besought the legate to impose a penance upon him. The other clergy did the same, and for a time these terrible evils were checked and prevented from spreading.

author corrects his former exposition in the *Freiburg Eccl. Cyclop.*, Vol. VII., pp. 580-581. The belief is daily gaining ground, that the words included between parentheses are an interpolation of the *imperialist* party, and if this be true, it is probable that the decree given further on, at pp. 237-238, and supposed to date from 1061, is the original one. Conf. the *latter*, Hist. of the period of the Germ. Emp., Vol. III., p. 1053, particularly *Will, in the Bonn Journal of Theol. Literat., year 1868, p. 438 sq. The attempts made to restore the text of the supposed *original* form are, as yet, too problematical to be able to command our assent.

¹ This restriction is deemed necessary, because the Bishop of Rome, *being at once Pope and Sovereign of the States of the Church*, could not, as experience has shown, command the confidence of his temporal subjects, if he were a foreigner. Conf. *Freiburg Periodical* of Theol., Vol. III., pp. 207-212.

² According to *Anselm*, bp. of *Lucca*, (*contra Wibert*, antipapam II.), the clericals understood by this "due respect" a simple notification: Ut obeunte Apostolico Pontifice successor eligeretur et electio ejus Regi notificaretur. Facta vero electione et—regi notificata, ita demum pontifex consecraretur (*Canisii lect. ant. ed. Dasnage*, T. III., p. 382); while, on the contrary, the imperialists interpreted it as implying consent, *confirmation*.

³ Concilium Romanum (a. 1059), can. III.: Ut nullus Missam audiat presbyteri, quem scit, concubinam indubitanter habere aut subintroductam mulierem. (*Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 897; *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1062); in *Watterich*, T. I., p. 233.

Nicholas was quite as successful in withstanding the aggressions of the Normans as Leo had been. By the famous treaty of *Melfi*, Robert Guiscard (Wiseacre) became the Pope's vassal, under the title of the Duke of Calabria and Apulia. These territories were transferred to him, together with the island of Sicily, when he should have conquered it from the Saracens, on condition of his paying a yearly tribute and taking an oath of fealty to the Holy See. *He also promised to protect the Roman Church and secure the freedom of the election of popes.*¹ And, in matter of fact, Robert sent so large a body of troops to protect the Holy See that the power of the Counts of Tusculum, those inveterate and dangerous enemies of the Popes, was broken, and their fortresses of Palestrina and Galora taken and destroyed.

While these events were taking place in Italy, Henry IV. was still a minor, and the aspect of political and ecclesiastical affairs in Germany was not encouraging. A general breaking up of the old condition of things seemed imminent, and surface indications began to appear of designs hostile to the Holy See. In the absence of bishops distinguished for firmness of character and holiness of life, princes exercised an arbitrary and despotic power in the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs, and their interference, instead of being a protection, became an oppressive *tyranny*. The Pope, apprehensive that his days might be drawing to a close, and fully alive to the dangers which threatened the Church, the Holy See, and the independence so necessary to the exercise of its rights and prerogatives, added, probably at the Synod of Rome, held at Eastertide (A. D. 1061), the following to his previous decrees concerning the mode of proceeding in the election of popes.²

"Should any one be placed upon the Holy See by intrigue, bribery, or the favour of man, or by an uprising of either the people or the soldiery; or who has not been canonically and unanimously elected, and has not received the blessing of the *Cardinal Bishops*

¹ The two formularies of the oath, in *Baronius* ad a. 1059, nros. 70 and 71. The first is couched in the following terms: Ego Robertus Dei gratia et St. Petri dux Apuliæ et Calabriæ, et utroque subveniente futuris Siciliæ, ad confirmationem traditionis et ad recognitionem fidelitatis æc omni terra, quam ego proprie sub dominio teneo. et quam adhuc nulli Ultramontanorum unquam concessi, ut teneat, promitto me annualiter pro unoquoque jugo bonum pensionem scilicet XII. denarios Papiensis monetæ persolutorum beato Petro et tibi Domino meo Nicolao Papæ et omnibus successoribus tuis, aut tuis, aut tuorum successorum nuntiis. From the second, or more ample formula, we quote: Sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ ubique adjutor ero ad tenendum et acquirendum regalia St. Petri ejusque possessiones pro meo posse contra omnes homines; et adjuvabo te, ut secure et honorifice teneas Papatum Romanum terramque St. Petri et principatum, etc. Conf. *Gfrörer*, Gregory VII., Vol. I., p. 614 sq.

² In *Mansi* (T. XIX., p. 899) and *Harduin*, this last ordinance concerning papal elections is like the one above, in the *Decretum contra simoniacos*, added to the Roman Council of 1059; yet, as already assumed by *Höfler*, Vol. II., pp. 305-356, they probably belong to the Lateran Synod of 1061. Besides *intrinsic* reasons, there is in favour of this assumption the circumstance that, in this decree, mention is made of *former* assemblies, said to have been held by Nicholas II. See *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 938; see also *Watterich*, T. I., p. 233: "Nihilominus auctoritate Apostolica decernimus, quod in aliis conventibus nostris decrevimus." The fact of an amendment of the decree, in the above sense, is furthermore established by the commotion which it excited in Germany.

and inferior clergy, such one shall be regarded as an apostate, and not as Pope. The Cardinal Bishops, aided by the inferior clergy and religiously-minded *laics*, may make use of anathema and of every human means to drive the intruder from the Holy See, and put in his place one who, in their judgment, is worthy of the dignity. Should they be unable to hold the election within the city, they have our apostolic authority to assemble where they list, and proceed to elect the candidate, who, besides being the most worthy, will also give promise of being the most useful to the Holy See. The Pope-elect shall at once enjoy plenary apostolic authority, in the same sense as if he had already come into possession of the throne; to govern the Church and provide for her interests, as he may deem best, in view of the time and circumstances in which he is placed."

By this decree, all rights of the future Emperor to participate in the election of popes was withdrawn. Recent events had already proved that any future attempts of the German Emperors to interfere in the election of popes would be fraught with evil. Moreover, this decree did not deny to the German nation any *right* which might not at any former time have been withdrawn from it, for the Emperors who came to Rome to afford protection to the Holy See in its seasons of distress, and to put an end to the quarrels attending contested elections, acquired no *greater or more inalienable right* by the performance of these kind offices than did the Popes to a permanent voice in the election of emperors, because they had, in exceptional circumstances, when there were many claimants to the imperial crown, decided to whom it justly belonged. Notwithstanding that this was obviously the correct view of the matter, "the bare announcement of this modified decree on papal election created so great an excitement in Germany¹ that the bishops, acting together under the lead of *Hanno*, Archbishop of Cologne, took the matter in hand, and sent a threatening letter on the subject to the Pope, and when the latter rebuked them for their pains, they declared "he had forfeited the papacy."

Things were bad enough now, but they grew immeasurably worse when, after the death of Nicholas II. (July 22, A. D. 1061), the *cardinals*, under the direction of Cardinal Hildebrand, came together and elected Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, under the name of *Alexander II.* (A. D. 1061-1073), with an utter disregard of what the Germans might think of it.²

Cardinal Stephen, who had been despatched to the court of the young Henry with an account of the election, was denied an audience

¹ *Hefele* (Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 787 sq.) puts forward a new view concerning these two decrees of election, and also assigns a different motive for the excitement which they caused in Germany. The latter, however, is not fully nor even clearly stated. He simply says: "It is impossible to fix on what was the fault of Archbishop Hanno which called for papal interference." We have been at some pains to look into this view, but, after a close examination, we can not say it is entirely satisfactory. For our own part, we prefer the theory based upon the meagre hints contained in the works of *Anselm the Younger* of Lucca and of *Bonizo*, which is also adopted by *Höfler* (Vol. II., p. 357 sq.) and *Gfrörer* (Greg. VII., Vol. I., p. 633 sq.), and defended against *Hefele* by *Will*, in his work entitled, "The Commencement of the Restoration of the Church in the Eleventh Century," Pt. II., Marburg, 1864, p. 172.

² *Alexander II.* Vita et epist. Mansi, T. XIX., p. 639. *Harduin* T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1077 sq. *Watterich*. T. I., pp. 235-290.

and obliged to return without having had the seal on his official documents broken. A party of discontented nobles, headed by the Count of Tusculum, together with such of the clergy as were hostile to a reformation of morals and disciplinary abuses, prevailed upon the empress to order a new election, under pretext that the former had been invalid, because the consent of the imperial court had not been asked. The empress, who was displeased that the Holy See had entered into an alliance with the Normans, and was glad of an opportunity to revenge herself, yielded to their request, and called an assembly of the German and Italian nobles at Basle. Thither, too, under the lead of the chancellor Wibert, came the bishops of Normandy, a country then distinguished above all others for the prevalence of the vices of simony and clerical incontinence. The assembly of Basle presented to Henry the insignia of Patrician; revoked the decree of Pope Nicholas II. concerning the freedom of papal elections; annulled the election of Alexander, and elevated to the papal chair Cadaloüs, Bishop of Parma, formerly chancellor of Henry III., a wealthy and vicious man, whose licentious life was a sufficient guarantee to his party that no reformation would be undertaken or pushed by him. He took the title of Honorius II. (October 28, A. D. 1061. After having obtained the approval of the empress, he assembled an army about him, marched towards Rome, encountered and overcame the army of Alexander, and entered the city, where he made a prodigal use of the great quantity of money he had brought with him. His stay was but short. Godfrey, Duke of Tuscany, and the Normans had taken up arms to defend the rights of Alexander. and Honorius, fearing their vengeance, took alarm and fled, at their approach, to his see of Parma (A. D. 1062). In Germany, during the minority of Henry, either Pope was recognised, according to the principles and policy of the party which for the moment was in the ascendant and held the reigns of government.

This condition of affairs continued until *Hanno*, Archbishop of Cologne, secured for himself the tutorship of the young prince and took the administration of the government into his own hands. He then called a synod at Würzburg, at which the election of Cadaloüs was declared null; the chancellor Wibert, who was the soul of his party, condemned, and Alexander II. proclaimed the lawful Pope.

Alexander, not content with what had already been done for the reformation of morals and discipline, sent Peter Damian into France with plenary authority to correct the abuses existing there. In England, also, Archbishop *Laufrenc* of Canterbury, ably seconded the exertions of the Pope, and set himself firmly against the sale of ecclesiastical benefices and the unchastity of the clergy.

At the *Council of Mantua* (A. D. 1064), Alexander repelled the charges that had been brought against him, and declared them to be slander.¹ In answer to those who asserted that he had violated the

¹ On the Council, compare *Gfrörer*, Gregory VII., Vol. II., p. 44-86, and *Will*, Benzo's Panegyric of Henry IV., with special reference . . . to the Council of Mantua, Marburg, 1856, *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. IV., p. 793 sq.

rights and prerogatives of the German king, he said that the privilege of confirming papal elections, which the Emperors had enjoyed, was not of such a character that, if it were withheld, the election would be invalid; that it had been granted, in the first instance, for no other reason than to prevent disorders; and that, moreover, "*what was now claimed was not such a privilege, but a license to oppress the Church.*" The relations of Church and State had already been clearly and accurately mapped out in a paper which Peter Damian sent to the Council of Osbor (Augsburg, A. D. 1062). He stated there that the two organizations, though both of divine institution, were entirely *different and distinct* from each other, and hence each should be left perfectly free to work out its own development, and in this way the two would go on in peace and harmony, mutually aiding and supporting each other.¹

The energy, firmness, and resolution displayed by Alexander II. made his authority so respected that he was now in a position to indignantly reject the demands of the young Henry IV., who, tiring of his good and amiable wife, Bertha, and yielding to the solicitations of sensual desire, petitioned the Pope for a separation.

The King had already induced *Siegfried*, Archbishop of Mentz, to espouse his cause, by a promise to send a body of troops to assist him to collect the tithes which the Thuringians had refused to pay. As soon as the Archbishop had reported the matter to the Pope, the latter sent *Peter Damian* into Germany, who, at the Synod of Mentz threatened the servile bishops with the censures of the Church, and, declared to them that the Pope would never consent to the separation. Again, at the Diet of Princes, held at *Frankfort* (A. D. 1069), he made a bold and fearless speech in presence of the King, in which he laid open to him the turpitude of his demand, and warned him that if he should persist in his purpose and have a sentence of separation pronounced in defiance of papal prohibitions, the imperial crown would be withheld from him. The princes present also besought him to give over his intention; and thus pressed on all sides, Henry replied: "*Very good, then; I shall try to govern myself, and bear the burden which I cannot lay aside.*"

It was not long before the Saxons made an appeal to the Pope, as the recognised head of religious and moral order, and the divinely-appointed avenger of wrong, in which they represented that the conduct of Henry was so oppressive and tyrannous that they could no longer put up with it; and that those about him had sold ecclesiastical benefices and dignities in order to procure money to pay troops which were to be sent against his own people.

The counsellors who had advised this policy were excommunicated, and Henry himself threatened with sentence of anathema by Pope

¹ *Petri Damiani disceptatio synodalis inter regis advocatum et Romanæ ecclesiæ defensorum*, in *Baron. ann. ad a. 1062*, nr. 68, in *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 1001 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1119 sq. The words quoted here are the *clausula dictionis*.

Alexander. He was also required to come to Rome and justify his conduct, but in the meantime the Pope died (A. D. 1073).

The Emperor *Charlemagne* had, upon one occasion, called an assembly of the bishops at Rome, to sit in judgment upon Pope Leo III.; and now, after a little more than two centuries have gone by, a pope cites an emperor to appear before him and give an account of his conduct. The proceeding, though a novel one, was not without precedent. Even in the ninth century, after the *bishops* of the empire had set aside the claims of Louis the Mild, they became arbitrators in the quarrels of his sons, and deposed Lothaire at the Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle. That *Hildebrand* was the soul of this movement, which began when the Church was covered with shame and sunk in the depths of degradation, and ended only when she was again raised to her former high estate and held in honour everywhere, there can be no doubt. But by his side, sharing his toils and cheering him in his moments of discouragement, was his faithful friend, *Peter Damian*¹ († A. D. 1072). This saint used to call Hildebrand his Holy *Satan* (adversary), and declare that he was more a ruler in Rome than the Pope himself.²

§ 191. Retrospect.

The one great purpose which those had in view who first contemplated the establishment of a *Christian Empire*, and advocated its close alliance with the *Papacy*, was to lay, by the harmonious action, of the temporal and spiritual powers, the tempests which the migration of nations had evoked; to subdue the fierce passions of the barbarous German tribes; to watch over the peace of Christendom; and in this way to lift the people up to the generous and noble sentiments which Christianity and Christian civilisation inspire. In pursuing this common end, both princes and people readily yielded precedence to the Pope. All recognised in the symbolical ceremony of the coronation and transfer of the sword, the principle that both the imperial dignity and the temporal power were but *emanations from the fulness of spiritual authority*. Moreover, the Emperor, in regard of his moral conduct (*ratione peccati*), was, in the full and strict sense of the word,

¹ He thus wrote to Hildebrand: Tuis cœptis tuisque conatibus semper obtemperare contendi et in omnibus tuis certaminibus atque victoriis ego me non commilitonem sive pedissequum, sed quasi fulmen injeci. Quod enim certamen unquam cepisti, ubi protinus ego non essem litigatur et judex? Ubi scilicet non aliam auctoritatem canonum, nisi solum tuæ voluntatis sequebar arbitrium, et mera tua voluntas mihi canonum erat auctoritas. Nec unquam judicavi, quod visum est mihi, sed quod placuit tibi. Transferred from *Kraus' Ch. H.*, Vol. II., p. 265. (Tr.)

² This was the belief of the whole party at Rome in favour of reform. *Peter Damian*, indignant at the excessive influence of Hildebrand, gives expression to his feelings in the following caustic epigrams:

“ Vivere vis Romæ, clara depromito voce:
Plus domino papæ, quam domno pareo papæ.”

The following refers to the relations of Hildebrand to the Pope:

“ Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro:
Tu facis hunc Dominum, te facit iste Deum.”

In *Baron. ad an. 1061*, nros. 34 and 35.

subject to the Pope, and this because the latter is, by virtue of his office, the divinely-appointed censor of morals and custodian of justice. With him there is, in this regard, no distinction of persons. He will be called upon to give an account to God of the conduct of an Emperor as well as of the most obscure in the humblest walks of life. Neither did the Emperor pay deference to the Pope as man, or from personal considerations, but because he recognised in him the representative of *God*. Again, the two powers were believed to be based on the same principles, and to flow from the same Source. Pope and Emperor held their power of the King of Heaven, and exercised it in *His name* and by *His sanction*. Working in different and distinct spheres, their efforts were directed to the same end. Hence the Emperor was frequently called, without qualification, the *Vicar of Christ* (*Vicarius Christi*). *Henry III.*, who had been ordained a cleric,¹ is an example of this usage. From these considerations, it will be seen that as long as Pope and Emperor were faithful to their respective missions, neither trenching upon the domain of the other, no dispute could arise between them, and no rupture separate them; and that such an antagonism was possible only when one or both acted from selfish and personal, instead of generous and politic motives.

The relations of co-ordination or subordination between the Papacy and the Empire had been frequently set forth, and the necessity of mutual harmonious action had been expressed by the *symbol of the Imperial Globe*; but perhaps no one brought out the idea more beautifully and clearly than *Peter Damian*. "Both Pope and Emperor," says he, "should exert themselves to maintain an intimate union between the Papacy and the Empire, to the end that the human race, exercising its religious and civil faculties (in utraque substantia), under the direction of these two supreme powers (per hos duos apices), may in future live in harmony, and never be again rent by divisions. These two dignitaries, inasmuch as they are the highest representatives of authority on earth, should vie with each other in acts of loving friendship, that those who are under them may learn from their example to cultivate charity. For inasmuch as the Empire and the Priesthood have, by divine dispensation, been united through the one Mediator between God and man, so should these two exalted personages be so closely united by the indissoluble bond of charity, that the interests of the one would be as dear to the other as his own, and that the only distinction between them should consist in those prerogatives granted to the Pope in person, and which none other can take upon himself to exercise."

Owing to the critical circumstances of this age, when everything

¹ *Wippo*, in his life of Conrad the Salic, calls this prince *vicarium Dei*, and the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A. D. 862, says to King Lothaire II.: *Principi ad memoriam reduximus, ut non immemor vocationis sue, quod nomine censetur opere compleat, ut Rex Regum Christus, qui sui nominis vicem illi contulit in terris, dispensationis sibi creditæ dignam remunerationem reddat in cælis.* (*Harzheim*, T. II., p. 266.) Cf. *Höfler*, German Popes, Pt. I., p. 241.

was in a state of disorder, it not unfrequently happened that one power was permitted to trench upon the domain of the other, and was at times invited to do so. For example, the deposition of John XII. by Otho I., notwithstanding that it was clearly uncanonical, was very generally praised as a measure affording a remedy to the evils of the age, and on this account deserving the gratitude of mankind. Again, the high-handed interference of Otho's son and grandson, and, still later on, of Henry III., in papal elections, met with an equally grateful recognition; because their conduct was inspired and sustained by Christian sentiments and a feeling of loyalty to the Church, and was required by the exceptional circumstances of the times.

But when it had become apparent that the emperors wished to claim as rights, for the purpose of enslaving and tyrannising over the Church, powers which were, of their very nature, transitory and abnormal, but which had grown out of the special exigencies of the age, and had been granted from a feeling of confidence, then the Head of the Church conceived it to be his imperative duty to lay down precise and comprehensive principles defining the relations between Pope and Emperor, Church and State. And to this work, as we shall see presently, did the successors of Alexander II. apply themselves.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

§ 192. *The Church in Her Relations to the State.*

† *Thomassini*, *Vetus and Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, Pt. III., lib. I., c. 26-30 (de *Temporabilibus Ecclesiæ concessis*); Pt. II., lib. II., c. 48, 49 (de *Sacramento fidelitatis, quæ summis principibus persolvere Episcopi et Abbates, etc.*) *Phillips*, C. L. Vol. III. Pt. I.

THE relations of the Church to the various Germanic nations somewhat resembled those which the papacy experienced in its intercourse with princes. As has been stated above, the bishops were unavoidably drawn into the meshes of feudalism. The system had come into existence in the course of the migration of nations, increased in strength and perfected its organisation as years went on, and reached its fullest development amid the storms which swept over Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries. The German people, whose first business was war, now became freeholders of the soil, and ended by falling into a system and submitting to restrictions entirely at variance with the traditions and habits of life of their ancestors.

In the wars of the Carlovingian princes, the bishops were the most trustworthy allies of the crown, and, on this account, obtained a large portion of the crown-lands, which had formerly belonged to vassals.

on condition that they should maintain a contingent of troops. It was especially during these years that churchmen acquired an importance in the feudal system. Even kings and emperors, particularly Otho I., conferred upon them whole dukedoms, in the belief that they were thus raising up for themselves faithful allies who would enable them to withstand the growing power of the princes of the empire. Coming into possession of their *fiefs by the law of hereditary descent*, some of these princes grew so powerful as seriously to threaten the authority of the emperor or king himself. It was therefore important for them to secure allies on whose fidelity they could rely, and of whose ambition they might not be suspicious. The bishops, in order to maintain a considerable body of troops, were under the necessity of again granting a large portion of their estates in fief to others. But no sooner had they come into the possession of these great fiefs and the exercise of secular authority than they surrendered their independence as churchmen and grew arrogant as rulers. Notwithstanding that they were dispensed from rendering personal service, on the one hand, and, on the other, threatened with the censures of the Church against those who bear arms in time of war, instead of endeavouring to appease the anger of God, they as well as abbots not unfrequently took part in the struggles of the Carlovigian family, some from a natural taste for war, and others because they were obliged by the relations in which they stood to the king and the nobility.

A large portion of episcopal and monastic possessions having in this way become identified with the feudal system, gave an opportunity to kings and princes to gradually assume an attitude dangerous at once to the liberties and estates of the Church. There can be no question that *freedom* in the choice of bishops is among the most essential conditions to the prosperity of the Church. This great principle of ecclesiastical polity, which had been guaranteed by Charlemagne and Louis the Mild, and rigorously enforced by the Council of Valence (A. D. 855), was now beginning to be either silently ignored or openly violated.

The grantors of fiefs, fancying that they and their heirs had also the disposal of the ecclesiastical dignities attached to them, generally conferred them, without regard to other qualifications, upon persons of whose personal fidelity they were assured, or who were nearly allied to them by ties of blood. And yet, by the principles of the feudal system, the election of bishops and the conferring of ecclesiastical benefices should have been left entirely to the Church. This was her protection, as the *right of inheritance* was the protection of those families which held their lands by feudal tenure. Notwithstanding this obvious right, Charles the Bald and other princes did not hesitate to appoint court-chaplains to bishoprics, and to send them to metropolitans to receive consecration. Hence, during the tenth century, many of the creatures of the crown and striplings of vicious habits were set over important sees, and even placed upon the pontifical throne.

But apart from these abuses, and in spite of them, many of the appointments made in Germany and Italy by the best kings and emperors of this epoch were beneficial to the Church; and this notwithstanding that their primary and chief qualifications consisted in being related to the royal family to which they owed their elevation. Thus, for example, in the reign of *Otho I.*, the three Rhenish archbishoprics were in the hands of his son, his brother, and his cousin.

There was still another consequence of the feudal system, no less dangerous in its results than the former. The newly-elected bishops were obliged to take, besides the oath of personal fidelity, another of *feudal fealty* or *homage* (homagium), by which they bound themselves to serve the king in war, to appear at his court when required, to assist at his tribunals, and to be subject to his jurisdiction. After the oath, which was taken while the vassal held his hands within those of his liege lord, the bishops-elect received their investiture of the temporalities of the Church.¹ The transfer of the *ring* and *crosier*, the symbols of episcopal power and dignity, was a circumstance which rendered this ceremony of investiture still more significant and perilous.²

It was absolutely necessary for the Church to liberate herself from this degrading servitude, and no sooner was she in a position to make the attempt than all her efforts were directed to this end. In the first year of the pontificate of *Leo IX.*, there was a decree passed in the Synod of Rheims (A. D. 1049), enacting that, for the future,

¹ It is not certain when bishops were first required to take the feudal oath. The bishops, assembled in the Synod of *Quiercy* (Creçy), in 858, protested against taking the oath to the German king, *Louis*, declaring that they could not, like laics, become the vassals of any man, and that it was not lawful for them, after their ordination, to place their consecrated hands upon a secular oath. Et nos episcopi, Domino consecrati, non sumus hujusmodi homines, ut sicut homines sæculares in Vassallatico debeamus nos cuilibet commendare, seu ad defensionem et adiutorium gubernationis in ecclesiastico regimine nos ecclesiasque nostras committere; aut jurationis sacramentum, quod nos evangelica et apostolica atque canonica auctoritas vetat, debeamus quoquo modo facere. Manus enim charismate sacro peruncta, quæ de pane et vino aqua mixto per orationem et crucis signum conficit corpus Christi et sanguinis sacramentum, abominabile est, quidquid ante ordinationem fecerit, ut post ordinationem episcopatus sæculare tangat ullo modo sacramentum (*Harduin*, T. V., p. 475). Though not certain, it is very probable, that Bishop *Hincmar* of Laon took such an oath, or *homagium*, to King *Charles the Bald*, to whom he promised fidelity, "sicut homo suo seniori."

² Even *Clovis* had said (Diplom. an. 508): "Quidquid est fisci nostri per annulum tradimus." (In *Bouquet*, T. IV., p. 616.)

Of *Clovis II.* (A. D. 623), it is said in *Vita S. Romani Epipi. Rothomag.*: "Baculum illi contulit pastorem."

In Germany, kings claimed the right of nominating to bishoprics in virtue of *foundations, endowments, extensive grants, and privileges*, for which the *episcopal sees* were wholly indebted to the munificence and liberality of either them or their predecessors. For this reason, even when it happened that the king did not appoint, the representatives of the clergy and of the lay vassals brought the *ring and crosier of the deceased bishop* to him, and requested him to confirm the election. Not unfrequently the king was directly asked to nominate a bishop. The ring and crosier were first employed in the tenth century as the distinctive symbols of episcopal investiture, their use being analogous to that of the sword and lance in the creation of civil or military functionaries. (*Nat. Alex.*, Hist. Eccl. sæc., XI. et XII., diss. IV.)

no one should be permitted to receive episcopal consecration *who had not first been elected by the clergy and the people.*¹

It is a consolation to know that, even in these evil days, when the Church was oppressed and in a state of dependence, there were still those who were courageous and bold enough to utter a protest against the encroachments of the civil power, and to remind princes of the words of Charlemagne. "*I am,*" said he, "*but the defender and dutiful servant of the Church.*" "There is," says the Council of St. Macra (A. D. 881), "a wide distinction between the sacerdotal and the royal power."² The dignity of bishops is superior to that of kings, inasmuch as bishops anoint kings and answer for their conduct before God." Of course, a complete separation of Church and State, under the then existing constitution of the Christian States of Germany, would have been impossible; nor was anything of this character contemplated by the council. And, in matter of fact, the bishops exercised a very great, and, at times, decisive and sovereign, influence in the most important secular affairs; as, for example, when there was question of the right of succession.

Again, the coronation of kings³ deeply impressed the minds of the

¹ *Conc. Remense.*, Can. I.-III.: Ne quis sine electione cleri et populi ad regimen ecclesiasticum proveheretur.—Ne quis sacros ordines, aut ministeria ecclesiastica vel altaria emeret aut venderet.—Et si quis Clericorum emisset, id cum digna satisfactione suo Episcopo redderet.—Ne quis laicorum ecclesiasticum ministerium vel altaria teneret, nec episcoporum quibus consentirent. (*Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 741. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1006.)

² Cap. I., in *Mansi*, T. XVII., p. 538. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 350 sq.; likewise, *Conc. Troslejan.*, a. 909, cap. II., in *Mansi*, T. XVIII., p. 267. *Harduin*, L. c., p. 507. Constant reference was made to the words of Pope Gelasius, Vol. I., p. 650, note 1. It is a very significant fact, that Archbishop *Hincmar* of Rheims, who, while acknowledging and defending the relative independence of Church and State within their respective spheres of action, maintained the spiritual superiority of the ecclesiastical over the civil power.

³ The sixth Council of Paris, addressing kings, uses the following forcible language: "Rex a recte agendo vocatur. Si enim pie et juste et misericorditer regit, merito rex appellatur: si his caruerit, non rex, sed tyrannus est. Antiqui autem omnes reges tyrannos vocabant: sed postea pie et juste et misericorditer regentes regis nomen sunt adepti: impie vero, in se crudeliterque principantibus non regis, sed tyrannicum aptatum est nomen.—Regale ministerium specialiter est populum Dei gubernare, et regere cum equitate et justitia, et ut pacem et concordiam habeant studere. Ipse enim debet primo defensor esse ecclesiarum et servorum Dei, viduarum, orphanorum cæterorumque pauperum, nec non et omnium indigentium." (*Mansi*, T. XIV., pp. 574, 577. *Harduin*, T. IV., pp. 1332-1334.)

After Lothaire had been deposed by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle (A. D. 842), the bishops refused to give his brothers possession of his realm until they had promised to rule according to the will of God, and not arbitrarily, as their brother had done. "Verumtamen," says Nithard, "haudquaquam illis hanc licentiam cedere (regendi regni), donec palam illos percontati sunt, utrum illud per vestigia fratris e eod., an secundum Dei voluntatem regere voluissent. Respondentibus autem, in quantum nosse ac posse Deus illis concederet, secundum suam voluntatem, se et suos gubernare et regere velle, ajunt: Et auctoritate divina et illud suscipiatis, et secundum Dei voluntatem illud regatis, monemus, hortamur atque præcipimus." Cf. also *Höfler*, The German Popes, Pt. II., p. 327. A later formula of coronation contains the following words: "Bene est ut te prius de onere, ad quod destinaris, moneamus. Regiam hodie suscipis dignitatem, præclarum sane inter mortales locum, sed discriminis, laboris et anxietatis plenum. Verum si consideraveris, quod omnis potestas e domino Deo est, per quem reges regnant, tu quoque de grege tibi commissio ipsi Deo rationem es redditurus." See *Phillips*, C. L., Vol. III., Pt. I., p. 68.

people with the importance of those to whom it belonged to perform the ceremony. Theodosius the Younger was the first instance, in the East Roman Empire, of royal coronation by a bishop, and in the Germano-Christian States, the Visigoth kings of Spain, Wamba and Ervig.¹ Before receiving the crown, the king made a profession of Catholic faith, and promised to defend the rights of the Church and maintain her liberties, after which the bishop transferred to him the sword, the crown, and the sceptre, the symbols of royal authority, explaining the symbolical meaning of each in turn, and exhorting the recipient to faithfully perform the duties which they implied. Thus, for example, Eugene II., in speaking of this matter, warns Christian princes not to draw the sword against each other, but to use it only against barbarous nations and against the Saracens and Normans. In France, the right of anointing kings was confined to the Archbishop of Rheims, and in Germany to one of the Rhenish archbishops. It was not long before the custom of anointing queens was introduced. The first to receive this distinction were *Irmentrude*, the queen of Charles the Bald (A. D. 866), and *Judith*, his daughter, who had married the Anglo-Saxon king Ethelwolf (A. D. 856).

§ 193. Ecclesiastical Supremacy of the Popes.

At no time in the previous history of the Church was more ecclesiastical authority concentrated in the Supreme Head at Rome, and at no time were the bishops more free in the exercise of theirs. The latter was a consequence of the former, for the greater the authority of the Pope, the more ready and able he is to protect the rights of bishops. Thus, for example, *Ariald* and *Landulf* would have had no chance of achieving a victory in their conflict against the immoral priests of Milan, had they not maintained intimate relations with the Holy See. Wherever the authority of the Holy See did not reach, and its influence was not felt, morals decayed and discipline relaxed.

That the authority of the Popes, in itself intrinsically necessary and required to meet the wants of the people, and which increased and became more and more a blessing to the Church as time went on, was in truth supreme, is established by the following facts: 1. The Popes promulgated general laws in ecclesiastical government and discipline, and made them binding upon the universal Church.²

¹ Conf. *Conc. Toletan.* XII., a. 681, cap. I.: Etenim sub qua pace vel ordine serenissimus Ervigius princeps regni conscenderit culmen, regnandique per sacrosanctam unctionem suscepit potestatem, etc. *Harduin*, T. III., p. 1718.

² *Conc. Pontigonense*, a. 876. Ut quoties utilitas ecclesiastica dictaverit, sive in evocanda synodo, sive in aliis negotiis exercendis, per Gallias et Germanias Apostolica vice fruatur, et decreta sedis Apostolicæ per ipsum episcopis manifesta efficiantur: et rursus qua gesta fuerint ejus relatione, si necesse fuerit Apostolicæ sedi pandantur, et majora negotia ac difficiliora quæque suggestionem ipsius a sede Apostolica disponenda et enucleanda quaerantur. *Mansi*, T. XVII., p. 308. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 167. Cf. also *Stephani V.*, Decretum, in *Gratian*., Pt. I., dist. XIX., c. 4.

Furthermore, it was conceded that these possessed this universal binding force by the fact that they were accepted as authoritative before they had been admitted into any of the more ancient and recognised collections of canon law, or into that of the *pseudo-Isidore*, or the Deacon of Mentz, or *Benedict the Levite*, or *Abbot Regino of Prüm*, or *Burkhard*, Bishop of Worms,¹ all of which were then in general use. 2. They exercised judiciary powers over bishops, notably when appeals were made to Rome. 3. They called bishops, particularly those of the Frankish Empire, to attend councils held in Rome—a usage derived from the patriarchs of an earlier age. 4. They established new dioceses and introduced changes into old ones. 5. They conferred the pallium and permitted the exercise of the metropolitan rights of which it was symbolical. 6. They frequently gave their definite approval to the resignations of bishops, although these might have been previously accepted in provincial councils. 7. They granted exceptional *privileges* to churches and monasteries.² 8. They sent *Vicars Apostolic*, clothed with extensive powers, on embassies to the bishops of various countries. A bishop of the country was frequently appointed to this dignity; but, later on, it was more common to send legates *extraordinary*. During and after the pontificate of Nicholas I., papal legates convoked and presided over *national councils*.

This fulness of ecclesiastical authority was, if possible, still further increased by the respect which the people conceived for the Popes when they heard of them *crowning emperors*, and receiving yearly, thousands of *pilgrims* at the Tomb of the Apostles. Every one regarded Rome as the capital of Christendom, whither princes and people flocked, and where devotion was kindled and crimes expiated.

The *coronation* of the Popes was the completion and seal of this external consideration, in which they were everywhere held.

§ 194. The College of Cardinals.

Thomassini, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, Pt. I., lib. II., c. 113 sq. *Muratori*, *De Cardia. Institutione* (*Antiq. Italiæ mediæ ævi*, T. IV., p. 152). *Onuphrii Panvini*, *Liber de Cardin. Origine*. (*Ang. Mai*, *Spicileg. Rom.*, T. IX.) *Binterim*, *Memorabilia*, Vol. II., Pt. II. *Hist. Polit. Papers*, Vol. IV., p. 193-204, especially full details and conscientious research, in *Phillips*, *Canon Law*, Vol. VI., p. 65-296. ADDED BY THE TR.: *Tamagna*, *Origine, e prerogative de' Cardinali*, Pt. I., c. 3; *J. Devoti*, *Instit. Canon.*, Romæ, 1818, Vol. I., p. 186-199; *Ferrante*, *Elem. J. C.*, Romæ, 1854, p. 55-58.

The title of *Cardinal* (*cardinales*, καρδηνάλοι or καρδηνάριοι) was first applied in the eleventh century to the bishops immediately around Rome (*episcopi collaterales Papæ*), who were in a sense of the Pope's diocese, and to the clergy of the Roman Church proper.³ In early

¹ Cf. *Wasserschleben*, *Hist. of the Sources of Law before Gratianus*, Berlin, 1839.

² See a summary of such privileges granted by Pope Leo IX., in *Höfler*, *German Popes*, Pt. II., p. 366.

³ Pope Leo IX. says, concerning the designation of *cardo totius ecclesiæ*, transferred to the clergy of Rome, *epist. ad Michaellem Cerularium nro. 32*: "Sicut cardine totum regitur ostium, ita Petro, et successoribus ejus totius ecclesiæ disponitur emolumentum. . . . Unde clerici ejus cardinales dicuntur, cardini utique illi, quo cætera moventur,

times, the title was applied to such of the clergy as had received permanent appointments to certain churches; but it was pre-eminently the designation of the ecclesiastics attached to cathedrals, because the bishop's church was regarded as the pivot on which all the others hinged (*cardo*). Hence, by the fact of belonging to the episcopal church or hinge (*cardo*) of the diocese, they were designated *cardinals*.

The history of this title is analogous to that of Pope. For, as in the early days of the Church, all bishops were called *Papæ*,¹ an appellation which, later on, was restricted to the Bishop of Rome, so also did the title of cardinal, originally applied to the canons of all cathedral chapters, become little by little (and in proportion as their influence and authority increased), the special and distinctive designation of the cardinals *at Rome*.

It would, however, be a mistake to infer that the office of Roman cardinals underwent any change in the lapse of centuries. Although great and numerous changes may have been introduced as to the number, distinctions, prerogatives, privileges, and mode of creating them, their office has undergone no such modification, and is to-day precisely what it was in early times.

It is an undeniable fact, that their two most important prerogatives—viz., to elect Popes, and assist them by their counsel in the government of the Church—were exercised by them in the early ages, as well as at present. Even Pope Siricius, speaking in his seventh epistle of the condemnation of Jovinian and his associates, says that he gave the judgment by the advice of the Roman clergy (*facto presbyterio*). Hence, St. Bernard calls cardinals the counsellors and coadjutors of the Roman Pontiff; and the Council of Trent prescribes that the Sacred College shall be composed of representatives from all Christian nations, thus constituting a kind of Western Synod, and that their qualifications shall be the same as those required by canons in bishops.

In the early days of the Church, the mode of electing Popes was similar to that followed in the case of bishops. The candidate was first settled upon by the concurrent voice of the general body of the Roman clergy, by the laity, and the neighbouring bishops, after which the clergy and the bishops assembled alone, and either approved or rejected the choice made.

It is true that the cardinals did not exercise the exclusive right of

vicinius adherentes." (*Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 653. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 944.) Yet, as *Ferrante*, the Roman canonist, says in his *Institutes*, p. 55, they used to be called, from most ancient times, to assist with the Roman clergy at all deliberations of moment, and to form with the Roman priests the Pope's senate, yet their formal and definitive incorporation of the seven suburbicarian bishops with the S. College dates from the eighth century. (Tr.)

¹ Πάπας, or πάππας, α ὁ παπᾶ = πατήρ, father. Inscr. 2664. *Eust.* 565, 14, 15. Secondly, ΠΑΡΑ, father, a title given to bishops in general, and to those of Alexandria and Rome in particular. *Orig.* I. 85 D.; II. 995 C. *Greg. Th.* 1020 A. *Dion. Alex.* apud *Euseb.* II. 648 C. *Arius* apud *Epiph.* II. 213 A. *Athanas.* I. 355 B., 369 A.; II. 708 D. *Basil.* IV., 540 B., 541 A., 952 A. *Hieron.* I., 754 (535). *Carth.* 1255 A. *Ephes* 372 C. *Chron.* 516. *Nic. C. P.*, *Histor.* 7, 14 = παπᾶς, priest. (Tr.)

electing Popes until the eleventh century, when Pope Nicholas II. (A. D. 1059) published a bull confining this duty to them, and allowing to the general body of the clergy only the privilege of approving their choice. But it is equally true that they then obtained by that bull only the formal confirmation of a right which they had always virtually exercised. Hence, from being invested with so high a prerogative, they were at all times much esteemed, and commanded the greatest consideration.

Although possessing no local jurisdiction, they gradually came to be considered as persons of more importance than even bishops and patriarchs. Nor need this excite surprise. The same principle runs through political society also; for those who have the choosing of a supreme ruler, and are ministers of State, are persons of greater consideration than the governors of cities and provinces situate within the same realm.¹

The cardinals, being princes of the Church, and next in dignity to the Pope himself, wore a dress and bore insignia corresponding to the character of their office. The red hat was given to them by Innocent IV., and was intended to remind them that they should at all times be ready to shed their blood, if necessary, in defence of the Church and her rights, and the scarlet cape, or "*la sacra porpora*," was added by Pope Paul II., in 1460.

In 1567, Pius V. forbade all clergymen who had not been created cardinals by the Pope to assume the title. Their official appellation of *Eminence* was conferred upon them by Urban VIII., A. D. 1630.

Cardinals are frequently sent on embassies by the Holy See, and, while engaged on such missions, are called *Legates a Latere*.

When the cardinals assemble to take counsel with the Pope on any matter of importance relating to either Church or State, such assembly is called a *Consistory* (*consistorium*).

The College of Cardinals consisted, in the twelfth century, of seven cardinal *bishops*, whose sees lay, and still lie, in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, and who were called on this account *episcopi suburbicarii*, and took their titles from the names of their episcopal sees, namely, *Ostia*, *Porto*, *Santa Rufina* (Silva Candida), *Albano*, *Sabina*, *Tusculum* (Frascati), *Præneste* (Palestrina), but Santa Rufina was afterwards added to the bishopric of Porto; of twenty-eight (originally twelve) cardinal-priests, who held titular churches within the city of Rome; and of eighteen cardinal-deacons. The number of these last, at first only seven, was afterwards raised to eighteen, fourteen of whom were called Deacons of the City, and four Deacons of the Palace—one of the duties of the latter being to assist the Pope when he officiates at the Church of St. John Lateran.

In the year 1586, Sixtus V. fixed the number of the College of Cardinals at seventy, of whom six were cardinal-bishops (*suburbicarii*), fifty cardinal-priests, and fourteen cardinal-deacons. This arrangement

¹ Vide Ferrante, L. c. (Tr.)

has remained unchanged in any particular down to our own day although the college, has rarely, if ever, its full complement of members, as the Pope always leaves some vacancies, which may be filled under extraordinary circumstances, and it has not unfrequently happened that the number has been very much below seventy.

As the cardinal-bishops were obliged, besides taking part in all important deliberations, to officiate, each in his turn, for a week together (*hebdomadarii*), at the Lateran Church, they became gradually identified with the Roman clergy.

The Cardinal-bishop of *Ostia*, whose see has been united to that of Velletri, has always retained the privilege of consecrating the Pope-elect, having as his assistants the bishops of Porto and Albano.

§ 195. *Metropolitans, Bishops, and their Dioceses.*

Thomassini, Vetus et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina, Pt. I., lib. I., c. 43, 56 (de Metropolit et Episc.); Pt. I. lib. II., c. 5 sq. (de Archiepiscopis).

Through the efforts of St. Boniface¹ and Pepin, the power of metropolitans had long since been considerably increased. This may also be shown from the work of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, entitled "*De Jure Metropolitānorum*," and from a letter addressed to his cousin, Hincmar, Bishop of Laon, in which their prerogatives are enumerated.² As there was danger of powers so extensive becoming detrimental to the true interests of the Church, when placed in the hands of ambitious prelates, the Pope interposed, either directly or through his legates, to check this exercise of them. He at first limited their extension by his own direct legislation as Head of the Church, but, later on, obliged the metropolitans to conform to the requirements of ecclesiastical law, as set forth in the pseudo-Isidorian decretals. Owing to their exalted rank, the metropolitans still retained many of their political rights, while they lost, in a great measure, the excessive ecclesiastical jurisdiction which they had been in the habit of exercising over their suffragan bishops. Instead of holding provincial synods at stated times, and establishing their authority on the basis of law, they attempted, during the course of the tenth century, to govern the dioceses of their provinces directly and by a sort of personal jurisdiction, and thus excited the enmity and opposition of bishops and provoked the interference of popes.

¹ Vide § 163.

² Dr. Döllinger, in referring to this same letter, thus summarises its contents: "The metropolitan examined, confirmed, and consecrated the bishops of his province; he summoned them to synods, at which each one was bound to appear; to him were to be referred all complaints against a bishop, and all disputes of the bishops among themselves; he appointed administrators of churches that had lost their bishops; no bishop could appeal to Rome against the will of the metropolitan, nor, without his permission, travel beyond the province, send messengers, or alienate the goods of his church. Upon the archbishops devolved the care of the entire province; in all ecclesiastical affairs he could be consulted; to him appeals might be made from the judgment of the bishop, and he was empowered, even without convening a synod, of his own authority, to correct the errors or to punish crimes of a bishop." Ch. Hist., Cox's Eng. trans., Vol. III., pp. 180, 181. (Tr.)

By entering into close relations with the Head of the Church and submitting fully to his authority, the *bishops* acquired at once a greater influence among the bulk of the people, and greater freedom from the restraints of princes. Their relations to the clergy of their several dioceses remained unchanged. If a priest chanced to be removed without sufficient cause, he might appeal from the action of the bishop to the judgment of either a provincial synod, the metropolitan, or the Pope.

The right of the bishop to appoint to all ecclesiastical positions in his diocese was limited by the privileges of *patronage*¹ legally acquired by laymen who had founded churches or benefices.² But, still worse, many of the patrons, who had succeeded in getting possession, either by force or royal grant, of nearly all the churches of some districts, so far transgressed their rights as to arbitrarily depose ecclesiastics and appropriate to their own use the tithes and the offerings of the faithful. Again, the great increase in the number of private chapels and oratories gave rise to a class of priests, who, living constantly either at the courts of princes or in the palaces of the nobles, were withdrawn from the watchful care of the bishop, to the great detriment of episcopal authority and ecclesiastical discipline. The great lords claimed, strangely enough, that these ecclesiastics formed part of their household (*de familia domini*), and accordingly had them engaged in worldly pursuits, and sometimes employed in the most menial services, such as waiting at table, grooming horses, and curing hounds. On the other hand, these ecclesiastics, feeling that their position gave them a certain security from punishment, ceased to trouble themselves about episcopal authority, and led most disgraceful lives.

But the Church would not consent to quietly submit to the assumption of the seigneurs, or to relinquish her authority over ecclesiastics. She pertinaciously insisted that these latter were of her own household (*de familia ecclesiæ*), and should order their lives according to her laws.

Still another great evil of these times was what were called *ordinationes absolutæ*, or the ordaining of ecclesiastics without previously appointing them to serve at any particular church—an exceptional practice first introduced in favour of such priests as were going into missionary countries. It was not long before complaints were brought forward, in several councils, of the great number of such priests, who were going about, exempt, apparently, from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction (*acephali, clerici vagantes*).

In spite of all former³ and present⁴ efforts to suppress the class of

¹ Right of presentation to a church or ecclesiastical benefice. (Tr.) The synods of Orleans, 541 (*Harduin*, T. II., p. 1437); Toledo, 655 (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 973 sq.); then, a capitulary of 816, already grant privileges of this kind.

² See Vol. I., p. 464.

³ See p. 101.

⁴ *Weizsäcker*, The Struggle against the Chorepiscopacy of the Frankish Empire, in the Ninth Century, Tübing., 1859. Cf. *Walter's*, C. L., 13th ed., p. 336, note 8.

ecclesiastics known as *chorepiscopi*, or rural bishops, there still existed quite a number of them, who were generally employed by bishops as vicars or auxiliaries, were sometimes independent in the exercise of their functions, and were not unfrequently set over vacant sees by kings who were desirous of retaining the revenues. They disappeared almost entirely, during the course of the tenth century, and were replaced by bishops-vicar, or, as they are now called, *coadjutor bishops* (vicarii in pontificalibus). According to *Binterim*, the first instance of this class is one *Leo*, who is mentioned in a letter of Pope John XV. as “vice-episcopus St. Treverensis ecclesiæ.”¹ They were subsequently consecrated under the title of a diocese, which, although actually in the hands of infidels, was still cherished in the memory of the Church, and on this account they were called *episcopi in partibus* (sc. infidelium), or *episcopi titulares*. The cathedral canons, who, up to the present time, had led a *community life*,² formed the bishop’s council, and assisted him by their advice in affairs of moment, began now to feel this quasi-monastic discipline growing irksome. Not content with the distribution of the property ordered by Günther, Archbishop of Cologne (A. D. 873), into foundations for *cathedral and collegiate chapters*, under one of which two heads the canons might class themselves, according as they had belonged to cathedral or other churches,³ they insisted, in the tenth century, that such a division should be made as would secure to each his individual revenue or prebend. It was in vain that good, holy bishops exerted themselves to prevent this division and restore the ancient mode of canonical life. Their efforts being but poorly seconded, their only effect was to beget a protracted struggle between the two parties of the canons, secular and regular (*canonici sæculares et regulares*).⁴

Two circumstances at this time contributed to secure a greater freedom of action to cathedral canons, and to increase their influence in the administration of the diocese; for while, on the one hand, the

¹ *Binterim*, Memorab., Vol. I., Pt. II., p. 384. On the other hand, the ecclesiastic sent in 1036, by Pope Benedict IX. to Archbishop Poppo, was, properly speaking, a *coadjutor*. Conf. *Holzer*, De Proepiscopis Trevirensibus, who demonstrates that the existence in the diocese of Treves of the institution of vice-bishops, before the twelfth century, cannot be proved.

² See p. 117.

³ *Concil. Colon.*, anno 873, in *Mansi*, T. XVII., p. 275. *Harduin*, T. IV., Pt. I., p. 137.

⁴ Complaints on the decay of canonical life, in *Yves*, Bishop of Chartres (about 1092), epist 215: Quod vero communis vita in omnibus Ecclesiis pene deficit, tam civilibus quam diœcesanis, nec auctoritati, sed desuetudini et defectui adscribendum est, refrigerescendo charitate, quæ omnia vult habere communia, et regnante cupiditate, quæ non quærit ea, quæ Dei sunt et proximi, sed tantum quæ sunt propria. See, likewise, *Tritheim*, Chronic. Hirsaug. ad a. 975, on the canons of Treves: Canonici majoris eccl. St. Petri Trevirorum, qui sub certa regula in communi usque in hoc tempus vixerunt, abjecta pristinae conversationis norma desierunt esse regulares, distributionibus inter se factis præbendarum: et qui prius more Apostolorum omnia habuere communia, cœperunt jam deinceps singuli possidere propria. Quorum exemplum secuti plures Canonici in Wormatia et Spira, quod ideo fieri potuit, quia in multis temporibus multa mutantur. The ineffectual attempts at re-establishing it, *Conc. Rom.*, a. 1059, can. IV., and *Conc. Rom.*, a. 1063, c. 4, in *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., pp. 1062, 1139. *Mansi*, T. XIX., pp. 908, 1025. Cf. *Thomassini*, L. c., Pt. I., lib. III., c. 11; Pt. III., lib. II. c. 23, nro. 2. *Hæter*, L. c. Pt. II., p. 308 sq.

right of electing bishops was vested in them, on the other, the bishops were so mixed up in secular affairs that they omitted holding *diocesan synods* and *synodal courts*, which they were obliged by the canons to convoke annually.¹

During and after the lifetime of Heddo, Archbishop of Strasbourg, many dioceses were divided into several archdeaconries, presided over by an equal number of *archdeacons*,² who could not be deprived of their office except by canonical sentence. They possessed great influence in the administration of the diocese, and, in case of a vacancy, took the direction of affairs into their own hands.³ The *Great Archdeacon* (*archidiaconus magnus*) of the cathedral, who was usually the *Dean* (*præpositus*) of the canons, frequently formed with the other archdeacons of the diocese, or rural archdeacons, a chapter or college, which by degrees acquired, in its collective capacity, an *ordinary* (*propria*, *ordinaria*) and extensive jurisdiction, while its several members, now, as formerly, the representatives of the bishop, enjoyed singly only a delegated authority (*jurisdictio delegata*).

Subordinate to the archdeaconries were the so-called rural chapters, over which *archpriests* or *deans* presided, and the establishment of which was frequently pressed upon the bishops as a duty.

In order to kindle and keep alive the zeal of the clergy in the great work of saving souls, *pastoral conferences* were established, under the name of "*Calendæ*"—so called because they were held on the first day of every month, except when that happened to be a Sunday or holiday.⁴ The *calendæ* were at first intended to supply the place of provincial and diocesan synods, which had now ceased to be held. In some countries the bishops prescribed the holding of them as early as the ninth century, and, from this time onward, they continued to be

¹ The ordinances of *St. Boniface* on this head are numerous, and adapted to almost every exigency. Ep. 105: Statuimus, ut per annos singulos unusquisque presbyter episcopo suo in quadragesima rationem ministerii sui reddat, sive de fide catholica, sive de baptismo, sive de omni ordine ministerii sui.—Et moneat metropolitanus, ut episcopi a synodo venientes in propria parochia cum presbyteris et abbatibus conventum habentes, præcepta synodi servare insinuando præcipiant. This ordinance was incorporated into the Capitularies of the Frankish kings. According to later ordinances, the diocesan synod was to be held even *twice* a year, but this was seldom carried into effect. For a thorough knowledge of this institution, originating in that age, it is highly important to read the admonitio, or sermo synodalis, qui in singulis Synodis parochianis presbyteris annuntiandus est, which is ascribed to various authors. See in *Harduin*, Coll. Concil., T. VI., Pt. I., p. 873-879; in *Mansi* and *Höfler*, p. 471. Cf. *Phillips*, The Diocesan Synod p. 44-62.

² See p. 101.

³ Cf. *Thomassini*, L. c., Pt. I., lib. II., c. 19 and 20. *Planck*, Constitution of Christian Society, Vol. III., p. 708 sq. *Pertsch*, Origin of Archdeacons, Hildesheim, 1743. *Binterim*, Memorab., Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 386 sq. *Freiburg*, Eccl. Cycl., Vol. I., p. 405 sq., French transl., Vol. I., p. 503.

⁴ Conf. *Binterim*, Diocesan Synods, p. 101-108. Such conferences, according to *Thomassini*, Pt. II, lib. III., c. 74.; *Regino*, Lib. I., c. 216; *Harduin*, T. VI., p. 420; Acta Concil. Mediolan., and other authorities, were prescribed at various times. Thus, by Charlemagne, in his Capitularies; by Herardus, Bp. of Tours; Hincmar, Abb. of Rheims; Riculf, Bp. of Sitten; Ulrich, Bp. of Augsburg; Atto, Bp. of Vercelli; in ninth century, by the Council of Exeter (1131), and of London (1237). *Freiburg*, Eccl. Cycl., art. Conference, Fr. trans., Vol. V., p. 152. (Tr.)

pretty well kept up until the thirteenth, after which we hear no more of them until the time of St. Charles Borromeo.

It was the duty of the archpriest or dean to call the priests together, and to indicate the place of meeting, which was always the residence of some one of those composing the rural chapter. Each member had a right to speak on the subject brought before the chapter, and to vote for or against the acceptance of any measure. The subject to be submitted was selected by the bishop, and, after action had been taken, sent back to him for final judgment.

No priests, except such as had the care of souls, whether secular or religious, were admitted into these conferences; and should any one of those whose duty it was to be present absent himself without a valid reason, he was condemned to pay a fine.

But, notwithstanding the undoubted utility which priests derived from coming together in these conferences, and discussing practical issues and solving knotty questions, it was found next to impossible to keep them up regularly, or to have them frequent enough to do any considerable good. Bishops endeavoured to force attendance, first by admonitions, and then by penalties, but with indifferent success; and were at last obliged to limit the number of yearly conferences to three, then to two, and finally to one, which was equivalent to discontinuing them entirely.

What the circumstances were which conspired to interfere with the holding of these conferences, it is not to our purpose to inquire; but probably a sufficient one may be supplied by the fact that, while they are desirable and may be made useful, they are not *absolutely* necessary, and have never been prescribed either by a *general council* or a papal decree. Moreover, unlike any other institution of general acceptance in the Church, they came into existence, not in a regular order of development, but, as it were, fortuitously, at certain times and in particular countries. At first they were held in some of the districts of France, Germany, and England; later on, in Italy and Belgium; and at the present day, in Ireland. They are, then, more dependent on fortuitous circumstances, and on the action of individuals, than upon any great principle and recognised law. It is, however, very true that their introduction is usually preceded by a decay of morals, laxity of discipline, and neglect of study among the clergy; and, though not absolutely and universally necessary, they may be very useful under certain circumstances and in given localities. But of their utility or necessity the bishops are the judges.

Parish rights were not defined before the middle of the eleventh century, and then only in episcopal cities.¹ Popes *Eugene II.* (A. D. 826) and *John IX.* (A. D. 904) issued ordinances forbidding bishops to apply to their own use any of the land or other immovable property belonging to the estates of the Church.²

¹ The *Council of Limoges*, in the year 1031, decides, in spite of the opposition of the canons of cathedrals, that baptism and preaching may be performed in these city parishes. See *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 886, sq.; *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 543.

² *Eugene*, at the Synod of Rome, can. 16, and *John*, at a Synod of Ravenna, can. 10,

§ 196. *Church Property.*

Thomassini, Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip., Pt. III., lib. I., c. 7., 14., 22, 28, and 29.

Piety has always been the motive which has inspired Christians to give generously to the Church, whether in the form of donations or bequests, and has consequently been the unfailing source of her wealth. This was abundantly exemplified towards the close of the tenth century, when Christians were anticipating the end of the world, getting rid of their property, and making pilgrimages to the Holy Land. The most extensive of the possessions of the Church were held in fief, but those which did her most honour were the desert lands that had been reclaimed by the energy and toil of her monks. People soon began to cry out that the Church was growing excessively wealthy, and to these the Synod of Paris (A. D. 829) replied that, "she could never come into possession of too much property if she administered it well and put it to proper use." Moreover, people were willing to see wealth in possession of an institution which distributed the proceeds of it with such prodigality among the poor. Henceforth the *tithes*, which had long since legally belonged to the Church, were regularly paid, and a synod held in the year 909 wished to impose their payment upon *every branch of industry*.

The *Jura Stole*, as they are called, belonged to the priests. As every ecclesiastical function is of itself absolutely free and gratuitous, the "*perquisites*" were always regarded as *voluntary gifts*.

The Church has, in every age, looked with suspicion upon the practice of accepting *State grants to pay her clergy*, inasmuch as it impairs her dignity and jeopardizes her liberty. Although the Church had always claimed and the State always granted the exemption of ecclesiastical property from taxation, still both Church and clergy were at times heavily burdened. Men of coarse instincts and violent tempers, disregarding every legal restriction, plundered her property, and, sheltering themselves under the iniquitous and barbarous usage known as the *right of spoliation* (*jus spoliū seu jus rapite capite*), not unfrequently made attempts upon the lives of clergymen in order to come at their possessions.¹

§ 197. *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction—Immunities of the Clergy.*

Following the precedent of the Roman emperors,² Charlemagne and Louis the Mild permitted the bishops to exercise considerable jurisdiction in such matters as marriages, last wills, oaths, usury, and the like. When necessary, they were authorized to call upon the nobles of the empire to assist them in bringing before their tribunals sinners who had been condemned to public penance. They alone had

¹ *Bonn*, Philosophical and Theological *Revue*, nros. 23-25, in "Scientific Discussions."

² See p. 94

authority to try and pass judgment upon ecclesiastics. In extreme cases, clergymen were sentenced to imprisonment for life in some monastery. It seldom happened that they were deprived of their dignity and handed over to the secular authority.

Hincmar of Rheims,¹ though a warm defender of the privileges and immunities of ecclesiastics, still held that, in litigation with laics in suits involving real estate, they should send persons to represent them in the secular courts. If the accused were a bishop, he had the privilege of being tried by a court of bishops—a privilege conceded by princes, even when the charges brought forward were of a purely political nature; such, for example, as high treason.

It would also seem that this was the court of judicature, where charges were made by a bishop against a prince.

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGIOUS LIFE—WORSHIP—DISCIPLINE.

Ratherii Veronensis, De Contemptu Canonum; Discordia inter ipsum et clericos; Apologia sui ipsius; Itinerarium et epist. (opp. ed. *Ballerini*, Veron., 1765, fol. *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 136; also in *d'Achéry*, Spicilegium, T. I. *Atto Vercellensis*, De Pressuris Ecclesiasticis, lib. VIII., and epist. *d'Achéry*, Spicileg., T. I. *Petri Damiani*, Epist., libri VIII. Of special importance for this are the written instructions on the life of priests and laics from the time of Pope Gregory V., in *Mansi*, T. XIX., pp. 174-199; in German, in *Höfler's German Popes*, Vol. I., pp. 185-195.

§ 198. *The Morals of the Clergy.*

"You are the salt of the earth; but if the salt lose its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?"—*MATT. v. 13.*

THE bishops of this period were more concerned in maintaining their position as *secular princes* than in saving souls and looking after the interests of the Church over which they were set. It was not an unusual thing for them to wield the sword in the contests of factions.

In proportion as the empire declined and wars multiplied, the lower clergy grew daily more dissolute. Their total disregard of discipline and depravity of morals were unprecedented in any former age of the Church; and their ignorance was such that the questions which they were required to answer, before being permitted to go up

¹ *Hincmar* wrote a special treatise on this subject when his cousin, the Bishop of Laon, who had been deprived of the temporalities of his see by Charles the Bald, refused to appear before the King's court.

for orders, were of the most elementary character.¹ Was it possible for *such* a clergy to exert any influence for good upon the people? But it was not until the latter half of the tenth century that the clergy reached the lowest depth of degradation. *Unchastity* and *simony* were the prevailing vices. In many places the rule of celibacy was wholly ignored, and so great was the extent of the evil, and so deep the disgrace which attached to ecclesiastics, that those of them who lived an honourable married life were accounted virtuous, and dreaded either to give their own daughters in marriage to clergymen, or to permit their sons to take orders and become their successors. Although the condition of the clergy, when taken at its best, was bad enough, it is also true that the accounts that have come down are a trifle overdrawn, and of *too general a character* to command full credence when the charges are so grave. But if some of the clergy were stained with the vices, others were adorned with the virtues of their age; for, if a large class of them had not lived virtuous and holy lives, it would be impossible to account for the fact that they steadily grew in the esteem and reverence of the people. For what could insure the good opinion of others in their regard, if it were not fidelity to the virtues of their state? The zealous, but at times imprudent, *Ratherius* of Verona lifted up his voice, in the tenth century, to vindicate the honour of the priesthood. When dying, he composed this characteristic epitaph for himself: "Wayfarer, trample under foot the salt which has lost its savour." The efforts of *Atto*, Bishop of Vercelli († c. A. D. 960), and of *Dunstan*, Archbishop of Canterbury (A. D. 990), to have their clergy observe the rule of celibacy, were more prudent and moderate, and, on this account, much more successful. The clergy, and even the secular power itself, yielded to the firm and inflexible will and authority of Dunstan.

¹ *Ratherius*—who, however, is more or less given to the use of harsh language—when speaking of these times, says in his *Itinerarium*: "Seiscitatus itaque de fide illorum (Clericorum Veronensium) inveni plurimos neque ipsum sapere symbolum, quod fuisse creditur Apostolorum. Hac occasione Synodicam scribere omnibus Presbyteris sum compulsus," etc. In this Synodica, it is said, among other things: "Ipsam fidem—trifarie parare memorie festinetis h. e. secundum symbolum—Apostolorum—et illam, quæ ad Missam canitur, et illam S. Athanasii, quæ ita incipit: 'Quicumque vult salvus esse.' Quicumque vult ergo Sacerdos in nostra parochia esse, aut fieri, aut permanere, illa, fratres, memoriter nobis recitet, cum proximo a nobis huc vocatus fuerit.—Moneo et jam vos de die dominica ut cogitatis, aut si cogitare nescitis, interrogetis, quare ita vocetur.—Ut unusquisque vestrum, si fieri potest, expositionem Symboli et orationis Dominicæ juxta traditionem Orthodoxorum penes se scriptam habeat, et eam pleniter intelligat, et inde, si novit, predicando populum sibi commissum sedulo instruat; si non, saltem memoriter ac distincte proferre valeat: Epistolam et Evangelium bene legere possit, et utinam saltem ad litteram ejus sensum posset manifestare," etc. (*D'Achéry*, Spicileg., T. I., pp. 381, 376, and 378.)

We may obtain a more accurate knowledge of the degree of learning among the clergy, at the *beginning* of the latter half of the present epoch, from *Hetti*, Archbishop of Treves (A. D. 820-847), *Ιντηροποιήτωντες* quas suis proposuit auditoribus (an unpublished manuscript belonging to the monastery of St. Maximin, at Treves), from which it appears that clerics were made to undergo a close and thorough examination, not only on the *Pater Noster* and *Credo*, but also on the mystery of the *Trinity*.

When, in the eleventh century, beginning with Pope *Léo IX.* (A. D. 1048), papal elections ceased to be under the restraints of secular interference, and men of austere morals, chastened zeal, and prudent solicitude for the true interests of the Church, ascended the chair of St. Peter, the clergy, finding no encouragement for their evil-doing in the lives of the Popes, commenced to reform their own and regain something of the honour they had lost. In restoring the dignity and maintaining the holiness of the priesthood,¹ *Peter Damian*, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, and Deacon *Hildebrand* played a conspicuous part, labouring unceasingly, and at times having recourse to unusual means to effect their purpose. Their efforts were ably seconded by the *Patarian Confederation* in Upper Italy.

The zeal of Damian was at times not entirely under control, and, yielding to its promptings, he wrote a manifestly *exaggerated* account of the state of morality among the clergy, which Alexander II. suppressed, because he believed that its publication would do more harm than good.

The result of the labours of these champions of the faith, supplemented by those of the *monastic orders*, which had a large share in the work of clerical reformation, began to appear in the revival of spiritual life among the clergy, of which there were now many tokens.

§ 199. *Religious Orders of this Epoch.* Cf. §§ 142 and 168

Bibliotheca Cluniacensis in qua SS. PP. abbatum vitæ, miracula, scripta rec., cura M. Marrier et Andr. Quercetani, Par., 1614, fol. Ordo Clun., written in the eleventh century (Vet. discipl. monastica, ed. Herrgott., Par., 1726, p. 133). Antiquiores consuet. Clun. monast., lib. III., by Ulricus Cluniacens., written for Hirsau, 1070 (d'Achéry, Spicileg., T. I., pp. 641-703). The vitæ Bernon., Odon., Odilon., Romualdi, by Peter Damian, Joan. Gualberti (Mabillon, Acta SS. Ord. St. Bened. sæc. V., T. I.) †Lorrain, Essai historique sur l'abbaye de Clugny, Dijon, 1839; Gerin, ed., Tübing., 1857. Vita S. Wilhelmi, Constt. Hirsaug. (Herrgott., L. c., p. 375). Hélyot, Hist. des Couvents et des Ordres de Chevalerie, T. V. Henrion, Hist. des Ordres Religieux.

In convents of both men and women, there had also been a relaxation of discipline during this epoch, but it was quickly checked, and the severity of monastic life restored. By a decree of a council of the year 742, the Rule of St. Benedict was made obligatory upon all the monasteries of the Frankish Empire. Boniface, by his zeal and labours, greatly increased the number of cloisters, over which he watched with assiduous care—always on the alert to preserve the integrity of discipline, and to restore it where it had become relaxed. To this holy bishop did the great monasteries of *Fulda*, *Hersfeld*,² and others in Germany, owe their origin. These were important as centres of ecclesiastical training and general culture; but scarcely less so were those of *St. Gall*, *Reichenau*, *St. Blaise*, in the Black Forest; *Rheinau*, on an island of the Rhine, below Schaffhausen;

¹ See § 190.

² See § 168.

Prüm, in the diocese of Treves; and, still later on, those of *Corvey*, in Saxony, *Tegernsee*, in Bavaria, and many others. But, unfortunately, excessive wealth, exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, and the government of lay abbots, brought on the usual results, and these monasteries, whose members had at one time been distinguished for their observance of rule, their piety, and their learning, became prominent for their absence of discipline and disregard of the moral law. The zealous and holy *Benedict of Aniane* († A. D. 821), with the co-operation of Louis the Mild, set about reforming his monks, and, in a short time, made them models of order and piety for the whole Frankish Empire.¹ Religious life and letters owe much to this revival of the Benedictine Order by a reformer bearing the name of the illustrious founder; but, unfortunately, the reforms thus auspiciously begun were not generally taken up, nor did they exert any permanent influence. Again, while, on the one hand, little attention was paid to the decrees of the Council of Rome (A. D. 827) prohibiting the election of lay abbots, on the other, the monks were dispersed, and their monasteries pillaged, during the disorders consequent upon the strife of parties within the Frankish Empire, and the attacks of the Normans on the western, and of the Hungarians on the eastern frontiers; and, when they again returned to their former mode of life, they brought with them the spirit and vicious habits of men of the world, and could not, without difficulty, bring themselves to give up the opportunities and means of enjoyment which their great wealth placed within their reach, and live in the spirit of their vow of poverty. The accounts furnished us by the Councils of *Metz* and *Trosly* (A. D. 909), of the life led by the monks of this time, are startling.²

But in the midst of so much that was distressing, there were not wanting tokens of better things. Through the zeal and the labours of William of Aquitaine, a monk of the *Abbey of Clugny*, in the diocese of Mâcon, spiritual life began to revive, and it became evident that the liberty of the Church,³ though delayed for a time, would

¹ The complete rule explained in *Mabill.*, Ann. Bened., T. II., p. 435. *Mansi*, T. XIV., p. 394 sq. *Benedict. Anian.*, Codex Regularum (of the East and West) and Concordia Regularum, in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 103. Conf. † *Nicolas*, St. Benedict, Founder of *Aniane*, and *Cornelminster* (Inda, near Aix-la-Chapelle), Cologne, 1865.

² Capit. III.: De monasteriorum ergo non statu, sed lapsu quid dicere vel agere debeamus, jam pene ambigimus. Dum enim mole criminum exigente, et iudicium a Domino Domini incipiente, quedam a Paganis succensa vel destructa, quedam rebus spoliata et ad nihilum prope sint redacta, si tamen quorundam adhuc videntur superesse vestigia, nulla in eis regularis formæ servantur instituta. Sive namque monachorum seu canonicorum seu sint sanctimonialium, propriis et sibi jure competentibus carent rectoribus, et dum contra omnem ecclesiæ auctoritatem prælati utuntur extraneis, in eis degentes partim indigentia, partim malevolentia, maximeque inhabilium sibi præpositorum faciente inconvenientia, moribus vivunt incompositis; et qui sanctitati religionique cælesti intenti esse debuerant, sui velut propositi immemores, terrenis negotiis vacant; quidam etiam, necessitate cogente, monasteriorum septa derelinquunt, et volentes nolentesque sæcularibus juncti sæcularia exercent, cum e contra dicat Apostolus: *Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis sæcularibus*. (*Mansi*, T. XVIII., p. 270. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 510.)

³ *Clarus*, William, Duke of Aquitaine, one of the great men of the world, and one of the Saints of the Church, Münster. 1864

eventually be obtained. The splendid reputation of this abbey was, in great measure, owing to the exertions of the pious *Berno* (A. D. 910), its first abbot, *St. Odo*, a man of still greater ability than *St. Berno*, his master in the spiritual life, and successor as abbot (A. D. 924-941), knew how to conciliate the good will of men, and governed his monastery with such firmness and prudence as to command the respect and elicit the admiration of all. Under *Aymar*, *Maiolus*, and particularly under *Odilo* (A. D. 994-1048), and *Hugh*, the successor to *Odo*, this asylum of holiness and learning went on steadily increasing in importance and influence till finally, towards the close of this epoch, there were to be found many monasteries even in *Spain* and far-off *Poland*, which recognised the jurisdiction of the *Abbot of Clugny*.

William, the worthy disciple of *Maiolus*, laboured effectually for the reformation of monasteries, and the establishment of schools in Normandy and Northern France; and *Richard*, Abbot of Vannes, at Verdun, was equally successful in correcting the abuses which had crept into the monasteries of Belgium. The monks of Clugny kept the Rule of *St. Benedict* in all its primitive severity, observing *perpetual silence*, making public confession of their sins, working at manual labour, and leaving it only when called to perform some other duty, or to engage in prayer and the singing of the Psalter.¹

For two centuries, the monks of the great abbey of Clugny, and those who went forth from it to labour in distant lands, sustained by their influence and example the spiritual life of Christendom, were the guardians and fosterers of science and learning, made a life of asceticism honourable, and, down to the days of *St. Bernard*, had a share in nearly every important affair of the Church.²

In Germany, the monastery of *Hirschau*, founded by *Erlafried*, Count of Calw, in the year 838, had, upon the death of Abbot *Conrad* (A. D. 1000), been deserted, and now stood greatly in need of repair. At the instance of Pope *Leo IX.*, it was restored by *Adelbert II.*, also Count of Calw (since the year 1059), and put into the possession of a colony of monks from the monastery of *Our Lady of Hermits*. It rapidly rose in importance under *William*, formerly Prior of *St. Emmeram*, at Ratisbon, who became its abbot A. D. 1071, and reorganised it after the model of Clugny.³ It soon acquired an extensive reputation, and from it went forth, during the abbacy of *William*, fresh colonies of monks to make new foundations, of which the best known are those of *Reichenbach*, in the valley of the Murg; *St. George*, at the sources of the Danube; *Weilheim*, under the Teck, which was

¹ Antiqq. consuet., libb. II., c. 3: Silentium in ecclesia, dormitorio, refectorio et coquina—novitius opus habet, ut signa diligenter addiscat, quibus tacens quodammodo loquatur, c. 4. A description of the signa loquendi, in *Stolberg-Kerz*, Pt. XXXI., p. 386-431.

² * *Kerker*, Blessed William, Abbot of Hirschau, etc., the restorer of South German Monasticism in the age of Gregory VII., Vol. I.

³ *Green*, Activity of the Monks of Clugny during the eleventh century, in Church and State, Wesel, 1870. *Gfrörer*, Pope Gregory VII., Vol. I.

some time later transferred to Brisgovia, under the name of *St. Peter's*; besides many others. When the abbot William had completed these labours, besides others of a literary character, he died, full of years and honour, July 5, A. D. 1091.

During the terrible conflict of parties which raged in *Italy*, the monks of the Benedictine convent of *Monte Cassino* were the only religious of that country who carried out in practice the holy traditions of their order; and though their influence was not sufficiently powerful to effect the reformation of other monasteries into which the spirit of worldliness had entered,¹ it was nevertheless sufficiently attractive to draw out of the very hurry and bustle of life a number of generous souls, who had grown weary of the world and its sinfulness, and yearned for a retreat where they might find quiet and peace of soul.

Such was *Romuald*, a member of the ducal family of Ravenna. When in the thirty-second year of his age, he was present at a duel, in which his father was one of the parties engaged, and seeing the latter plunge a knife into his adversary, he was so shocked at the deed, that he at once withdrew to the monastery of Monte Cassino, and gave himself up to a life of penance and prayer. After having passed many years among the mountains and in the depths of the forests, he made his appearance in Upper Italy, and began to preach penance to immoral and simoniacal priests; and so irresistible was his speech, and so subduing his glance,² that the most abandoned and obstinate of them, when appealed to by him, at once entered upon a change of life, and the most tepid grew active and energetic.

As his life drew near its close, he gathered about him a number of souls similar in tastes and dispositions to his own, and retiring to *Camaldoli*, a desert place among the Apennines, not far distant from Arezzo, in Tuscany, he laid the foundation of a new order (A. D. 1018), the members of which were clothed in a white habit,³ and were known from the place where they originated, as *Camaldolites*. They were composed partly of hermits and partly of cenobites; never spoke to each other, and abstained entirely from flesh-meat and wine. The order was approved by Pope Alexander II., and it was not long until the Prior-general of Camaldoli had nine monasteries under his direction.

The order of *Vallombrosa*, in Tuscany, founded in the year 1038 by *St. John Gualbert*, a member of a noble Tuscan family, was, if anything, still more austere than that of the Camaldolites. John had had an experience somewhat similar to that passed through by Romuald.

¹ *Tosti*, Storia della Badia di Montecassino, Napoli, 1842 sq. *Freiburg*, Eccl. Cyclopædia, Vol. VII., p. 277 sq.; French trans., Vol. XV., p. 279.

² His biographer, Peter Damian, relates that a certain great lord said of him that, "No look of an emperor, or of any other mortal, filled him with such terror, as the look of Romuald. He was at a loss what to say, or how to excuse himself." Life of Romuald, § 66. (Tr.)

³ The rule of the order, in *Holstenii*, Cod. regul. Monast., T. II., p. 194 sq.

He was charged by his father to take a bloody vengeance upon the murderer of his brother Hugh, and, coming up with the object of his search on Good Friday, in a narrow defile, where escape was impossible, he made directly for him. The murderer threw himself upon his knees, and, arranging his arms in the form of a cross, besought his antagonist to show mercy out of love of Him who that day suffered for all. From respect for the symbol of salvation, and touched with the beauty of the appeal, John not only granted the prayer of the murderer, but took him to his bosom, and adopted him in place of the brother he had lost. He then withdrew to pray in the neighbouring monastery of San Miniato, and, while kneeling there before a crucifix, saw the figure of our Saviour incline its head towards him. Accepting this as a token of divine approval of what he had done, he at once entered upon an ascetical life, commenced the practice of great austerities, and ended by founding an order,¹ whose members were clothed in an *ash-coloured* garment and observed the Rule of St. Benedict² in its more severe form. It was the original intention that the members of these two orders should lead an eremitical life; but this design was afterwards given up, and they came together in monasteries, where each endeavoured, by the holiness of his life, to contribute to the profit and edification of all the rest, and to their advancement in the spiritual perfection.

So great and beneficial was the influence exercised by monastic houses during the eighth and ninth centuries, that kings and bishops willingly accorded them the right of freely electing their abbots and administering their temporal affairs. Freedom from restraint in the election of abbots was claimed as an ordinary and natural right by the Rule of St. Benedict, and was recognised by civil and ecclesiastical law. The monks were confirmed in their natural rights by popes, and sometimes protected against the arbitrary measures of bishops. The popes also exercised a direct jurisdiction over some monasteries, without, however, coming into conflict with the ordinary jurisdiction of bishops. But, as time went on, matters changed. In the eleventh century, the preponderance of papal power, and the ambition, avarice, and tyranny of the bishops,³ both co-operated, each in its own way, to withdraw the monasteries, in a measure, from the jurisdiction of bishops, and to obtain for them extensive *privileges*. Thus, for example, some monasteries were exempted from episcopal visitation, and neither could a bishop depose their abbots. The only right left to the bishop was to bless the abbot, to ordain the monks, and to consecrate the churches and altars of the monastery. Clugny, which possessed more extensive privileges than any other abbey, had also the right of choosing the bishop to perform these functions. These

¹ We have preferred to follow the Roman Breviary. (Tr.)

² "Vallis Umbrosæ Congregationis statuta adhuc nancisci nobis non contigit," is said in *Holstenius-Brockie*, T. II., p. 303.

³ See § 200, and also *Döllinger*, Ch. H., Vol. III., p. 196 sq. (Tr.)

grants, made by Alexander II. to Clugny, were confirmed by the Council of Châlon,¹ held A. D. 1063.

§ 200. *Condition of the Church in the Leading Countries of Europe.*

Conf. *Döllinger*, Hist. of the Church, Eng. trans., Vol. III. (Period III., c. 5), pp. 203-271.

The religious life of the bulk of the people during the early half of the present epoch, was a faithful copy of that of the Roman pontiffs. The contrasts presented by different countries, in the course of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, are so marked that it is impossible to speak of them in general terms, or to bring them under one head. It is therefore necessary to take up the most important kingdoms of Europe in turn, and give a brief sketch of the condition of the Church in each.

*The Frankish Empire.*²—The unhappy dissensions and civil wars which broke out under Louis the Mild and his sons not only disturbed the peace of the great empire, but also seriously interfered with the development of the Church, retarded the growth of ecclesiastical discipline, and relaxed the bonds of Christian morality. The councils of Coulaines, Thionville, Loiré, Beauvais, and Meaux, held during the reign of Charles the Bald, could do but little to check the prevailing disorders. Their decrees were unheeded amid the ceaseless din of civil strife; and the constantly renewed invasions of the Normans, who plundered the monasteries and pulled down the churches, completed the wreck of civil order and ecclesiastical discipline. The great scholars who had given celebrity to the schools of Charlemagne had all passed away by the year 875, leaving none able to take their places. So great was the ignorance of the clergy, that *Frotier*, Bishop of Poitiers, and *Fulrad*, Bishop of Paris, requested (A. D. 910) Abbo, a monk of the monastery of St. Germain, to compose a *Book of Homilies* (Homiliarium), from which priests might gain sufficient knowledge of the Christian religion to enable them to instruct the people in fundamental truths; and the fathers of the Council of Trosly (A. D. 909), speaking on the same subject, complained that many Christians had grown old without having learned the Our Father or the Creed. It was not long before the Carolingian dynasty, weakened by the incessant encroachment of the powerful vassals of the empire, tottered to its ruin, and with it disappeared the respect and reverence that the people had hitherto manifested towards the Church. During the continuance of this political chaos it was impossible for the bishops of the Church to assemble in council and provide measures against

¹ *Conc. Cabillonense*, in *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 1025 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., f. 1139 sq. *Mabillon*, *Annal. Bened.*, lib. LXII., Num. 12. Conf. *Gfrörer*, Ch. II., Vol. III., p. 1487 sq.

² *Flodoardi*, *Historia Eccl. Remensis*, see *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 135. *Glaber Radulphus*, *Hist. Francor.* (*Douquet*, T. X.) *Le Coigne*, *Annal. Ecclesiastici Francor.*, Par. 1668, f., T. IV. VIII. *Longueval*, *Histoire de l'église Gallicane*, Par. 1732, T. IV.-VII., nouv. ed. par *Jacger*.

existing and coming evils; and so universal and threatening were the disorders, that both civil and ecclesiastical society seemed on the point of a general break-up. As an example, it will be sufficient to instance the conduct of the powerful Herbert, Count of Vermaudois, who (C. A. D. 925) had his son Hugh, a child of five years of age, appointed Archbishop of Rheims. But he was probably not so culpable as Pope John X., who had the assurance to confirm the appointment, and to entrust the spiritual administration of the archdiocese to Abbo, Bishop of Soissons.¹

It was about this time that that band of devoted men, gathered together in the *monastery of Clugny*, gave promise of better things, not only to the Frankish Empire, but to every other Christian country as well. This auspicious beginning was supplemented by the restoration of political affairs in the Frankish Empire, under the new dynasty, of which *Hugh Capet* was the first representative (A. D. 987). It was also at this time that the Church, strongly impressed with the conviction that royal power could not make head against the encroachments of ignorant, insolent, powerful vassals, resolved to do what she could for the maintenance of law and order, and accordingly introduced the *Truce of God*, and punished all infractions of it with ecclesiastical censures. These constantly increased in severity, till, in the course of the tenth century, they included the *Interdict*, which was so much the more dreaded, in that it went beyond the person of the offender and affected his possessions also. At times, whole countries, which had passed under the sway of some unscrupulous and powerful tyrant, were laid under interdict; but when such an exceptional state of things existed, provision was always made to enable the innocent to avail themselves of the means of sanctification. Bishops believed themselves justified in inflicting these censures out of a regard for the public welfare and from an instinct of self-preservation. But a weapon so powerful in those times, and one which should have been appealed to only on extraordinary occasions and for exceptional purposes, and then only by men of the greatest prudence, could not fail, at times, to become an instrument of mischief and danger, when placed in the hands of unworthy and worldly-minded bishops. We have an example in point, in Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, who, because he was engaged in a quarrel with Duke Robert, placed the whole province of Normandy under interdict.

The Church made many efforts at this time to restore ecclesiastical discipline and purity of life, but the clergy, who had gone on, from day to day, violating their vow of chastity and securing benefices by simoniacal means, refused to listen to her admonitions and give up their habits of sin.

There were eighty councils held in France during the eleventh century, and of these there was not a single one in which a protest of the fathers was not directed against the *lawlessness* and *brigandage* of

¹ *Flodoardi*, Hist. Eccl. Rhem. lib. IV., c. 20.

the *laity*, and the *unchastity* and *simony* of the *clergy*. But when these disorders were at their height; when bishops presumed to settle the estates of the Church as dowers upon their daughters; when dukes and counts put on public sale the bishoprics and abbacies lying within their respective territories; when the weak had no rights that the strong were bound to respect, a reaction set in, good sprang from excess of evil, and new life from a dissolution of the old. This reformation, destined to raise the clergy from the depths to which they had fallen to their former purity of life, honour, and prestige, commenced with the chair of St. Peter, in the person of *Gregory V.*, and notably *Leo IX.* The reformatory decrees of the Council of Rheims (A. D. 1049) are framed in language of unusual severity.

It is refreshing to call to mind that, in the midst of the disorders, lawlessness, and anarchy of this age, there existed flourishing cathedral-schools at *Rheims*, *Chartres*, and *Tours*, conducted respectively by the distinguished masters, Gerbert (C. A. D. 970), Fulbert († A. D. 1028),¹ and Berengarius († A. D. 1088); and cloister-schools, not less flourishing, in the abbey of *Marmoutiers* (Majus monasterium), near *Tours*, which had been reformed by St. Majolus of Clugny, and in that of St. Benignus, at *Dijon*. But these schools, though excellent of their kind, could not compare with those of *Normandy*, during the eleventh century, as prosperous seats of learning. Such were those of the abbey of *Fécamp* and the monastery of *Bec*, under the direction of *Lanfranc*, the great theologian of his day, and of his still more illustrious disciple, *Anselm*. Both of these became afterwards Archbishops of Canterbury.

*The German Empire.*²—This empire, formed after the death of Charles the Fat (A. D. 888), embraced the five nations of the East Franks, the Suabians, the Bavarians, the Thuringians, and the Saxons, and, after the time of St. Boniface, recognized the metropolitan church of *Mentz* as its ecclesiastical centre. The suffragan sees of Mentz were Strasbourg, Worms, Spire, Constance, Chur, Augsburg, Eichstädt, and Würzburg. This number was afterwards increased to twelve by the addition of the Saxon sees of Paderborn, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, and Verden. Prague was added in the year 973, and Olmütz³ in 1063.

Cologne was next made a metropolitan see, having as its suffragans the sees of Liége (formerly that of Tongres, and, until the year 708, called Maestricht), Utrecht, Münster, Minden, and Osnabrück.

The metropolitan see of *Treves* was established at a very early date, and comprised the bishoprics of Mentz, Toul, and Verdun.

In the year 798, *Salzburg* became the metropolitan see of the

¹ Cf. on Fulbert of Chartres, *Stolberg-Kerz*, Pt. XXXIII., p. 492 sq.

² Cf. the Chronicles of *Icigino*, *Diemar* of Merseburg, *Adam* of Bremen, and *Lambert* of Hersfeld. *Wittichindi*, Monach. Corbej. Annales (to 957). *Adelboldi*, Vita Henrici II. *Wipponis*, Vita Conradi Salici.—*Sigm. Calles*, S.J., Annales Eccles. Germ., T. IV., c. 5.

³ See *Freiburg*, *Ecl. Cycl.*, art. Olmütz. (Tr.)

Bavarian bishoprics of Säben (called Brixen since the tenth century), Freysing, Ratisbon, and Passau. The suffragan sees of the archiepiscopal see of *Magdeburg*, established A. D. 968, were Zeitz (called Naumburg since the year 1029), Merseburg, Meissen, Havelberg, and Brandenburg. The metropolitan see of *Bremen* and *Hamburg* had under it Oldenburg (since called Lubeck), established in 952, and in 1052 divided into the two bishoprics of Mecklenburg (afterwards called Schwerin) and Ratzeburg. When Burgundy passed by inheritance to the kingdom of Germany, so also did the metropolitan see of *Besançon*, with its two suffragan bishoprics of Basle and Lausanne, the former of which, however, had belonged to Germany since 888, and the archbishoprics of *Lyons* and *Arles*.¹

In the first *German* council that can be properly so called, held in the year 894, during the reign of King Arnulph, at the royal villa of *Tribur*, decrees were passed, providing for the restoration of discipline and the strengthening of ecclesiastical authority. But scarcely had some degree of order been restored in the Church of Germany, when it was again destroyed by the *devastating incursions of the Hungarians*, which commenced during the minority of Louis, the son and successor of Arnulph. Otho I. (A. D. 936-973) engaged and totally defeated the Hungarians on the *plain of Lech*,² and thus put an end to their depredations, saved the Church of Germany from the fate which had come upon that of France, and raised it to such a state of prosperity that it was far in advance of every Church of European Christendom at that time. It is indeed true that during his reign Otho usually appointed the bishops of his kingdom, but in this instance there was some compensation made to the Church for the loss of her prerogative. The Saxon king was zealous, conscientious, and prudent, and rarely ever appointed a man to the office of bishop who was not distinguished by piety and learning. Hence the large number of great names that make his reign illustrious; men who, whether considered in their character of temporal rulers or spiritual guides, were truly the protectors and fathers of the people. Such were *Ulrich*, Bishop of Augsburg; *Bruno*, Archbishop of Cologne, and brother of Otho I.; *Adalbert*, Archbishop of Magdeburg; and *Frederic*, Archbishop of Mentz, who, notwithstanding his doubtful course as a politician, is worthy of being ranked with the great prelates of this reign. Then, among the monasteries which gained a high reputation were those of *Corvey*, where Wittekind, the historian, resided, and of *St. Gall*, where Notker and Ekkehard were abbots. *Giesebrecht*, writing of this age, lays aside, for a time, his habitual prejudice, and gives utterance to the following words:³ "It is,

¹ *Döllinger*, Ch. H., Vol. III., pp. 218, 219. (Tr.)

² *Brunner*, O.S.B., *The Incursions of the Hungarians into Germany*. Programme of St. Stephen, at Augsburg, 1854.

³ *Giesebrecht*, *Hist. of the Times of the German Emperors*, 2nd ed., Vol. I., pp. 329-330. Also, *Scheffel*, in his novel, *Ekkehard*. Frankf., 1864, etc., based on profound historical studies, furnishes an interesting picture of those times.

indeed, very true that the opening of the tenth century, which has been called, without limitation, a century of barbarism, was distinguished by a decline from the perfection in the arts and sciences reached at the close of the Carlovingian era. But about the middle of the century a new impulse was given to civilisation in *Germany*, and then, for the first time, were the more northern countries penetrated with its true spirit. . . . The Roman Church has enrolled many of the bishops of that age among her saints, and to these does our German Fatherland owe a deep debt of gratitude."

Pilgrim, Bishop of Passau, who, on three occasions, made pilgrimages to the Holy Land, also exercised a most beneficial influence upon the Church of Germany; but the assertion that he obtained from Pope Leo VII. the metropolitan dignity of Lorch, and maintained it despite the efforts of the Archbishop of Salzburg, rests on the authority of entirely fictitious documents.¹

Under the two succeeding Othos, the son and grandson of Otho the Great, to whose zeal and energy the Church is indebted for the choice of the two Roman pontiffs, Gregory V. and Sylvester II., the election of bishops was left comparatively free, and in consequence the bishoprics of Germany were filled by men worthy of their high office. Such was the powerful chancellor of the empire, *Willigis*, Archbishop of Mentz; *St. Wolfgang*, Bishop of Ratisbon; *St. Gerhard*, Bishop of Toul; *St. Conrad*, Bishop of Constance; *Pilgrim*, Bishop of Passau; *Bernward*, Bishop of Hildesheim (A. D. 993-1022), the tutor of Otho III., a man whose learning, ability, and artistic tastes placed him in the very front rank of his age; and his successor, *Godehard* (A. D. 1022-1038), distinguished by his gift of prophecy and for the admirable discipline which he maintained in his cathedral church.² The bishopric of *Merseburg* was restored, and, with the approbation of Pope John XVIII., another see established at *Bamberg* in the reign of Henry II., and conferred upon Eberhard, the chancellor of the empire. The establishment of this see called forth all the solicitous zeal of this pious Emperor. He appeared at the Council of Frankfort (A. D. 1006), and, casting himself upon his knees, besought the Fathers to consent to its erection. In the following year he succeeded in putting an end to the controversy concerning the jurisdiction of the convent of nuns at Gandersheim,

¹ Cf. *Dümmier*, *Pilgrim of Passau and the Archbishopric of Lorch*, Lps., 1834, and *Mittermüller*, *Was Pilgrim a Forger of Documents?* in the *Periodical*, *The Catholic*, 1867, Vol. 47, p. 333 sq. *Wattenbach*, *Hist. Sources of Germany*, p. 39.

² The latest researches concerning this age have developed rich materials for monographies, among which are the following: Archbishop Bruno of Cologne, by *Picler*, Arnberg, 1851; by *Meyer*, Berl., 1867; by *Schulze*, Halle, 1867; St. Ulrich of Augsburg, by *Raffer*, Augsburg, 1866; St. Wolfgang, by *Sulzbeck*, Ratisb., 1844; St. Matilda, Queen of Henry I., by *Clarus*, Quedlinbg., 1867; St. Adelaide, Queen of Otho I., by *Hüffer*, Berl., 1856; SS. Bernward and Godehard, by *Kratz*, Hildeshm., 1840, being the 3rd part of "*The Cathedral of Hildesheim*," with illustrations. *Sulzbeck*, *O.S.B.*, *Life of St. Godehard*, Bishop and Patron Saint of the Diocese of Hildesheim, Ratisb., 1867. *Gfrörer*, *The Services rendered to the Empire by the German Clergy at the Beginning of the Tenth Century* (*Freiburg Review*, Vol. XIX., n. 1).

which had been carried on for some time, with considerable temper, by Archbishop *Willigis* and a large following of German bishops, on the one hand, and on the other by *Bernward* of Hildesheim and Pope *Sylvester II.*

Although Henry II., in appointing to bishoprics, frequently conducted himself as arbitrarily as ever Otho I. had done, still it is but simple justice to him to say that he never selected one for the episcopal office who was unworthy of the dignity. The great number of bishops equally eminent for virtue and zeal, who occupied the sees of Germany during his reign, afford proof of this statement. To instance a few out of many, there were *Meinwerk* of Paderborn, *St. Walbodo* of Liège, *Burkhard* of Worms, and *Ditmar* of Merseburg, who is superior to any of the German historians who lived before the days of Lambert of Hersfeld.

Among the schools of that age which acquired the greatest name and celebrity were the cathedral-school of Liège, founded by Bishop *Notker* († A. D. 1008), and those of Fulda, Hildesheim, and Paderborn, the last of which was founded by Bishop *Meinwerk*.

The royal house of Saxony became extinct on the death of Henry II., and it was only by the wisdom, energy, and unanimity of the bishops in choosing his successor, that civil war, with all its direful consequences, was averted. *Conrad*, Duke of Franconia, the Salic, was elected without opposition, and by the wisdom of his administration fully verified the foresight of those who had raised him to the head of the German Empire. His episcopal appointments were excellent, as is proved by the fact that, during his reign, flourished such men as *Poppo* of Strasbourg, *Reginald* of Spire, the great biblical scholar, *Bruno* of Würzburg, and *St. Bardo*, Archbishop of Mentz, who, as Abbot of Hersfeld, gained such consideration for his convent that the monastery of Fulda relinquished for a time in its favour the ancient right of appointing every alternate archbishop of Mentz. In the reign of Conrad II. are also to be found the names of *Altman* of Passau (A. D. 1065-1090) and *Unwan* of Bremen, well known as the zealous apostle of Northern Scandinavia, whose prudence won for him the friendship of Northern kings and Slavic princes.

Henry III.—who, in wisdom, purity of purpose, and singleness of mind, was not inferior to Charlemagne—deserves well of the Church for the share he had in raising to the Chair of St. Peter the Popes *Clement II.*, *Damasus II.*, *Leo IX.*, and *Victor II.* He regarded clerical incontinency and simony as the most dangerous evils that could come upon the Church, and exerted himself to correct the one and suppress the other. *St. Peter Damian*, who will not be suspected of any undue partiality, in speaking of Henry in connection with the vice of simony, says that, after God, he was the means of destroying the hydra-headed monster. The Emperor's efforts were ably seconded by *Luitpold*, the excellent Archbishop of Mentz.

If the Pope was at this time in a position to exercise a legitimate

influence on the Church of Germany, it was entirely due to the policy of Henry, by whose exertions the Holy See regained its ancient authority and consideration. And that the Holy See did, in matter of fact, wield such influence, is shown from the words of *Wazon*, Bishop of Liège, to the Emperor: "As," says he, "we owe obedience to the Pope, so do we owe fidelity to you."

But, unfortunately, during the minority of his son, Henry IV., a greater part of which was spent under the evil influence of Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, simony, the prolific source of nearly all the evils that then afflicted the Church, again revived, and became more menacing than ever before. To it may be traced the origin of that fierce and pernicious controversy between the Papacy and the Empire, which was not brought to a close until after it had lasted through two centuries, and entailed the most disastrous results.

*Italy.*¹—This country suffered perhaps more than any other from the migrations of the barbarians. Besides the general collapse of the established order of things, the inhabitants, being orthodox Christians, were treated with great violence by these fierce defenders of Arianism. But the Church did not lose heart. Chastened and strengthened by the trials through which she passed, she went forth with the vigour of new life, and the energy that comes of conflict, to the work of subduing these savage hordes, and bringing them within the bosom of the Church. And her efforts were not in vain. Arianism was vanquished, and, from the moment of its disappearance, a deep and earnest religious feeling pervaded the whole nation. Churches and cloisters arose in great numbers, and were amply endowed by munificent kings.

Anselm, Duke of Friuli, brother-in-law of the Lombard king *Aistolphus*, and founder and first abbot of the famous abbey of *Nonantula*, in the province of Modena, had, under his direction, scattered about in various convents, eleven hundred and forty-four monks. But, as the Lombard power approached its decline, so also did this flourishing church cease to be what it once had been. *Paul Warnefried*, the national historian, complains that in his time the once honoured church of St. John, at Monza, had come into the possession of *incontinent* and *simoniacal* priests.

Matters were somewhat improved during the domination of the Franks, and might have gone on well enough, had not the archbishops of Ravenna, and particularly Archbishop John (A. D. 850-878), persisted in asserting their independence, and refusing to obey the Holy See. The influence of the German emperors was too frequently interrupted to produce any permanent result. The Council of *Paria* (A. D. 1022), presided over by Pope Benedict VIII., passed a number of decrees against the unchastity of ecclesiastics, but to little purpose. The clergy felt reassured by the evil example of *Guido*, Archbishop of

¹ See the writings of *Atto*, Bishop of Vercelli, *Ratherius* of Verona, *Luitprand* of Cremona, and those of *Peter Damian*, further down, Ch. V.

Milan, and refused to leave off the practices of simony and their incontinent habits. The inhabitants of Milan were divided into two opposing parties—the one composed of worldly ecclesiastics and vicious seculars, representing the aristocracy, and powerful by reason of rank, wealth, and a community of interests; and the other of those who represented the bulk of the people, and were under the leadership of the two priests *Ariald* and *Landulf*, who, prompted by zeal for holy purity, and strengthened by the buoyant enthusiasm which the consciousness of labouring in a good cause always inspires, assaulted the defenders of simony and concubinage with uncommon vigour and determination. Those composing the popular party were at first treated with ridicule and contempt by their supercilious and aristocratic opponents, and were opprobriously called *Patarini*,¹ or fools; but they accepted and appropriated the name, and, like the epithet *Gueux*² of a later age, from having been a term of reproach and insult, became a title of distinction and honour. By the year 1057 they had so increased in numbers and influence that they compelled the body of the clergy to subscribe a document requiring the universal enforcement of the rule of celibacy. They also prevailed upon the people not to receive the sacraments at the hands of the married clergy. The party of the Patarini continued to be augmented by fresh recruits in harmony with its principles, and, extending its ramifications over the whole of Lombardy, assumed the character and proportions of a vast confederation, under the name of the *Patavia*, which, in the Milanese dialect, signifies a *popular faction*.

In the year 1061, *Ariald*, gathering about him a number of followers as generous, as zealous, and as enthusiastic as himself, introduced the canonical mode of community-life into the city of Milan, where it had never before been practised. On the death of *Landulf*, his place was filled by his brother, *Herlembald*, a knight and a captain, who had just returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He thought of withdrawing from the world and entering a monastery, but from this purpose he was dissuaded by *Ariald*, who besought him to defend the cause of God by arms, while he himself would do battle with spiritual weapons. *Herlembald* set out for Rome, to present himself to the Pope, before entering upon his task, and, while there, received the consecrated banner of St. Peter, which was to be unfurled, if necessary; was appointed standard-bearer of the Roman and Uni-

¹ Either from the city of Patara, in Lycia, or from the Pater Noster, their only prayer, or more probably from the Milanese word *pataria*. (Tr.)

² A name taken by the insurgents in the Netherlands, who, during the sixteenth century, rebelled against the Spanish Government. When they had, on one occasion, forced themselves into the presence of the regent Margaret, she was seen to turn pale through fright; when the Count de Barlaimont whispered to her, in French, "Let not a troop of beggars (*Gueux*) alarm you." The words were heard by some of those present, and the title given to them by the count was afterwards adopted by the rebels in one of their drinking parties. See *Schiller's Geschichte des Abfalls der vereinigten Niederlande*. (Tr.)

versal Church¹ (vexillifer Romanæ et Universalis Ecclesiæ) and just before his return, in 1066, was handed a bull to take back with him, containing an excommunication of Guido, Archbishop of Milan. The promulgation of the sentence was the signal for the breaking out of a popular tumult among the fickle Milanese (A. D. 1067), in which *Ariald* fell a victim to his impetuous zeal. His body was not found till ten months later, but, even after that lapse of time, there were no indications of decay. Both people and clergy, recognising in this circumstance an incontestable proof of his sanctity, now vied with each other in paying him the honours of a martyr. *Alexander II.*, coming to Milan shortly after, took his cause in hand, and, after the necessary preliminaries, placed him on the roll of the saints of the Church.

The origin of this popular movement, which was the occasion of so much good to the Church and of so complete a reformation of the clergy, may be directly traced to the silent cells of the *Camaldolites* and *Vallombrosians*.² The gravity of manner, moderation, and firmness of character displayed by the Papal Legate, *Peter Damian*, had no small share in bringing back the clergy to a better temper of mind, and in inspiring many of them with sentiments of sincere sorrow and repentance for their past lives.

Finally, the success of the test of *ordeal by fire*, which Peter, a Vallambrosian monk, called from this circumstance *Peter of the Fire* (*Petrus Igneus*), undertook for the purpose of proving the guilt of Guido, Archbishop of Milan, contributed much to raise the credit and strengthen the influence of the *Pataria*.

In recounting the causes which brought on the deplorable condition of the clergy during the tenth and eleventh centuries, it should be constantly borne in mind, that one of the most potent was the almost total neglect of theological studies. It is indeed true, that there were two schools of philosophy at Milan, and three training schools for ecclesiastics are mentioned as then existing at Parma, Bologna, and Faënza, but they were all of little importance, and it is not clear that the course of studies in any of them included more than the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*.

¹ *Arnulphi*, Mediolan. gesta Mediolanensium, in *Pertz*, T. VIII. *Landulfi*, Senioris. Hist. Mediolan. (*Muratori*, Scriptt., T. IV. ; *Pertz*, T. VIII. *Bonizonis*, Sutrien. Episc. lib. ad amicum (*Osefele*, Scriptt. rer. Boicar., T. II.) *B. Andreae* (disciple of Ariald) Vita St. Arialdi and *Landulfi*, De St. Paulo (his contemporaries), Vita St. Arialdi (*Paricelli* De St. martyrib. Arialdo et Herlembaldo., Mediol., 1657; also in *Bolland.* Acta SS. ad d. 27. m. Junii). Andrew gives the following description of the Milanese clergy: "Alii cum canibus et accipitribus huc illucque pervagantes, alii vero tabernarii, alii usurarii existebant, cuncti fere cum publicis uxoribus sive scortis suam ignominiosæ ducebant vitam." Cf. also *Baron.* ad a. 1061, n. 48. *Muratori*, Hist. of Italy, Pt. VI., p. 335. *Acta Eccles. Mediolan., a Carolo Cardinali S. Prædis archiepiscopo condita, etc., ed. nova, Mediol. 1844, T. I. *The Pataria of Milan (*New Sion*, 1845, nos. 60-63, May). *Will*, The Beginnings of the Restoration, Pt. II., p. 100 sq. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils., Vol. IV., p. 749 sq.

² See the end of § 198.

*The Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy.*¹—The institution of the parochial system by *Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury*, had early consolidated Christianity in England. A clergy distinguished for moral elevation of character and purity of life, trained in the numerous cloister-schools—all of which, but particularly that of Glastonbury, “the nursery of Saints,” were then in a flourishing condition—hastened, by their example, their labours, and their single-minded earnestness, the work of spiritual regeneration. Here, as elsewhere, the important and disinterested labours rendered to society by these men, procured for Church property an exemption from all burdens and taxes, with the one exception of the “*trinoda necessitas*,” or the levy for the maintenance of the army, and the repair of roads, bridges, and fortresses. The Church of England entertaining for Rome, whence came her first missionaries, the grateful affection of a daughter for a mother, always maintained the closest union with the See of Peter. Eight of the Anglo-Saxon kings, inspired by the holiest motives, went on pilgrimages to the shrine of the apostles. It was also one of England’s kings—probably either Ina of Wessex (A. D. 725), or Offa of Mercia (A. D. 790)—who first introduced the custom of paying *Peter’s Pence* (Rome-Scot), with the design of creating a permanent fund to support English ecclesiastical schools at Rome. The head of every family, having a yearly income of thirty *solidi*, paid to the bishop of the diocese, in which he resided, one silver penny towards the fund.

There sprung up, around the great *metropolitan sees of Canterbury and York*, a number of suffragan bishoprics, which were soon in a flourishing condition.

At the Synod of Cloveshove (A. D. 803), twelve bishops recognised Ethelhard, Archbishop of Canterbury, as their metropolitan.

The Archbishop of York had three suffragans.²

If, on the one hand, the young Church of England possessed in the quality of her hierarchy a safe pledge of stability and vigorous life, she was, on the other, *equally sure that the close relations and frequent intercourse kept up between her clergy and the Church of Ireland would be a guarantee for their proficiency in scientific and theological knowledge.* It was thus that *Venerable Bede*,³ of Northumbria, acquired in his own day the title of teacher of his people, and has been recognised

¹ *Beda, Chronicon Anglo-Saxonicum*, ed. Ingram., Lond. 1823, 4to. *Guilielmi Malmesburiensis, De gestis regum Anglor.*, libb. V. (to 1126); *de gest. pontificum Anglor.* [Savile, Rer. Anglic. scriptt., Lond., 1596, f.] *Ingulphi Abbatis Croylandensis descriptio compilata* until 1066, in *Savile*.—*Alfordi, Annal. Eccl. Brit.*, Leod., 1663, T. II. and III. *Lingard, Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, Newcastle, 1806, 2 vols.

² The suffragans of the Archbishop of Canterbury were: Rochester, in Kent; London, in Essex; Dunwich and Helmham (afterwards Norwich), in East Anglia; Dorchester, Winchester, and Sherburne (afterwards Salisbury), in Wessex; Selsey (afterwards Chichester), in Sussex; Litchfield (afterwards Coventry), Hereford, Worcester, and Lincoln, in Mercia. The suffragans of the Archbishop of York were: Sydnacester (formerly Lindisfarne, and afterwards Durham), Hexham (which was destroyed in the devastations of the Danes), and Witheren (Casa Candida), the bishopric founded by Ninian for the Southern Picts in Galloway. *Döllinger, Ch. H.*, Vol. III., p. 255. (Tr.)

³ See § 171.

as such by every succeeding age down to our own time. *Egbert*, his disciple, the son of a king, Archbishop of York, and, as an indefatigable student, the rival of his master, was the educator of the celebrated *Alcuin*, to whom the school of York owed its European reputation. But here, as on the Continent, the progress of the Church was for a time interrupted by the invasions of the barbarians. England was then blessed in possessing in *Alfred the Great*¹ a king equal to the emergency, who, not content with having liberated his country from the yoke of the Danes (A. D. 880), forced these now vanquished conquerors to embrace the Christian faith. After having dispelled the danger with which the invaders threatened the nation, he set to work to prevent or correct an evil of a different nature, but not less formidable. Lawlessness had increased and ignorance become general, and, to provide a remedy for both, Alfred framed and published a new code of laws, gathered about him a number of scholars from France, either founded or restored the celebrated *School of Oxford*, translated into English the ecclesiastical histories of *Orosius* and Venerable *Bede*, the celebrated treatise of Boëthius "*On the Consolation of Philosophy*," the "*Pastoral Rule*" of St. Gregory, a portion of the Psalms, and extracts from the works of St. Augustine. In these undertakings he was aided by *Phlegmund*, Archbishop of Canterbury, and *Werfrith*, Bishop of Worcester. But even labours so extensive, entered upon from the highest motives, and prosecuted by Alfred at a cost of so much personal toil and painstaking, were found inadequate to remove the ignorance and correct the immorality which had followed upon the destruction of all educational establishments and monastic retreats by the Danes. Anyone who presented himself for ordination was accepted without question, and the more unworthy he was, the more likely was he to prove a successful candidate.

In the year 860, the English clergy were openly reproached for keeping *concubines*, a charge which had never before been brought against them; and so general and notorious did the vice become among them, that the Council of London, held A. D. 944, during the reign of King Edmund, reminded them, in emphatic language, that they were obliged by their state of life to observe the rule of celibacy. The once flourishing and thronged monasteries of England were now deserted and going to ruin, and, in order to find persons to fill them, it was necessary to cross the channel and invite them from *France*. Among those who had been educated in that country and now passed over to England to restore ecclesiastical life, were *Dunstan*, *Oswald*, and others, besides many more in succeeding years. It would seem that France was now paying off a debt of gratitude which she owed to England for services of a similar kind, rendered in bygone ages.

¹ *Asserii, Menevensis Annales rer. gest. Alfredi*, Oxon. 1722. *Stolberg*, *The Life of Alfred the Great*, King of England, Münster, 1815. *Weiss*, *Hist. of Alfred the Great*, Schaffhausen, 1852. *Malmesbury* relates: "Inter stridores lituorum, inter fremitus armorum reges tulit (Alfred rex), quibus sui et divino cultui et disciplinæ militari assuescerent." On the scientific impulse imparted by Alfred, cf. *Stolberg*, L. I., pp. 271-287. *Staudenmaier*, *Scotus Erigena*, Vol. I., p. 115 sq., 128 sq.

But it was not from foreign lands that the chief aid came to England at this time. Of her own sons God graciously deigned to raise up instruments of his mercy. During the reign of King *Edred*, the third son of Edward and the successor to Alfred, *Turketul*, the chancellor of state, and *Dunstan*, who held the same office after him, embraced monastic life. The latter was shortly after elected abbot of the monastery of Glastonbury, and the former of that of Croyland, which being badly out of repair, was restored by him. Dunstan was called from his monastery to be set over the see of Winchester, whence he was soon transferred to the archbishopric of Canterbury.¹ As he rose in dignity, his mind expanded, and he at once determined to undertake a thorough reformation of the corrupt and dissolute clergy.

The enterprise was taken up with enthusiasm by *Oswald*, Bishop of Worcester, and *Ethelwold*, Bishop of Winchester,² and powerfully seconded by King Edgar. "Consider," said this exemplary king, at the Council of London (A. D. 969), to the venerable Dunstan, "that my father looks down upon you from high heaven. Heed the words of grief in which he complains of the ruin of monasteries and churches which it gave him so much pleasure to build while on earth. Your warnings have been set at naught, and it now behooves you to have recourse to more severe measures for the chastisement of offenders. Go forward with the work, and the royal authority will sustain your judgments and enforce your commands. Drive the unworthy from ecclesiastic offices, and fill their places with men of virtue and ability."

Finally, Pope John XIII. gave the sanction of his authority to the work of the servant of God, and now a determined and uncompromising war was carried on against the vices of a rebellious and corrupt clergy, on the one hand, while, on the other, the reformation of monasteries went on simultaneously, and thus were emissaries provided for training the rising generation of ecclesiastics. By a conciliar enactment, the clergy in major orders were obliged either to observe the rule of celibacy or surrender their benefices.

Bishop Oswald of Worcester, anxious to introduce a reformation in his diocese, but unable to displace the corrupt clergy who occupied the old cathedral church, built another at a short distance from it, which was served by the regular clergy, and where he himself said Mass. Many of the canons attached to the old cathedral, seeing themselves abandoned by the people, became monks, and after a time the church reverted to the bishop, who handed it over to the Benedictines.

¹ The biographies of St. Dunstan, by *Britforth* and *Osborn* (*Bolland. m. Maji*, T. IV., p. 344); by *Osbert* (*Surius*, Vitæ SS., T. III., p. 309, and *Wharton*, Angl. sacra, T. II., p. 211-226, under the name of *Eadmer*; then follows scrutinium de corpore, St. Dunstan, pp. 227-233). See *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 675, leges ctr. clericos conjugatos. **Katerkamp*, Ch. H., Vol. IV., pp. 516-522.

² *Eadmer*, Vita St. Oswaldi (*Wharton*, T. II., pp. 191-210). *Wolstani*, Vita St. Ethelwoldi (*Mabillon*, Acta SS. ord. St. Ben. sæc. V.) Cf. *Wilkins*, Concilia Magnæ Britan. et Hibern., Lond., 1737, T. I. *Stolberg-Kerg*, Pt. XXXI., pp. 367-386.

While the example of Oswald was followed in many instances, Dunstan enforced in numerous synods the canonical rule of celibacy, and King Edgar saw to it that these synodal enactments were carried into effect.

With the death of Edgar and Dunstan (A. D. 988) ended the last period of glory of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Conflicts again broke out between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes, who had settled in the island since the reign of King Alfred, and culminated, on November 13, A. D. 1002, in the frightful massacre of such of the latter as had taken up their abode in Saxon provinces.

By the accession of *Edward the Confessor* (A. D. 1042-1066), the sceptre was restored to the ancient royal house of Britain; the island again enjoyed an interval of peace, and the bonds uniting the Church of England to the Apostolic See of Rome were strengthened.

Ireland.—The *Irish Church*, founded and firmly established by the labours of *St. Patrick*, early reached a high degree of perfection and enjoyed a large measure of prosperity. There went forth annually from her cloister-schools numbers of learned and pious ecclesiastics, both native and foreign, the latter being chiefly Anglo-Saxons, who laboured successfully, both in England and on the Continent. But after the year 795, Ireland shared the ravages which at that time were desolating England. Both Danes and Normans made descents upon the island, and, true to their barbarous instincts, carried desolation wherever they went—pulled down churches and destroyed many of the most flourishing seats of ecclesiastical learning. As a consequence, many Irish bishops, priests, and monks sought an asylum either in England or on the Continent. A naturally restless disposition and an inclination to travel were thus quickened and sharpened by actual experience, and it was no unusual thing to see Irish priests quitting their own land and immigrating to foreign countries, by way of preference and from love of variety.

Fortunately, about the year 800, the Irish clergy were released from the duty of following their princes to the field of battle; but their old martial spirit again revived during the ceaseless conflicts which they were obliged to carry on against the Danes, and priests and abbots were to be seen in the thick of the fight.

At the opening of the ninth century, the jurisdiction, or “Law of *St. Patrick*,” as it was called, of the metropolitan see of Armagh, was extended over the whole island. One of the most striking phenomena in the history of the Irish Church of these times, was the practice of uniting the episcopal and royal authority in one person, of which the case of *Olchobair Mac Kennedy*, who was both Bishop of Emly and King of Cashel (A. D. 846), was the first instance. The most famous of these royal bishops was the warlike *Cormac Mac Cullinan*, Bishop of Cashel and King of Munster, who was slain in battle in the year

908. He was as scholarly as warlike, and is the author of the famous book known as the *Psalter of Cashel*.

About the year 927, the metropolitan see of *Armagh* passed into the hands of a powerful family, by whom it was retained for two hundred years. The representatives of this family being temporal princes, were called the lords of *Armagh*, and succeeded each other on the archiepiscopal throne, thus uniting in their several persons the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Out of this abuse sprang another and far worse one. These men, though they were married, and had never taken orders, or received episcopal consecration, assumed the title, rights, and prerogatives attached to the office of an archbishop, in all things except purely spiritual functions, which they left to bishops to perform.

About the middle of the eleventh century, the bulk of the Danes who had settled in Ireland had been converted to Christianity, and in the year 1040, or thereabouts, obtained a bishop for themselves, with his see at Dublin. The first to occupy this see was Donatus, and the next Patrick, who, though an Irishman, was consecrated (1074) in England by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom, as well as to his successors, he promised canonical obedience. It would appear from this that the see of Dublin was a suffragan of that of Canterbury, but as no other Irish church ever stood in the same relation to an English see, it is more than probable that the Danes of Dublin sought this alliance because of the ties of relationship and common descent subsisting between them and the Normans, who were then supreme in England.

Besides the great number of Irish monks who were scattered here and there in the various monasteries of the Continent, there were others who possessed their own cloisters, and lived by themselves. These Irish cloisters were especially numerous in Germany, where they were erected by the people out of gratitude for the great part taken by Irish monks in the work of their conversion. They served as schools for the German youth, and as hospices for Irish pilgrims travelling to Rome. Charles the Bald, in a capitulary of 845, speaks of the Hospices (*Hospitia Scotorum*), which Irishmen had founded in France for the convenience of their countrymen. Among the Irish monasteries in France were those of St. Symphorian at Metz, of St. Vannes at Verdun, and of St. Martin at Cologne. Both Greek and Irish monks dwelt in the same monastery in the diocese of Toul, and sang the divine office together in the Greek language. An Irish monastery was founded at Erfurt, in the year 1036, and about the same time quite a number of Irishmen entered the abbey of Fulda.¹

The Scotch monastery at Ratisbon existed until very recently, and that of Vienna, founded in 1155, and chartered in 1158 by *Henry Jasomirgott*, first Duke of Austria, for the Scotch or Irish Benedictines,

¹ See *Döllinger*, Ch. H., Eng. trans., Vol. III., p. 265 sq., London, 1841. (12.)

is still in a flourishing condition, but has now passed out of the hands of those for whom it was originally founded.¹

By the word *Scoti*, which is used so frequently in the ecclesiastical history of Germany, Italy, and France during this period, we are to understand, *not* natives of Northern Britain or the present Scotland—a greater part of which, at the time of which we are speaking, belonged to the kingdom of Northumbria, and was consequently under the dominion of the Anglo-Saxons—but *Irish* monks, who were then universally known as *Scoti*. Those who were correctly called Scots, inhabited the country of Argyle and the adjoining territory, and were comparatively few in number. Neither had they schools of such a character as to be able to send out evangelizers and learned monks, capable of gaining eminent distinction in other lands.²

Many Irish scholars during this period rose to eminence, and became famous for works on theology and science. Among the best known of these is *Virgilius* (Feargil or Veregil), who became bishop of Salzburg in 756. Previously to this time, he had been engaged in controversy with St. Boniface, first regarding a formula of baptism, which ran, “*in nomine Patria et Filia et Spiritua Sancta*,” and was used by some ignorant persons in conferring the Sacrament, which, Boniface asserted, was invalid, and Virgilius denied; and next regarding the existence of antipodes, which Virgilius affirmed and Boniface denied. Virgilius was right in both instances. The two questions were referred to Pope Zachary, who decided that the formula was valid, but denied the possibility of the existence of antipodes,³ because, as he argued, the admission would imply the existence of another world, inhabited by a race of men entirely different in origin from ourselves. Another eminent Irish scholar of this period is *Sedulius* (Sheil), Abbot of Kildare, who is the author of a commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew (entitled *Collectaneum in Matthæum*), and probably of another on the Epistles of St. Paul, which now goes under his name.⁴ *Dungal*, his contemporary, lectured at Pavia, and was the opponent of Claudius of Turin, in the controversy concerning the use of images. Some time later lived *John Scotus Erigena*,⁵ *Marianus Scotus*, who, in the year 1056, quitted the cloister of Clonard, and took up his residence in the Irish monastery at Cologne, whence he went to Fulda, and was afterwards ordained priest at Salzburg. In 1073, he founded the monastery of St. Peter, at Ratisbon. Among his writings is a *Chronicle*, containing much valuable information on the history of the Irish, and of their settlements on the Continent.

Scotland.—The monastery founded by St. Columba on the island

¹ Geschichte der Stadt Wien, by Fr. Tschischka. Stuttgart, 1847, p. 65. (Tr.)

² Döllinger, Ch. Hist., l. c. (Tr.)

³ Kraus, Ch. Hist., Vol. II., p. 228. (Tr.)

⁴ Dixon, Introd. to the S. Script., Vol. II., p. 216. (Tr.)

⁵ He styled himself *Jerugena*, i. e., *ιερουγενα*—a native of the *ιερος νησος*—*Insula Sanctorum*; but it is also probable that the word *Jerugena* may be derived from *Erin* (The Green, i. e., Island), the Celtic name for Ireland.

of Hy, contained nearly all Irish monks, and continued for a long time to be the nursery of those missionaries who preached the Gospel in North Britain. Previously to the year 843, when the Picts and Scots united and became one nation, there was no established bishopric in Caledonia. In the year 849, King Kenneth, the conqueror of the Picts, built an episcopal church at Dunkeld, dedicated to St. Columba, and a house for ecclesiastics, where the bishop resided. It would appear that the Bishop of Dunkeld enjoyed a primacy over the whole Scottish Church until the close of the ninth century, when the metropolitan see was transferred to St. Andrew's.¹ The clergy were chiefly monks and Culdees, so called from *Keledei* (in Celtic, *Ceile De*), signifying, according to one interpretation, "servants of God," and according to another, those living in a community, but who were evidently only canons, who had adopted the rule of life given by Chrodegang of Metz. They are first mentioned in the history of Scotland, in the latter half of the ninth century.²

In every diocese where there existed a community of Culdees, they always claimed the right of choosing one of their own number to fill the episcopal see when a vacancy occurred; and those of the metropolitan see of St. Andrew, besides claiming a precedence before every other Scottish religious community, also maintained that their consent was necessary to the appointment of a bishop to any see in the country. About the close of this epoch, there were altogether thirteen communities of them in Scotland. But their number, after this time, sensibly decreased—some withdrawing from community life to live in separate dwellings, and others to marry. Efforts were made by the bishops to reform them, but to little purpose, and their houses and churches were in consequence put in possession of regular canons, the greater part of whom came from England. King David I. gave the Culdee cloister of Dunfermline to a colony of thirteen canons from Canterbury.

In the metropolitan see of St. Andrew's there existed, in the thirteenth century, a community of Culdees, who held places by inheritance from their relatives, side by side with a community of regular canons. The former disputed the right of the latter to elect the archbishop, and the case having been sent to Rome for settlement, was decided by Pope Boniface VIII. (A. D. 1297) in favour of the regular canons.

The Culdees are first mentioned as existing in Ireland, at Armagh, in the year 921, and, though not numerous, always lived according to the ancient practice followed by the priests who served the cathedral, in community life, after the manner of monks. Besides this community, there were seven others scattered through Ireland, viz., those of Clonmacnois, Clondalkin, Devenish, Clones, Popull, Monanincha, and Sligo.

¹ Cf. the small Chronicles, in *Innes*, Critical Essay, London, 1729, 4to, 2 vols., and in *Pinkerton*. Inquiry into the Ancient History of Scotland, London, 1789, 2 vols.

² *Braun*, De Culdeis commentatio historico-eccles., Bonnæ, 1840, 4to.

About the year 936, and for some time after, there was a community of Culdees at the Cathedral of York, in England.¹

Spain.—The Spanish Church, which had been placed upon a permanent footing during the reign of the Visigoth king Reccared, derived very great advantage from the wise ordinances of the *plenary councils of Toledo, which, in the latter half of the present epoch, were quite numerous, and held within short intervals of each other.*² Another beneficial effect of these measures was to put an end to secular interference in spiritual matters, and to secure to the Church—but for the good and in the interest of the State—a share in the administration of civil affairs.³ The seventeenth Council of Toledo (A. D. 694) directed that civil affairs should not be taken up for discussion until after the close of the first three days during which ecclesiastical questions were determined, and none but clerics were admitted. The kings of Spain being at this time elective, the bishops, by the superior number of suffrages within their control, exercised a preponderating influence in choosing them; and as they had the power of placing the king on the throne, so were they his firmest support after he had reached it.

Witiza (A. D. 701-710), one of these kings, by his disorderly and incontinent life, not only gave a most pernicious example to the clergy, who were still under the influence of the vices of the age, and more or less inclined to imitate the royal profligate, but also declared that the decretals of popes enjoining the rule of celibacy were not binding upon priests, and thereby broke off the harmonious relations which had heretofore existed between Spain and the Apostolic See, abruptly checked the prosperous course of the Spanish Church, and paved the way to its almost total destruction during the period of the *Saracen invasions* (A. D. 711 sq.). While the Mohammedans bore sway in Spain, the Church enjoyed at times a partial toleration, but, as a rule, was the victim of tyrannous oppression. The Goths, under their king, Pelagius, withdrew to the fastnesses of the mountains of Asturias, where they gallantly defended for some years their faith and the practice of its worship, till, encouraged by some successful encounters, they came forth from the mountain defiles, descended into the plains, and assaulted and captured the cities of Oviedo, Tuy, Leon, and Astorga (A. D. 795-842). Oviedo became an episcopal see, and Leon the residence of the Christian kings. About the middle of the ninth century, *Eneco Arista*, Count of Borgia, encouraged by these brilliant successes, laid the foundation of the kingdom of

¹ *Döllinger*, Ch. Hist., Engl. trans., Vol. III., p. 267 sq. (Tr.)

² *Eulogii*, Cordubens. memoriale sanctor.; apologeticus pro martyr.; adhortatio ad martyr., and epp. (max. bibl., T. XV., and *Schotti*, Hispania illustrata, T. IV.) *Pauli Alvari*, Indiculus luminosus, Samsonis Abbat. Cordub. apologeticus (España Sagrada, ed. III., Matrit. 1792, T. XI.) Cf. *Stolberg-Kerz*, Pt. XXVIII., p. 380-432.

³ The numerous councils of Toledo: Toletanum IV. in the year 633; Tolet. V. 636; Tolet. VI. 638; Tolet. VII. 646; Tolet. VIII. 653; Tolet. IX. 655; Tolet. X. 656; Conc. Emeritense, 666; Conc. Augustodun. 670; Tolet. XI. 673; Bracarense III. 675; Tolet. XII. 681; Tolet. XIII.-XVII. 683, 684, 688, 693, 694; Cæsar-Augustan. III. 691.

Navarre, and, two centuries later, the adjoining Christian kingdoms of *Aragon* and *Castile* came into existence. The Christians of *Spain*, who lived in the midst of Arabs and under Mohammedan rule, though enjoying only a precarious toleration of worship, retained, all through these years of trial and conflict, their ancient ecclesiastical organisation, consisting of twenty-nine episcopal and three archiepiscopal sees; and, notwithstanding that they were compelled to pay a heavy monthly *capitation tax*, they not unfrequently filled important government offices. But, apart from all this, the fiery fanaticism of the Mohammedans, while constantly interfering with the toleration of Christian practices, frequently took a more offensive form and broke out into violent expressions of contempt for everything connected with the Catholic faith. The sign of the Cross was reviled and outraged, the ringing of bells ridiculed, and priests insulted. The Christians, irritated beyond human endurance, refused to submit to such indignities, and their protest was seized upon as a pretext for the terrible persecutions against them during the caliphate of *Abd-er-Rhaman II.*, *Mohammed I.*, and *Abd-er-Rhaman III.* (A. D. 850-960). It will be remembered that, during the continuance of the persecutions by the Roman emperors, many Christians, either from a lack of moral courage or because they dreaded the terrible cruelties to which they would be subjected, lost heart and gave up their faith. The same thing took place in *Spain* under the Mohammedans; and, as if to leave no escape to the Christians, the very silence of such as were dragged before the tribunal was accepted by their judges as sufficient evidence of their guilt. But if there were some deplorable acts of apostasy, there were others of heroic courage. There was a long line of martyrs, who met death calmly indeed, but intrepidly, rather than deny their God. At their head was the Priest (*Perfectus*) of *Cordova*, then the seat of the caliphate; and, besides many other persons of rank and distinction, *Eulogius*, the Archbishop elect of *Toledo*; *Aurelius*, who was quite young, and *Sabigotha*, his wife, who was still younger. The desire for martyrdom in time grew to be uselessly eager, and the *Council of Cordova* (A. D. 852) accordingly cautioned persons against unnecessarily putting themselves in the way of it. When the monk *John*, from the monastery of *St. Gorze*, near *Metz*, went to *Spain* on an embassy from *Otho I.*, he had some intention of interfering in behalf of the Christians, but they besought him to take no such step, as its only effect would be to render their condition worse, and hints of similar import were addressed to him by the Saracens.¹ One of the bishops, speaking to him on the same subject, said: "We have passed under the dominion of a stranger because of our sins, and it is not lawful, as *St. Paul* says,² to resist those whom God has set over us; but in our trials the consolation of living according to the principles of our faith is still left us."

¹ *Vita Abbatis Gorziensis* (*Bollandus*, Acta SS. ad diem 27. mens. Febr., § 123. *Pertz*, T. VI., p. 372).

² *Rom.* xiii. 2.

This condition of affairs necessarily relaxed the bonds that united the Spanish Church to the Apostolic See; but more intimate relations were restored by Pope Leo IX., as we learn from the acts of the Council of *Tolosa*, held A. D. 1055, during the pontificate of Victor II. Not long after, the nine bishops of Aragon, assembled (A. D. 1060) at *Jacca*, in the province of Biscay, by a unanimous vote, resolved to give up the Gothic and adopt the Roman liturgy. Notwithstanding the action of these bishops, it was not until the pontificate of Gregory VII., and after many efforts had been made by Pope Alexander II., that the Mozarabic liturgy, which had been frequently defended by ordeals of fire and sword, was altogether given up (1080).

It will be seen, from the above statement of the condition of the Church in the various countries of Europe, that the religious life of the people depended, in a large measure, upon circumstances of time, place, and national characteristics, and that at the close of the ninth century and the opening of the tenth, the Church, notably in Italy and in some portions of the former Frankish Empire, had fallen from the high position to which she had been raised by Charlemagne to as low a depth as she could well reach, chiefly because the *authority of her Head*, the source of her life, strength, and energy, *was paralyzed in its action and influence upon the body ecclesiastic*.

In the midst of the turmoil and conflict of parties, it was but natural that the clergy should be distinguished by ignorance rather than learning; and, this being the case, it was equally natural that the bulk of the people should grow up without the necessary religious instruction and information. Such was, in matter of fact, the condition of things. People grew worldly and sensual; religion was, in many instances, little better than a gross and degrading superstition; the veneration paid to the saints was but a few removes from Paganism; the reverence given to images was excessively exaggerated; and so complete was the reliance placed upon the issue of every sort of *ordeals*¹ that the voice of bishops and the decrees of councils were powerless against them. The powerful nobles of the empire indulged in acts of reckless violence, and, there being no secular power capable of either restraining or suppressing them, there was an imperative call upon the Church to interpose her spiritual authority, if not in a domain, certainly in a manner unknown to her previous history. The belief, then prevalent throughout the whole West, that the year 1000 would bring with it the end of the world and the general judgment,² while it greatly increased the existing evils, was not

¹ See § 167 sub fin.

² Many documents of this epoch open thus: *Appropinquante mundi termino*; then also were made the greatest number of donations for the endowment of churches. *Glaber Radulph.*, Lib. III., c. 4, relates: *Infra millesimum tertio jam fere imminente anno cunctig in universo pene terrarum orbe, præcipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innovari ecclesiarum basilicas, licet pleraque decenter locatæ minime indiguissent, etc.*

without its beneficial results. Such as regarded the dreaded catastrophe from a religious point of view set about putting their consciences in order, and great numbers of them went on pilgrimages to Rome and the Holy Land.¹

Baronius, who, in his "*Annals*," gives a somewhat exaggerated account of the rudeness and moral depravity of this "Age of Iron," is at some pains, before entering upon the history of the tenth century, to warn his readers in advance against taking scandal from what follows. "Let not the weak," he says, "be scandalized when they behold the abomination of desolation seated in the temple; but let them rather marvel and give thanks to God, who watches over the Church and has her in his keeping, in that He did not visit upon her, in the midst of these abominations, the desolation that came upon the Temple of old." "And," he goes on to say, after a few sentences, "what was the cause of all these evils, whence so violent and destructive a storm?" "They are plainly," he answers, "from a cause such as no one could either suspect or believe, unless he should, so to speak, see it with his eyes and touch it with his hands, viz., the unspeakable indignities which were put upon the Apostolic See by princes calling themselves Christians, but, in this instance, certainly the most wicked of tyrants. When they took into their own hands the right of electing pontiffs to fill the Apostolic See, which even the angels of heaven revere, such were the monsters whom they intruded into the Chair of Peter that the very thought of them weighs the heart down with sadness."²

But, even in the midst of darkness so intense and of wickedness so astounding, the Holy Ghost was still at work in the Church, and giving visible tokens of his presence in the holy lives and apostolic zeal of some fathers of the tenth century. Many of them, like Elias and John the Baptist of old, boldly and openly rebuked the vices of the world, while others cultivated virtue in silence and retirement, and advanced daily in well-doing and perfection.

The number of holy personages and flourishing institutions which there has been occasion to mention while setting forth the condition of the Church in the Frankish and German Empires, in Italy, the British Islands, and Spain,³ will afford sufficient proof of the culture of the tenth century to prevent one from hastily concluding that it was wholly barbarous and immoral.

From the middle of the eleventh century, when the Holy See began gradually to regain its former dignity and authority, and to be filled with men whose virtues added a fresh lustre to its ancient

¹ *Glaber Radulph.*, Lib. IV., c. 6: Per idem tempus (about 1033) ex universo orbe tam innumerabilis multitudo cepit confluerè ad sepulcrum Salvatoris Hierosolymis, quantum nullas hominum prius sperare poterat.

² Cf. *Palma*, Præl. Hist. Eccl., Vol. II., p. 108 sq.; *Billuart*, Vol. IX., p. 287, and *Baronius*, Ann. Eccl., T. X., pp. 629-630. (Tr.)

³ *Stolberg-Kerz.* Pt. XXXI., pp. 444-504; Pt. XXXII., p. 426 sq.; Pt. XXXIII., pp. 439-525.

glory, a new life-stream broke forth from that fountain-head of the hierarchy, and infused fresh vigour into the entire body of the Church. The character of the times underwent a corresponding change; people grew more honourable, more pure, more earnest, and the improvement in public morals became still more marked and general after the introduction of the *Truce of God*.

§ 201. Religious Worship during this Epoch.

Ordo Romanus, De divin. officiis per totius anni circul. (eighth century). *Amalarii*, Chorepisc. Metens., de divin. officiis, libb. IV., ad Ludov. imperat. (819-827). *Rabanus Mauri*, De Clericor. Institutione et Ceremon. Eccl., libb. III. (819), and de Sacris Ordinib., Sacramentis Divin. et Vestimentis Sacerdot. *Walafrid Strabo* (†849), De Exordiis et Increment. rer. Ecclesiastic., seu de Officiis Divinis. *Ivo*, Carnoten (†1115), de Ecclesiast. Sacramentis et offic. ac præcipuis per annum Festis Sermones (XXI.), collected in de Divin. Cath. Eccl. Officiis varii vett. Patrum ac Scriptt. libri., ed. *Hittorpius* (Col., 1568, Rom., 1591), Paris, 1624; on the Feasts: *Binterim*, Memorabilia, Vol. V., Pt. I., and especially the *Acta Sanctorum*, by *Bollandus*, on the respective feasts, where their origin and progress are carefully traced.

As the Germans are fond of noise and display, a public worship, to be acceptable to them, must be accompanied with a certain pomp and magnificence. This outward display had a higher office than the mere gratification of the senses. It spoke to an ignorant and sensuous people, in a language that was perfectly intelligible, of the great mysteries and the deep symbolism of the Christian religion. The cupolas and arches of the Romans were transferred to Germany, to be made subservient to the honour and glory of the God of Heaven and Earth; and the graceful columns, the rich ornamentation, and the crypts and raised choirs of the *Romanesque* style of architecture, found admirers and imitators among the inhabitants of these recently converted countries. *Bells*, which were now swung in bell-towers detached from the churches, or in steeples artistically finished, were consecrated, or, as it was generally called, baptized; and from this usage arose the custom of giving to each of them the name of some saint. Some of the churches were constructed of stone, but as a rule they were of wood; and, of those in France, one of the handsomest was the church of the abbey of St. George, at Rocheville; but even this was surpassed by the magnificent church of *Clugny*. In Germany, the most notable churches were those of St. Michael, at Hildesheim, built by Bishop Bernward; of Bamberg, built by Henry II.; and of Goslar, built by Henry III.

Architects, painters, and sculptors were as yet all ecclesiastics or lay-brothers belonging to the monasteries.¹

New feasts were added, and pretty generally accepted,² to those

¹ *Kreuser*, Christian Architecture, Vol. I., pp. 265-328. *Laib* and *Schwarz*, Formalism of the Romanesque and Gothic Styles of Architecture, 2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1858.

² The enumeration of the customary feasts, *Conc. Agathon*, a. 506, can. 21 (*Harduin*, T. II., p. 1000); *Capitular.*, lib. I., c. 158. *Conc. Mogunt.*, a. 813, can. 36: Festos dies in anno celebrare sancimus. Hoc est, diem Dominicam Paschæ cum omni honore et sobrietate venerari, simili modo totam hebdomadam illam observari decrevimus. Diem

which had been long observed in the Græco-Roman Empire.¹ Such were the feasts of the *Annunciation* (March 25th), and of the *Purification* (February 2nd), which in the Western Church took the place of the feast of the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, celebrated in the Eastern. To add still more to the honour of the Mother of Christ, two more feasts having special reference to her, and sanctioned by the tradition of the first three centuries, were introduced, viz., the *Assumption*² (Assumptio B. M. V., August 15th) and the *Nativity* (September 8th) of the Blessed Virgin. The origin and general adoption of the feast of *St. Michael* (dedicatio St. Michaelis, September 29th) were due to a celebrated apparition of the archangel in one of the churches of Rome.³ It served to bring vividly before the mind of the people the existence of a world of spirits, and to impress upon them the truth that a constant intercourse is kept up between the Church militant upon earth and the Church triumphant in heaven. It was also in admirable accord with the warlike character and traditions of the Germans, who placed their arms and their fatherland under the protection of heavenly hosts.⁴

Special honour was paid in France to *St. Remigius* of Rheims and *St. Martin* of Tours. The writings of Denys the Areopagite, coming into the possession of Pepin, revived the memory of a Christian hero who had borne martyrdom for the faith in the Decian persecution; and as there had been a bishop of Paris, named Denys, who had also suffered martyrdom, people soon began to confound him with the contemporary of the apostles.⁵

The memory of *St. James the Greater* was held in special honour in Spain, the scene of his apostolic labours, particularly after the

Ascensionis Domini pleniter celebrare. Item *Pentecosten* similiter, ut in Pascha. In Natali Apostolorum Petri et Pauli diem unum. *Nativitatem S. Joannes Baptista. Assumptionem S. Mariæ*, Dedicacionem *S. Michaëlis*, Natalem *S. Remigii, S. Martini, S. Andreæ*. In *Natali Domini* dies quatuor, Octavas Domini, *Epiphaniam Domini, Purificationem S. Mariæ*. Et illas *Festivitates Martyrum*, vel *Confessorum* observare decrevimus, quorum in unaquaque Parochia sancta corpora requiescunt. Similiter etiam *Dedicacionem templi*.

¹ See Vol. I., §§ 93 and 134.

² The account given by *Epiphanius*, *Hæres.* 78, nr. 11; more positive in *Gregor. Turon.*, De Glor. Mart. lib. I., c. 4; *Andreas Cretensis* (about 650), Homil. in dormitionem Mariæ (*Galland.*, Bibl., T. XIII., p. 147); still more so in *Joan. Damascen.* λόγοι γ' εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν—θεοτόκου. According to *Nicephor. Callisti*, Hist. Eccl. II, 21 sq., XV. 14, and ibid. XVII. 28, Emperor Mauritius ordered the celebration of the κοίμησις τῆς θεοτόκου on the 15th of August. Cf. *Bolland.*, Acta Sanctor. ad 15. Aug. If the tradition of the assumption of Mary into heaven be likewise found in apocryphal books, this is no proof that these are the only sources of our information, and that the respective liturgical prayers are derived therefrom. *Butler*, Lives of the Saints, Vol. VII. *Binterim*, Memor., Pt. V., pp. 425-439. See Vol. I., p. 129.

³ See Vol. I., p. 493.

Some moderns say an angel (the archangel Michael, as Piazza has it) was seen sheathing his sword on the stately pile of Adrian's sepulchre on the cessation of the pestilence, shortly before Pope Gregory I.'s elevation. But no such circumstance is mentioned by *St. Gregory of Tours*, Bede, Paul, or John. *Butler's* Lives of the SS., 12th of March. (Tr.)

⁴ *Hæberlin*, Selecta de Mich. Archangelo, Helmst., 1758, 4to. *Bolland.* ad. 29 Sept.

⁵ Acts, xvii. 34.

supposed finding of his body at *Compostella* (A.D. 791-842). His reputed remains were highly venerated, and he himself chosen by the Spaniards as their patron in war. *St. Arnulph* was very much revered by the Germans, and the church dedicated to its honour at *Metz* gradually assumed the importance of a national shrine. But, lest the number of saints should become too numerous by the admission of such as did not deserve the title, the royal capitularies recommended great caution in the selection.¹ From the close of the tenth century onward the duty of watching over and regulating the veneration to be paid to the saints devolved entirely upon the Holy See, and *Pope Alexander III.* (A. D. 1170) formally reserved this right to the Roman pontiffs. The first instance of a process of "canonization" regularly instituted and decreed by the Pope was that of *St. Ulrich*, Bishop of Augsburg, who died A. D. 973, and was declared a saint, A. D. 993, by John XV.² The capitularies also enjoined the celebration of the feasts of the Church as a solemn duty, and ordered the closing of all courts of judicature upon such days.³

Finally, the feast of *All Saints*, instituted by Boniface IV. (November 1st), was very generally introduced among the Germans in the ninth century. There is a pious tradition, according to which *Otilo*, Abbot of *Clugny*, connected with this feast a commemoration of the souls of the faithful departed, and ordered it to be made in all the monasteries of his order (A. D. 998). This holy practice was soon taken up, and generally accepted as an expression of the Catholic belief in Purgatory, and of the close intercourse between the living and the dead; and eventually a special day (November 2nd) was set apart for this devotion, and classed among the days of devotion of the Church.⁴

The feasts instituted in honour of the *Blessed Virgin Mary*, and the numerous and exquisite hymns composed in her praise, are so many tokens of the abundance of Christian love that went out to her, and an evidence that the veneration in which she was held by the Catholic Church grew in beauty and intensity as years went

¹ Capit. a. 794, c. 40: Ut nulli novi Sancti colantur aut invocentur, ne memoriarum eorum per vias erigantur; sed ii soli in ecclesia venerandi sint, qui ex auctoritate passionum aut vite merito electi sint. (*Baluz*, T. I., p. 194.) Capit. a. 805, c. 17: De ecclesiis seu Sanctis noviter sine auctoritate inventis, nisi Episcopo probante minime venerentur. Salva etiam et de hoc et de omnibus ecclesiarum canonica auctoritate. (*Baluz*, T. I., p. 299.)

² Concil. Roman. a. 993, in *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 169. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 721 [pro canonizatione St. Udalrici Augustani]. Cf. *Mabill.*, Præf. ad Acta SS. Ord. Ben. sæc. V., num. 99 sq. *Benedictus XIV.*, De Beatificat. et Canoniz., lib. I., c. 7-8. Cf. the art. *Canonization*, in the *Freiburg Eccl. Cyclopæd.*

³ Capitulare III. a. 789, c. 18: Ut in dominicis diebus conventus et placita publica non faciant, nisi forte pro magna necessitate, aut hostilitate eggente, sed omnes ad Ecclesiam recurrant ad audiendum verbum Dei, et orationibus vel justis operibus vacent. Similiter et in festivitibus præclaris Deo et Ecclesiarum conventui deserviant, et sæcularia placita dimittant.

⁴ *Mabill.*, Acta SS. Ord. Ben. sæc. VI., Pt. I., p. 584. *Petr. Damiani*, Vita Odilon, c. 10. (*Bolland.* Acta SS. m. Jan., T. I., p. 74 sq.); *Siegbert. Gemblac.*, ad a. 998.

on.¹ The whole human family took up the words of the Angelical Salutation:—"Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women"—and went on repeating them, with increasing warmth and devotion, till their very souls mounted up to the throne of the glorious Queen who reigns triumphantly in heaven. The whole body of the faithful thus gave expression to their joy, their confidence, and their love in a prayer at once concise and full of meaning, comprehending, within the compass of a few words, stupendous mysteries of faith and the most important facts in the history of Redemption. Again putting together this prayer a certain number of times, and wreathing it into a *crown of living roses*, they presented the garland to the Mother of God as a token of their tender love and child-like confidence. It has been very erroneously asserted that this *mode of prayer*, called the *Rosary* (*corona Mariana*, *rosarium*, *psalterium St. Virginis*), was introduced, after the age of the Crusades, from the East, where it was in use among the Arabs; whereas the truth is, it had existed, though not in so elaborate a form, in the West, centuries before, and was probably first used in the fourth century by the monk *Macarius the Younger*, whose whole life was one continuous prayer.² It was his wont to say three hundred prayers daily, and, in order that he might know when he had got to the end of his task, he put three hundred pebbles into his lap before starting, and cast one of them away after reciting each prayer. Palladius states that the abbot *Paul*, of the desert of *Ferné*, had a similar custom. Even in the Penitentiary-book used in the West, twenty or thirty "Our Fathers" are frequently assigned as a penance.³

In England, the inventiveness of piety suggested the arrangement of a number of *Pater Nosters* into a sort of circle or belt (*beltidum*, *cingulum*, *girdle*), which, little by little, was transformed into a *Rosary* in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In the absence of devotional works, this mode of prayer furnished the people an easy and efficacious means of edification, suited to their wants and within their capacity. The devotion to the Blessed Virgin became still

¹ Those well-known hymns of the Church, "*Salve regina*," "*Ave maris stella*," "*Alma redemptoris mater*," (but not "*Omni die dic Maria*," etc.), all owe their origin to this part of our epoch, included between the ninth to the eleventh century. Cf. *Hergenroether*, *The Veneration of Mary during the first ten centuries of the Church*, Münster, 1870.

² This office was first composed of canticles, as may be seen in the chapter of St. Ulrich of Augsburg (924). Cf. *Mabillon*, *Annal. Bened. lib. XLII.*, nro. 71; *Saturday* was consecrated to Mary, according to *St. Peter Damian*, *Opusc. XXXIII.*, c. 3. Urban II. made this office obligatory on the clergy at the *Council of Clermont*, 1095. The addition of the Angelical Salutation to the "Our Father" was made first in the English monasteries. Cf. *Mabillon*, *L. c.*, lib. LVIII., nros. 69, 70, ad annum 1044. Concerning the Rosary, as developed in its present form by St. Dominic in the thirteenth century, cf. *Binterim*, *Mem.*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 89-136. *The Devotion of the Rosary*, a Religious Meditation, Tübing., 1842.

³ *Du Fresne*, *Glossarium med. and inf. Latinit. sub verb. Capellina*, wants to find the origin of the Rosary in the penitential books.

more general after the opening of the eleventh century. *Saturday* was especially dedicated to her honour. *Peter Damian* composed a particular office (*Officium Mariæ*), which he had introduced into many of the monasteries of Italy; and the "Angelical Salutation" was combined with the "Lord's Prayer," though the use of this form of prayer did not become general till later on.

The Germans received the Christian faith with reverence, and conscientiously preserved it in its integrity as it came to them from the Greeks and Romans. And if there was any portion of it which appealed to them with more force, and of which they were more sensitive than another, it was that which comprehended the *seven Sacraments* and their symbolism and ceremonies. *Amalarius* of Metz, whose name is given at the head of this paragraph, gave the people a course of instructions upon the meaning of ecclesiastical ceremonies and the Sacred Liturgy. With regard to the administration of the sacrament of baptism, the rule of the early ages of the Church was followed, and it was ordained that it should be conferred only on the great feasts of Easter and Pentecost, and that the primitive ceremonies should be observed.¹ It was unfortunately necessary to enact many decrees against such as put off the baptism of their children beyond a twelvemonth.² There were also many complaints against such as neglected to call in the priest at the approach of death and receive the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. *Jonas*, Bishop of Orleans, imposed upon all persons dangerously ill the duty of calling in the priest and receiving the Sacred Unction at his hands, as recommended by the words of the apostle; and the *Council of Pavia* (A. D. 850) is still more instant on this point. Such of the sick as were unworthy of receiving Holy Communion were to be deprived of Extreme Unction also.³

In the matter of *marriages* between persons nearly related, the Church maintained a most determined attitude, refusing to those who contracted such marriages the *benediction of the priest*, and threatening the refractory with sentence of excommunication. The secular power co-operated with the Church in this affair, and prohibited all incestuous unions. Relationship within the *seventh degree*⁴

¹ Capitulare an. 804, c. 10: Ut nullus baptizare præsumat nisi in Pascha et Pentecoste, excepto infirmo (*Baluz*, T. I., p. 294), and oftener.

² Capit. a. 789, c. XIX.: Similiter placuit his decretis inserere, quod omnes infantes infra annum baptizentur. Et hoc statuimus, ut si quis infantem intra circulum anni ad baptismum offerre contempserit sine consilio vel licentia sacerdotis, si de nobili genere fuerit, centum viginti solidos fisco componat; si ingenuus, sexaginta; si libertus, triginta. (*Baluz*, T. I., p. 183.)

³ Already, Boniface prescribed: Omnes presbyteri oleum infirmorum ab episcopo expectent secumque habeant et admoneat fideles infirmos, illud exquirere, ut eodem oleo peruncti a presbyteris sanentur. (*Wüdtwein*, Epp. Bonif., p. 142.) *Jonas*, De Institutione Laicali, lib. III., c. 14. *Synodus regia Ticina*, a. 850, can. 8. (*Harduin*, T. V., p. 27. *Mansi*, T. XIV., p. 932 sq.)

⁴ Capitul., lib. VII., c. 432: Nullus fidelium usque adfinitatis lineam, id est, usque in septimam progeniem consanguineam suam ducat uxorem, vel eam quoquo modo incestus macula polluat. Cf. lib. VII., c. 436; lib. VI., c. 130. *Petri Damiani*, Tractatus de parentelæ et cognationis gradibus. Cf. *von Moy*, The Marriage Code of the Christians in the Churches of the East and West, Vol. I., p. 361. *Walter*, Canon Law, § 364, 13th ed., p. 559 sq. *Zhismann*, The Marriage Code of the Eastern Church, Vienna, 1864.

was constituted an invalidating impediment of matrimony ; but the Council of Lateran (A. D. 1215) cut off three degrees, thus restricting impediments within the *fourth*.

The *Holy Eucharist* has always been, from the earliest ages down to our own, as it were, the meridian sun of Christian worship—the beginning and end, the source and centre of every religious aspiration, thought, word, and act. *Unleavened bread* was generally used at the *altar* ; the accompanying ceremonies increased in number, elaborateness, and significance, and were more worthy of giving expression to the stupendous mystery of which they are the form and symbols, and of bringing out into fuller relief the points of discussion on which *Paschasius Radbertus* and *Berengarius* were at issue.

A timid fear, lest some drops of the Sacred Blood might be spilled, led to the use of tubes in drinking the Species, and to the practice of steeping the Host in the chalice. The Council of *Clermont* (A. D. 1095) prescribed¹ that the Body and Blood of Christ should be taken separately, except in cases where necessity required that they should be taken together.

The national churches, in order to express their close union with the Mother Church of Rome, used the *Latin language* in the liturgy and all religious rites and ceremonies, with the one exception of the sermon. It was, however, found necessary to correct an impression then gaining ground, to the effect that prayer could be addressed to God in only three languages, by the direct and emphatic declaration that prayer addressed to Him in the proper spirit, in any language whatever, would be heard and answered.²

Again, *private Masses* (*missæ privatæ*, or rather, *solitariae*) celebrated by the priest, without the presence and participation of the faithful, were frequently and severely censured. How, it was asked, could a priest *so celebrating* truthfully say :³ *Sursum corda*, or *Dominus vobiscum* ?

The religious instruction of the people was pressed upon the clergy⁴ with great urgency by both bishops and councils, but the standard of education was so low among them that little, if anything,

¹ *Conc. Claromont.*, a. 1095, can. 28 : Ne aliquis communicet de altari, nisi corpus separatim, et sanguinem similiter, nisi per necessitatem et cautelam. (*Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., 1719. *Mansi*, T. XX., p. 818.) According to *Mansi*, the canon was decreed ob recens damnatam hæresim Berengarianam (?). Cf. *J. Vogt*, *Historia Fistulæ Eucharisticæ*, Brem., 1772.

² See p. 166, n. 3.

³ *Conc. Mogunt.*, a. 813, can. 43 : Nullus presbyter, ut nobis videtur, *solus* missam cantare valet recte. Quomodo enim dicet : Dominus vobiscum vel sursum corda ad-monebit habere, et alia multa his similia, cum alius nemo cum eo sit ? (*Harzheim*, T. I. p. 412.)

⁴ *Ibidem.*, can. 45 : Symbolum, quod est signaculum fidei, et orationem Dominicam, discere semper admoneant sacerdotes populum Christianum. Volumusque, ut disciplinam condignam habeant, qui hæc discere negligunt, sive in jejunio sive in alia castigatione emendentur. Propterea dignum est, ut filios suos donent ad scholam, sive ad monasteria, sive foras presbyteris, ut fidem catholicam recte discant et orationem Dominicam, ut domi alios edocere valeant. Et qui aliter non potuerit, vel in sua lingua hoc discat.

could be expected from them in this respect. To remedy this condition of things somewhat, the bishops, following the example of Charlemagne, commissioned *Abbo*, a monk of St. Germain, to compose a new *Book of Homilies* (Homiliarium) of such a character as might answer the needs of the clergy and serve them in instructing the faithful. The Roman liturgy had now superseded every other, and was in general use in the churches of nearly every nation. In Spain alone the *Mozarabic* liturgy¹ was used by the Christians, subject to the dominion of the Arabs. Its chief peculiarities are the following: 1. Though written in Latin, its characters are essentially Greek; 2. It never adopted either the Gregorian or Ambrosian chant, and in this respect differed from all ancient Gaulish liturgies; 3. It implied or presupposed daily frequentation of Holy Communion and distribution of the chalice by the deacon; 4. It prescribed that the Host shall be elevated in sight of the people, after which it was to be broken into nine pieces, symbolising the *nine* mysteries of Christ, viz., the Incarnation, Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Passion, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and Glorification; 5. Instead of the "*Ite missa est*," at the end of the Mass, it prescribes the following: "*Solemnia completa sunt in nomine Dom. nostri Jesu Christi*," or some such brief form of words.

In order to add to the impressiveness and grandeur of divine worship, Charlemagne caused the Roman liturgy to be substituted for that of ancient Gaul, which was but poorly adapted to the splendid effects of Gregorian chant. That the success of this noble church-song might be put beyond all question, competent choristers were brought from Rome;² "for," as the deacon John says, "the coarse German was as yet too rude and barbarous to undertake to render those grand old Roman melodies." On the other hand, the Romans said that the singing of the Germans resembled the howling of wild beasts.

Singing-schools were established by Charlemagne at *Metz* and *Soissons*. The organ (*organum*) which the Greek Emperor, Constantine

¹ The denomination "*Mozarabic*" given to the liturgy, is derived from the *Mozarabs* themselves. *Roderic*, Archbishop of Toledo (†1245), derives this name in his *Hist. Hispan.* III., c. 22, from *Mixtiarabes*, eo quod mixti Arabibus convivebant; but better from *Arabi Mustaraba*, i. e., insititii, or naturalised Arabians, in contradistinction to *Arabi Araba*, or native Arabians. Cf. *Ed. Pocockii*, *Spec. hist. Arabum*, Oxon. 1650, p. 39. It is wrong to attribute the Mozarabic liturgy to *St. Isidore*. Cardinal *Ximenes* founded at Toledo a chapel, in which the divine service was performed according to the Mozarabic rite, and had the Missal printed at Toledo, 1500—the Breviary, 1502. *Leslei*, *Missale mixtum dictum Mozarabes*, Romæ, 1755, 2 T. 4to, in *Migne*, *Ser. Lat.*, T. 85, 86. Cf. *Prefationes*, 'tractatus, etc., in the Bollandists, T. III., p. 465-528, and *Acta SS. mens. Julii*, T. VI. *Martène*, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, lib. I., c. IV., art. XII. (T. I., p. 168-173.) *Hefele*, Cardinal *Ximenes*, p. 158 sq. (2nd ed., p. 147 sq.) *Gams*, *Ch. H. of Spain*, Vol. I., p. 103-117.

² *Monach. Engolism.*, additamentum ad An. Lauriss. a. 787:—Mox petit domnus rex Carolus ab Adriano papa cantores, qui Franciam corrigerent de cantu. (*Pertz*, T. I., p. 171.) Cf. *Varin*, *Des Altérations de la Liturgie Grégorienne en France avant le XIII. siècle*, Paris, 1852.

Copronymus, had given to Pepin, the father of Charlemagne, was used for sustaining the voices.

The *singing-schools* of *St. Gall*, and that conducted by *Guido* of *Arezzo* in the monastery of Pomposa, became specially famous, which, in the case of the latter, is to be chiefly ascribed to the invention of *musical notation* (after A. D. 1024) by its master, who thus became the second founder of ecclesiastical music, as Gregory the Great had been the first.¹

Great reverence and religious feeling, both in public worship and private devotions, were shown to *relics* of Christ and of the apostles and famous saints. The public sentiment in their favour went on increasing till it became necessary to check it² and put the faithful on their guard against persons who now, as on a former occasion, carried on a traffic in false relics. Properly authenticated ones rose to an enormous price,³ and were frequently purchased at great sacrifices. Thus, for example, *Henry I.*, by prayers, threats, and finally by the cession of a portion of Suabia, obtained from Rudolph of Burgundy a lance of exquisite workmanship, into which one of the nails of the cross had been ingeniously wrought. Again, the merchants of Venice paid an exorbitant sum for the body of *St. Mark* (A. D. 327). These relics were placed under altars and in costly shrines, or preserved in elaborately and artistically wrought cases, called *Reliquaries*. They were carried in public processions, exposed when devotions were held to obtain some blessing or avert some calamity, and used in the administration of oaths.

An analogous feeling in favour of *pilgrimages* was developed among all orders of society. Troops of pilgrims set out from every quarter for *Jerusalem* and *Rome*, for *Tours* in France, *Compostella* in Spain, and *St. Gall* in Switzerland, either to expiate past and grievous sins, to beg new and special graces of God, or to stir up their faith and set their devotion aglow.

¹ *Schubiger*, The Singing-school of St. Gall, Einsiedeln, 1858. *Guido* once, while chanting with the monastery choir a hymn in honour of St. John, was struck with the gradual and regularly ascending tones of the opening syllabic sounds of each hemistich, in the three first verses :—

Ut queant laxis
Mi-ra gestorum
Sol-ve polluti

re-sonare fibris
Ja-muli tuorum
la-bii reatum, etc.

And with the intuitive foresight of genius, he instantly comprehended the fitness of these sounds to form a new and perfect system of solfeggio. *Chambers' Cyclopæd.* (Tr.) *Guido* explains his new theory most fully in his *Micrologus de Disciplina Artis Musicæ*. See *Freiburg Eccl. Cyclopæd.*, Vol. IV., p. 817-819. French transl., Vol. 10., p. 193-195.

² At *Vendôme*, a holy tear of Christ was venerated. Cf. *Thiers*, Dissertation sur la sainte larme de Vendôme, Paris, 1699, 12mo. *Mabillon*, Œuvres Posthumes, T. II., p. 361 sq.; at *Reichenau*, Sanguis Christi (cf. *Herman. Contract.* ad an. 923. The account given in *Mone's Collections* of the sources of the history of the Grand Duchy of Baden, Vol. I., p. 67-77, is a faithful reprint, according to *Mabillon*, Annal. III. 699, and *Pertz*, T. VI., p. 146 sq.); the Sacred Blood is also preserved at *Bruges*, in West Flanders, and in the monastery of *Weingarten*, in Würtemberg. On the trial of fire for the relics, see *Mabillon*, De probatione reliquiarum per ignem, after his liber de cultu SS. ignotorum, and the *Analect.*, ed. II., p. 568 sq.

³ Cf. *Sigbert. Gemblac.* Ad. an. 929.

§ 202 Ecclesiastical Discipline.

Regino, Abbas. Prümien., de *Disciplina Eccles. Veterum præsertim Germanor.*, libb. II., see above, § 139. *Libri Pœnitentiales*, in *Muratori*, Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, T. V., p. 719. Also partly in *Martène*, De Antiquis Eccl. Ritibus, lib. I., c. VI.: "De ritibus ad sacrament. pœnit. spectantibus" (ed. *Bassani*, 1788, T. I., p. 259 sq.) *Wasserschleben*, Penitentiary Ordinances, etc., see above, p. 162.

During the three centuries whose history we are relating everything was upheaved and in confusion. There were but faint traces of science, religion, and morality; human works and institutions had gone to ruin; the Gospel and the Church were indeed still what they had always been, but they stood solitary amid the wreck of a former civilisation, and to again resume their sway over the minds of men and make good the claims of their authority upon the obedience of society, required a stern discipline and the application of potent and extraordinary remedies. The Church could not hold the same language in speaking to these rude, untutored, and stubborn barbarians that she had formerly addressed to the polished Greek and law-abiding Roman. But, in speaking of these times, care should be taken not to condemn in the same terms all ages and countries. The ninth century was unlike the tenth, and this, again, unlike the eleventh; and so with the different States of Europe. For example, during the reign of Louis the Mild,¹ the spiritual and temporal powers, though not identical, were in some instances in accord—the two mutually assisting and supporting each other.

Like his father, Charlemagne, Louis the Mild commanded counts to render assistance to bishops, and bishops to lend the weight of their authority to counts—the two orders, as the Emperor goes on to explain, being equally sharers in the governing office (*ministerium*) committed by divine appointment to the kings of the earth.

The later Carlovingians made frequent attempts to carry out in practice the theory of the mutual interdependence of the two orders, but with indifferent success. Bishops could not now, as formerly, count upon the adoption of their enactments, and the kings of the countries embraced by the old Frankish Empire no longer possessed either consideration or authority. Hence, if the Church was not to allow the rich harvest now ready for the sickle to pass through her hands without housing it, there was need of quick and energetic work. In the presence of a dissolute clergy and a lawless laity, such as then stood ranged against her, there was a call upon her, if she would combat with any hope of success, for more serious earnestness

¹ *Capitulare*, ann. 823, c. 6: *Vobis vero comitibus dicimus vosque commonemus, quia ad vestrum ministerium maxime pertinet, ut reverentiam et honorem sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ exhibeatis, et cum Episcopis vestris concorditer vivatis, et eis adiutorium ad suum ministerium peragendum præbeatis, et ut vos ipsi in ministeriis vestris pacem et justitiam faciatis, etc.* C. 9: *Episcopis iterum, abbatibus et vassis nostris et omnibus fidelibus laicis dicimus, ut comitibus ad justitias faciendas adiutores sitis.* C. 10: *Episcopi vero vel comites et ad invicem et cum cæteris fidelibus concorditer vivant et ad sua ministeria peragenda vicissim sibi adiutorium ferant*

and a more determined resolution than she had ever before displayed, and for such vigilant and comprehensive legislation as would map out and include within its range every important interest at stake.

Neither did the Church mistake the times nor misapprehend her mission. While popes at times carried themselves as dictators in their dealings with bishops and laymen, bishops, on the other hand, pursued and punished offenders and criminals beyond the reach of civil justice. What bishops did in the case of laymen of inferior degree, the Church did in regard of those who put in practice what is now called the "religion of force;" who asserted the *right of the stronger*; whom no secular power dared oppose; and who, if permitted to go on, would confuse all order and destroy all security.

The bishops of Southern France, seizing upon a most opportune moment (A. D. 1031), when the country, having passed through several years (A. D. 1029-1031) of famine, was in the enjoyment of a year of plenty, as extraordinary under the circumstances as it was unexpected, and when the people were in a frame of mind to make atonement for past sins, and return thanks for present blessings, made a successful effort to suppress the violent disorders which had now become universal. Many councils, held at this time, appealed to the people at large to observe the *peace*. The cry of "Peace! Peace!" was caught up and borne from mouth to mouth, till the whole nation rang with its echo; and such was the transport of the people, in this outburst of religious enthusiasm, that many entertained the hope that the age of war and violence was passing away, and that *peace would reign for ever*. All arms were put aside, and enemies sought out each other to forgive and be forgiven. People laid upon themselves the obligation of fasting on Fridays and Saturdays, and promised under oath to be always faithful to this practice.

But such rigour, introduced so suddenly, was beyond the strength and far in advance of the intelligence of the age, and, consequently, the most that could be done under the circumstances was to insist on the observance of the *canonical Truce of God*, which extended from *Wednesday evening* of one week to *Monday morning* of the next.¹ On

¹ Several bishops made the first attempt to suppress private feuds, at the *Council of Limoges*, 994. (*Bouquet*, T. X., p. 147; cf. 172, 227, 379.) King Robert at the *Council of Arles*, (1016), de pace componenda. (*Fulberti Carnot.* ep. 21 ad Robert. *Bouquet*, T. X., p. 454.) The bishops of Aquitaine, at the *second Council of Limoges*, in the year 1031. (*Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 530 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 853 sq.) While here were heard, but in general, the words "*peace, peace*," it was, according to *Glaber Radulph*, Lib. V., c. 1, only in 1041, that the *peace of God* was instituted. Anno 1041 contigit, inspirante divina gratia, primitus in partibus Aquitanicis. deinde paulatim per universum Galliarum territorium, firmari pactum propter timorem Dei pariter et amorem: taliter ut nemo mortalium a feriâ quartâ vespere usque ad secundam feriam incipiente luce, ausu temerario præsumeret quippiam alicui hominum per vim auferre, neque ultionis vindictam a quocunque inimico exigere, nec etiam a fideiussore vadimonium sumere: quod si ab aliquo contigisset contra hoc decretum publicum, aut de vita componeret, aut a Christianorum consortio expulsus patria pelleretur. Hoc insuper placuit universis, veluti vulgo dicitur, ut *Tregua Domini* vocaretur: quæ videlicet non solum humanis fulta præsidii, verum etiam multotiens divinis suffragata terroribus. Contigit enim, ut dum pene per totas Gallias hoc statutum firmiter custodiretur, Neustriæ gens illud suscipere recu-

the intervening days, which were commemorative of the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, all violence was prohibited, and the proceedings of the courts of Judicature suspended. This was a great point gained, inasmuch as it prepared public opinion for the introduction (A. D. 1041) of the *Peace of God* (*treuga or trevia Dei*), which was in force in the interval of every week, between *Thursday* and *Sunday*; during *Adrent* and Christmas-tide, until after the octave of the Epiphany; during *Lent* and the Easter-cycle, until after the octave of Pentecost, and on every fast-day throughout the year.¹ Whoever refused to submit to the restrictions of the *Peace*, incurred the ban of the Church. That a true Christian could have recourse to violence, or indulge in acts of vindictive enmity, on feast-days, or in holy seasons sacred to the memory of the Redemption, was regarded as something beyond the limits of possibility. But in order that the Peace of God might henceforth have the force of law, and be religiously observed, those who broke it, or became guilty of other grave crimes, were, besides incurring former *excommunications*, laid under *interdict*. This not only affected the individual person of the offender, but was frequently extended to particular districts and whole provinces. The first example we have of the declaration and *execution* of an interdict was in the case of the county of Limoges (A. D. 1031), where the knights refused to observe the restrictions of the Peace of God.²

The condition of a country laid under interdict was most distressing. None but ecclesiastics, beggars, and children under the age of two years, were entitled to Christian burial; Holy Communion was permitted only to those in danger of death; the divine offices were performed with closed doors and on naked altars and before veiled crucifixes; marriages could not be blessed; the use of flesh meat was prohibited; both ecclesiastics and laics were forbidden to trim their hair; in a word, everything, down to the minutest articles of dress, betokened a season of *mourning* and *penance*.

As regards *penitential discipline*, in the strictest sense of the terms, public penance had long since³ been discontinued, except in the case of public crimes.⁴ The ancient penitential rules had ceased to be

saret.—Deinde quoque occulto Dei judicio cœpit desævire in ipsorum plebibus divina ultio: consumsit enim mortifer ardor multos, etc. (*Bouquet*, T. X., p. 59.) *Kluckhohn*, Hist. of the Peace of God, Lps. 1857. *Semichon*, La Paix et la Trêve de Dieu, Paris, 1857. † *Fehr*, The Peace of God and the Cath. Church in the M. A., Augsburg, 1861. *Giesebrecht*, Hist. of the Period of German Emperors, Vol. II., p. 305 sq. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. IV., in several places. Cf. Register, sub verbo, Treuga Dei.

¹ *Conc. Claramont.*, a. 1095, can. 14: Quod ab adventu Domini usque ad octavas Epiphaniæ, et a septuagesima usque ad octavas Pentecostes, et a quarta feria occidente sole omni tempore usque ad secundam feriam oriente sole, trevia Dei custodiat. (*Mansi*, T. XX., p. 904. Cf. below can. 8-10, p. 913; *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., p. 1737.)

² At the second Council of Limoges, in the year 1031. (*Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 541. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 884.) *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. IV., pp. 662, 663; cf. p. 606.

³ See Vol. I., p. 511, and § 169.

⁴ As to the necessity of a particular confession of sins, we but remind the reader of the *Conc. Cabillon.* II., can. 32: Quia constat hominem ex duabus esse substantiis, anima videlicet et corpore,—solerti indagazione debent inquiri ipsa peccata, ut ex utrisque plena sit

observed, except in such places as still retained the *synodal courts of judicature*, and even here they were so modified as to meet and provide for cases occurring under the changed circumstances of the age. *Eriarth*, a monk who had killed a priest, was condemned by the Pope to twelve years of penance; during the first three of which he was obliged to stand with the weepers at the door of the church; during the fifth and sixth, he was admitted among the hearers, but forbidden to receive Holy Communion; and during the remaining seven, he was allowed to approach the Holy Table, but denied the privilege of presenting an offering. The Eighth Œcumenical Council enacted that the adherents of Photius should undergo the following public penance: They were to spend two years outside the church-door, among the weepers; two years among the class of catechumens admitted as hearers; and through all these years they were not permitted the use of flesh-meat or wine, except on Christmas Day and Sundays. The three subsequent years they were to spend among the standers (*consistentes*), fast three days in the week, and approach the Holy Table only on the feasts of our Saviour.

Guido, Archbishop of *Milan*, was condemned by Peter Damian to a penance of one hundred years,¹ with the privilege, however, of commuting each year into a certain sum of money, to be spent for the benefit of either the Church or the poor.

But these severe penances gradually gave way to the use of *indulgences* and the doing of good works; and pilgrimages were, little by little, substituted instead of the harsh and protracted penitential exercises of earlier years.² While the penitential code was thus being relaxed, quite a contrary tendency, which often carried those under its influence beyond all reasonable severity, was setting in. A class of penitents, who kept up *long watches* and *flogged* themselves mercilessly, was under the lead of *Peter Damian* and his disciple, *Dominic Loricatus* ("clad in a cuirass," † A. D. 1062), who inspired

confessio : sc. ut ea confiteantur, quæ per corpus gesta sunt, et ea, quibus in sola cogitatione delinquitur. (*Harduin*, T. IV., p. 1037. *Mansi*, T. XIV., p. 99). Cf. can. 25 on public penance : Pœnitentiam agere juxta antiquam canonem constitutionem in plerisque locis ab usu recessit:—ut a domino imperatore impetretur adjutorium, qualiter si quis publice peccat, publica mulctetur pœnitentia et secundum ordinem canonum merito suo excommunicetur et reconcilietur. Of like import is *Conc. Mogunt.* a. 847, can. 31 : Modus tempusque pœnitentiæ peccata sua confitentibus aut per antiquorum canonum institutionem, aut per sanctorum scripturarum auctoritatem, aut per ecclesiasticam consuetudinem imponi debet a sacerdotibus, etc.

¹ *Petri Damian.*, Ep. ad Hildebr. : Centum itaque annorum sibi pœnitentiam indidi redemptionemque ejus taxatam per unumquemque annum pecunia quantitate præfixi. (*Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 893.)

² *Petri Damian.*, Ep. ad V. Episc., in *Baron.* ad a. 1055, nr. 6 : Non ignoras, quia cum a pœnitentibus terras, possessiones agrorum videlicet accipimus, juxta mensuram muneris eis de quantitate pœnitentiæ relaxamus, sicut scriptum est : "Divitiæ hominis redemptio ejus;" and already in *Regino*, De Disc. Eccl., lib. II., c. 438, it is said : *De redemptionis pretio* : Si quis forte non potuerit jejunare et habuerit, unde possit redimere; si dives fuerit, pro VII. hebdomadis det solidos XX., si non habuerit tantum, unde dare possit, det solidos X. Sed attendat unusquisque, cui dare debeat, sive pro redemptione captivorum, sive supra st. altare, sive Dei servis, seu pauperibus in elemosyna.

them with the desire of expiating the sins of the world.¹ Such of the Christians as were not inclined to the side of severity went to Rome to obtain from the Pope a release from the heavy penances laid upon them by their bishops. The bishops, on the other hand, and several councils² protested against this practice, and insisted that penitents before setting out upon a pilgrimage to Rome, should have performed the penances laid upon them by priests, and that, in any event, permission to go to Rome should be obtained from the bishop.

Owing to the fuller development of ecclesiastical discipline, the following censures and punishments had now passed into general use: 1. *Excommunication*, which might entail, according to circumstances, either partial or entire exclusion from ecclesiastical communion and civil society, and was hence divided into the *greater* and *lesser* (excommunicatio major et minor); 2. *Anathema*, which was specially directed against heretics formally declared to be such; and, 3. *Interdict*, which was either local or personal, general or particular.

The effect in that age of the greater excommunication may be seen from the instance of *King Robert*, who, after sentence had been passed upon him, was deserted by everyone, with the exception of two servants. Like St. Paul,³ the Church tempered severity with indulgence; and like him, too, she would "that the sinner should be delivered up to Satan, to mortify his flesh and to save his soul in the day of judgment," until he should be prepared to do penance and make satisfaction to the Church of God for having outraged her majesty.

CHAPTER V.

THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND HERESIES.

§ 203. *Theological Literature—Works and their Authors.*

† *Launojii*, De Scholis celebriorib. sub Carolo M. et post eundem Carol. per Occidentem instauratis liber., Par., 1672, with *Mabillonii*, Iter Germ. ed. *Fabricius*, Hamb., 1718. *Thomassini*, Vet. et Nova Eccl. Disciplina, Pt. II., lib. I., c. 96-100. *Braun*, O. S. B., De pristinis Benedictorum Scholis, Monach., 1845 (Programme). *Haase*, De Medii Ævi studiis philologicis, Vratisl., 1856 (Programme).

¹Already in *Regino*, L. c., lib. II., c. 443, it is said: Quidam dixerunt, triduanas agere in verberibus et vigiliis insistendo triduum; c. 45, pro uno die in autumnno, hieme, vel verno C. percussiones vel psalmos L., in æstate psalterium vel percussiones. As a voluntary acceptance of such a penance, we read in *Petrus Damian*, Ep. ad Blancam comitissam, concerning Dominic Loricatus: Hujus st. semis exemplo faciendæ disciplinæ mos in nostris partibus inolevit, ut non modo viri, sed et nobiles mulieres hoc purgatorii genus inhiante arriperent. *Petr. Damian*, De laudibus flagellorum. (Epp. T. III., lib. IV., ep. 21; lib. VI., ep. 33.) Cf. *Boileau*, Hist. flagellantium.

²*Ahito*, Episc. Basil. in capitular. a. 820, c. 18: Et hoc omnibus fidelibus denuntiandum, ut qui causa orationis ad limina beatorum Apostolorum pergere cupiunt, domi confiteantur peccata sua et sic proficiantur, qui a proprio episcopo aut sacerdote ligandi aut ersolvendi sunt, non ab extraneo. *Conc. Salistad.* a. 1022, c. 18. *Gerbert* wrote in the name of *Adalbero*, Archbishop of Rheims, to the noble Baldwin, who had been excommunicated for having abandoned his wife, and who therefore turned his steps towards Rome: Nihil tibi profuerit, Romam adisse, Dominum papam mendacii delusisse, cum Paulus dicat: Si quis vobis aliud evangelizaverit præter id quod accepistis, anathema. Estote, ergo vobiscum divinarum legum defensores

³1 Cor. v. 5.

Hock, Gerbert or Sylvester II., p. 24-59. *Hefele*, Scientific state of South-western Germany and Northern Switzerland during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, Tübing. Quart., year 1838, nro. 2, with many additions in his Contrib. to Ch. H., Vol. I., p. 279-315. *Bähr*, Hist. of the Roman Liturgy in the Carlovingian age, Carlsruhe, 1840. The works of *Du Pin*, Biblioth. des auteurs ecclés. des IXème, Xème and XIème siècles. *Cave*, Hist. Script. Eccles. *Oudin*, Commentar. de Script. Eccles., T. II.; Hist. litt. de la France, T. IV.-VI. Also, The works of *Busse* and *Ceillier*.

So complete and thorough had been the labours of Charlemagne for the advancement of science that, when he had passed away, they continued to bear abundant fruit, which neither the wars of his children and grandchildren, nor the still more disastrous dissensions of the succeeding generation, nor the incursions of Normans, Slaves, and Saracens, could wholly destroy. But, even after his death, efficient measures were adopted to insure the advancement and success of schools. Bishops were obliged by conciliar enactments to erect schools and give a statement of their quality and efficiency to their metropolitans in provincial synods.¹ The cause was ably supported by Pope *Leo IV.* in Central, and by *Lothaire*, in Frankish Italy. *King Alfred* of England (A. D. 871-901) was sent to France (A. D. 883) to obtain scholars to aid him in his work of education. His country, which had formerly abounded in flourishing schools, had been laid waste by the ravages of the Danes, and he was now forced to look abroad for men possessing the requisite qualifications to undertake the work of teaching.

John, the Old Saxon, came from the monastery of Corvey, and the provost *Grimbald* from Rheims. With their assistance, Alfred founded, or rather restored, the famous school of Oxford.

Favoured by the interval of peace that followed the treaty of Verdun, and encouraged by the literary tastes of *Charles the Bald*, the sciences revived for a season² in France, and the schools mentioned in a preceding paragraph³ again flourished. A great cluster of brilliant scholars threw a halo of glory about the Frankish Empire in the days of its decline.

¹ Capitul. a. 823, c. 5: Scholæ sane ad filios et ministros ecclesiæ instruendos vel edocendos, sicut nobis præterito tempore ad Attiniacum promissistis et vobis injunximus, in congruis locis, ubi necdum perfectum est, ad multorum utilitatem et profectum a vobis ordinari non negligantur. (*Balz*, T. I., p. 430.) *Conc. Paris. VI.*, a. 829, lib. I., c. 30: Sed super hoc ejusdem principis (Ludovici) admonitione, immo jussione a nonnullis rectoribus tepide et desidiose hactenus actum est. Unde omnibus nobis visum est, ut abhinc postposita totius corporis negligentia, ab omnibus diligentior in educandis et erudiendis militibus Christi et vigilantior adhibeatur diligentia; et quando ad provinciale Episcoporum concilium conventum fuerit, unusquisque rectorum, sicut jam in præcedentibus memoratum est, scholasticos suos eidem concilio adesse faciat, ut suum solers studium circa divinum cultum omnibus manifestum fiat. (*Harduin*, T. IV., p. 1316; *Mansi*, T. XIV., p. 588.) And lib. III., c. 12, it is said in the ep. ad Ludov. Imperat: Similiter obnixè ac suppliciter vestræ celsitudini suggerimus, ut mortem paternum sequentes, saltem in tribus congruentissimis imperii vestri locis scholæ publicæ (higher institutions of learning) et vestra auctoritate fiant: ut labor patris vestri et vester per incuriam, quod absit, labefactando non pereat, quoniam ex hoc facto et magna utilitas et honor st. Dei ecclesiæ et vobis magnum mercedis emolumentum et memoria sempiterna accrescet. (*Harduin*, IV., p. 1356; *Mansi*, T. IV., p. 599.)

² *Staudenmaier*, Scot. Erigena, Vol. I., p. 151-159.

³ See § 172, sub fine.

Agobard, Archbishop of *Lyon*s († A. D. 841), attacked every sort of superstition—sometimes, indeed, in unmeasured terms, but always with point and energy. He was remarkable for breadth of view, boldness in expressing, and clearness in setting forth his views and opinions, and for the strength and vigour of his style. But he was withal a hard-headed man and a severe reasoner, impatient of whatever was simply ideal or a matter of feeling.¹ *Claudius* of *Turin* was of a character still more bold and aggressive.²

Rabanus Maurus, Abbot of *Fulda*, and, after the year 847, Archbishop of *Mentz* († February 4, A. D. 856), a man of universal information, and as rigorous in pursuing scientific researches as he was severe in his moral conduct and mode of life, was the creator of the scholastic institutions of Germany.³ Yet his purpose was not so much to give to the world the results of original investigation and research as to promote the cause of education and contribute to the diffusion of knowledge, by placing before his contemporaries whatever was of importance or interest in antiquity. An idea of the degree of scientific culture then existing among the clergy, and of their method of viewing and treating scientific subjects, may be had from his tripartite work entitled "*De Institutione Clericorum*." The first two parts contain, in an abridged form, the liturgical, pastoral, biblical, literary, and artistic information requisite for a priest in the discharge of the offices of his ministry; while the third part treats the question of *clerical education at length*, explains the "*seven liberal arts*" in very nearly the same words used by *St. Augustine*, and concludes with some observations on the value of ancient philosophy. That this work, written by its author originally "for the instruction of his own scholars and their pupils," exercised a great and beneficial influence upon all the cloister-schools of the Frankish Empire, there can be no doubt. He also gave in his work, "*De Universo*," a sort of universal encyclopædia of the knowledge of his age. He richly deserved the fine eulogium of *Trithemius*, who said "*that no German who went before Maurus could at all approach him in finished scholarship*."

His disciple, *Walafried Strabo*, Abbot of *Reichenau* († A. D. 849), is the author of some good Latin poems, a work on liturgy, lives of

¹ *Agobardi*, Opuscula (*Galland*., T. XIII., p. 405 sq.; max. bibl., T. IX., p. 234 sq.), ed. *Baluz*., Par 1666, 2 v. 8. *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 104. Cf. *Hundeshagen*, *De Agobardi vita et scriptis*, Giss., 1832.

² *Claudii Taurini*., *Fragm.*; complete commentar. in ep. St. Pauli ad Galatas (max. bibl., T. XIV., p. 139 sq. *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 104. Cf. thereon the preceding observations, *ibid.*, p. 134 sq. *Mabillon*, *Vet. Analecta*, p. 90). *Rudelbach*, *Claudii medic. op.*, specimina, Havn. 1824.

³ *Rabani Mauri*, *Opp.* Commentaries on many parts of the Bible, homilies; de Clericor. institutione et ceremoniis eccl., libb. III.; de sacris ordinib.; de universo; de sacramentis divinis et vestimentis sacerdot.; de disciplina eccl., libb. III.), ed. *Colvenerius*, Colon., 1627, 6 T., f., with *Joh. Trithemii*, *Vita Rabani*; in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 107-112. Conf. *Kunstmann*, *Rabanus Magnentius Maurus*, Mentz, 1841. *Bach*, *On Rabanus Maurus*, Creator of the scholastic Institutions of Germany (Programme), Fulda, 1855. *Spengler*, *The Life of St. Rhab. Maur.* for his millenary jubilee, Ratisbon, 1856.

some of the saints, written in a pleasing and graceful style, and numerous *exegetical* writings of much service to his own and succeeding generations.¹ *Haymo*, Bishop of Halberstadt († A. D. 853), well known as the author of a Church History, left also some works on exegesis characterised by considerable independence of thought.² *Druthmar*, "the Grammarian," a monk of the monastery of Corbie, who had gained some reputation as a Greek and Hebrew scholar (C. A. D. 850), and *Angelomus*, a Benedictine of Luxeuil, both wrote commentaries on the Scriptures, of considerable merit for that age.³

These exegetical studies, though pursued in the Latin language, were not without their influence upon German literature. Poetical works, based upon the Scripture narrative, and drawing their inspiration from it, soon began to make their appearance. The first and most important of these is the Gospel epic entitled the "*Heliand*" (Heiland, or Saviour), written in the reign of Louis the Mild. It is a life of Christ, based on the history of the four Gospels, and written in the elevated language of the epic so familiar to the Anglo-Saxons, and in the form of alliteration. Christ is represented as "*Droste*," or governor; the Apostles as "*Recken*," or heroes; and Peter as a remarkably shrewd old gentleman. This is the only truly Christian epic ever written, and is still without a rival in sublimity of conception and elevated religious sentiment. It is, as it were, the outcome and expression of "*Christianity transformed into the blood and life of the Germans.*"

In *Upper Germany*, about thirty years later, *Otfried*, a monk of the monastery of Weissenburg in Alsace (A. D. 865), wrote a poetical paraphrase of the Gospels, which, while inferior in grandeur of conception to the *Heliand*, is in other respects very similar to its "*thaz wir Kriste sungun in unsera Zungun.*"⁴

¹ De exordiis et incrementis rerum ecclesiasticar. (*Hittorp*, Scriptt. de divin. officiis); commentar. in Psalmos; glossa ordinaria interlinearis in biblia, vitæ St. Galli, Othmari, et alior., in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 113-115. Cf. *König*, Walafrid Strabo, see above, p. 104, n. 3. *Hefele*, L. c., p. 229-232.

² *Haymon*, Opp., in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 116-118. Cf. *Derling*, De Haymone, Helmst., 1747, 4to; Hist. lit. de la France, T. V., p. 111-126; *Liverani*, Spicilegium Librarian., Florent., 1865, p. 207-534.

³ *Druthmari*, Expositio in Matthæum, Lucam et Joannem. (Max. bibl., T. XV.; *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 106). *Druthmar* says that he wrote this "Expositio" because St. Jerome had omitted to explain many terms, deeming them easy of comprehension, whereas, in matter of fact, they were not. The same writer gives the following explanation of his method of exegesis: Studui plus historicum sensum quam spirituales, quia irrationabile mihi videtur spirituales intelligentiam in libro aliquo querere et historicam penitus ignorare, cum historia fundamentum omnis intelligentie sit, et ipsa primitus querenda et amplexanda et sine ipsa perfecte ad alia non possit transiri. *Angelomi*, Comment. in Genesin; enarrationes in IV. libros regum, in Cantica canticorum. (Max. bibl., T. XV.)

⁴ *Heliand*, an ancient Saxon Harmony of the Gospels. edited by *Schmeller*, Munich, 1830; by *Köne*, in its original text, with translation, annotations, and index of words, Münster, 1855; transl. by *Simrock*, Elberfeld, 1856; by *M. Meyne*, Paderborn, 1866. By the same, with an exhaustive glossary, Paderborn, 1873. Cf. *Wilmr*, Hist. of Germ. Nat. Lit., Vol. I., at the beginning.—*Otfried's* Christ, ed. by *Graff*, Königsberg, 1856; by *J. Kelle*, Ratisbon, 1856-1857, 2 vols. Cf. *Behringer*, Krist and Heliand, Berl., 1870.

Hincmar,¹ Archbishop of Rheims (A. D. 882), who was an excellent canonist, has left many controversial writings and letters, chiefly local in character, and put forth as occasion required, but valuable as contributions to the history of his age.

Paschasius Radbertus († A. D. 865) wrote commentaries on various portions of the Holy Scriptures,² and is the author of an exposition of the *Blessed Eucharist*, in which he sets forth the doctrine of its connection with the Incarnation, and its legitimate consequences with great accuracy and precision, but in terms unfamiliar to theologians. He was bitterly assailed by many of the disciples of Alcuin for this departure from accepted philological usage. *Anastasius the Librarian*, a Roman priest († A. D. 886), compiled the lives of a number of Popes, to which he added others of his own composition.³ *Halitgar*,⁴ Archbishop of Cambrai and Arras, had acquired a well-earned reputation, years before any of the writers whom we have thus far mentioned, by his admirable treatise on the administration of the Sacrament of Penance.

Passing by the numerous annalists and chroniclers, we shall mention only the celebrated historian *Theganus*, chorepiscopus of Hectus, Archbishop of Treves († A. D. 849), *Einhard* († after A. D. 848), *Rapert* of St. Gall († before A. D. 880), the author who goes under the name of *Monachus Sangallensis* (Notker?) (c. A. D. 884), and finally, one who excites a greater interest than almost any other man of his age. We mean the illustrious and learned head of the Palatine School of Charles the Bald.

JOHN SCOTUS ERIGENA.⁵

Little is known of the personal history of this man; neither the place of his birth (England, Ireland, or Scotland?), nor the master

¹ *Hincmar*, Liber de prædestinatione; de divortio Lotharii; de jure metropolitanorum; de presbyteris criminosis; opusculum ss. capitulorum adv. Hincmar. Laudun, etc., in opp. ed. *Sirmond.*, Par., 1645, 2 T., f. Migne, Ser. Lat., T. 125, 126. Cf. *Flodoard.*, Hist. Rem., lib. III., c. 15-29, and Hist. littér. de la France, T. V., p. 455 sq.

² *Paschasii Radb.*, Commentar. in evang. Matth., lib. XII. (Max. bibl., T. XIV.), expositio in Ps. 44. (Max. bibl., T. XIV.; *Migne's Ser. Lat.*, T. 127-129.)

³ See Vol. I., p. 29, note 1.

⁴ *Halitgarii*, De vitiis et virtutibus et ordine Penitentium, lib. V. (Max. bibl., T. XIV., p. 906 sq. *Canisii*, Lectt. Antiq., T. II., Pt. II., p. 81 sq.)

⁵ *Scoti Erigena.*, Lib. de divina prædestinatione ctr. Godeschalcum, ed. *Maignan.*, Par., 1600, 4to. His principal work, De Divisione Naturæ, ed. *Gale.*, Oxon., 1681, ed. *Schlüter*, Monast., 1838, was condemned by *Leo IX.* (1050) and *Honorius III.* (1225) as heretical. *Honorius* characterises it as librum scatenentem veribus hæreticæ pravitatis; de Eucharistia is lost. Translation of the *Ethics* of *Aristotle* and of the writings of *Denys the Areopagite*, on the demand of Charles the Bald; *Erigena's* commentary on *Denys the Areopagite's Hierarchy Celestis*, discovered by *Doctor Greith*, and published in *Joan. Scotti*, Opera omnia, ed. *Floss*, in *Migne's Ser. Lat.*, T. 122, Paris, 1853. *Peder Hyort*, Johannes Scotus Erigena, Copenhagen, 1823. *Staudenmaier*, Joh. Scot. Erigena and the science of his time, but 1 vol., Freit., 1834. The same, Philosophy of Christianity, T. I., pp. 536-632. *Hock*, Joh. Scot. Erigena, Supplement to the Hist. of Christian Philosophy (*Bonn Review*, nro. 16, p. 33 sq.) *Taillandier*, Scote Erigène et la Philosophie Scholastique, Paris, 1843. † *Möller*, Joh. Scot. Erigena and his Errors, Mentz, 1844. De vita et præceptis *Joan. Scoti Erig.*, Bonnæ, 1845, and in *Floss*, L. c. Exhaustive treatises by

who trained him, nor the disciples formed by him, nor what manner of death brought his days to a close—whether murdered by a band of infuriated students at Oxford or Malmesbury (C. A. D. 883), or whether he came to his end in some less violent way—all is equally an enigma that has stimulated the curiosity and baffled the researches of scholars. He was the *first* man in the West, and the *only* one in any country for three centuries, who, travelling beyond the traditional limits of logic and dialectics, built up a strictly coherent system of metaphysics. But he was also fortunately the only writer of those times who was so far carried away by the beauty and charm of ancient Pagan learning as to lose sight of the fundamental truths of Christianity. *The essential difference between Creator and creature, between mind and matter*, was to his intellect hazy and uncertain.

Huber and Stöckl, after a careful analysis of his work, "*De Divisione Naturæ*," have pronounced it to be little more than an exposition of the *idealistic Pantheism* of the Neo-Platonists, with consequences equally far-reaching and startling.¹ The process by which everything is created and exists is *emanation*. This principle runs through everything. It is the basis of both cosmogony and theogony. "All is God, and God is all." The universal principle of Divinity is compared to a mighty river, which, flowing from its source, quickens all things in its course, and is returned to the fountain-head by exhalation and condensation, to be again poured forth in fresh and life-giving streams. The diffusion of the quickening principle throughout all things is called *resolution*. The gathering up of these scattered vital forces and the returning of them to their source is called *deification*. Hence, if man has fallen from his primitive condition, and strayed from God, it is but one phase of the universal economy of existences—one development of a transitional state that will eventually terminate in his return to God; and this law, running through all things, gradually works out the perfection of the Divinity. The law thus exemplified in the *fall* of man is equally applicable to the theogonic process, as is shown in the work of *redemption*.

Christlieb, *The Life and Doctrine of John Scot. Erig.*, Gotha, 1860. Huber, *John Scot. Erig.*, Munich, 1861. Stöckl, *Hist. of the Philos. of the Middle Ages*, Mentz, 1864, Vol. I., pp. 31-128.

¹The titles of the four sections of the work, "*De Divisione Naturæ*," are: "I. The substance that creates, and is not created; II. That which creates, and is created; III. That which is created, and creates not; IV. That which is neither created nor creates."

"He (Erigena) classifies all things as 'things that are' and 'things that are not,' the whole being included in the term nature. This nature is divided into four species, as: 1. The nature that creates, and is uncreate; 2. The nature that creates, and is create; 3. The nature that creates not, and is create; 4. The nature that creates not, and is uncreate. (1), Is the Divine Being, whose relation to the universe is so described as to lead straight to Pantheism; (2), is the world of prototypal ideas, having its principle of unity in the Logos, agreeably to the systems of Plato, Philo, and the Pseudo-Dionysius; (3), is the world of sense and its concentration in man, from whence Realism was afterwards developed; (4), return to God, by predestined decree, 'all things,' as proceeding forth from the divine existence, and returning into it, may be termed uncreate, as subsisting in the Absolute. . . . The germs of nearly every school of modern philosophy are foreshadowed in the writings of Erigena." *Blunt*, Dict. of Doct. and Hist. Theol., art. Pantheism, and Sects and Heresies, art. Schoolmen. (Tr.)

Erigena is at great pains to strengthen his theory by quotations from the writings of Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Denys the Areopagite, and Maximus among the Greeks, and from those of Ambrose and Augustine among the Latins. The words of these great authors are ingeniously worked up to suit his purpose and fit into his system. Erigena was the forerunner of the Pantheism of the Middle Ages, and of the heresy of Berengarius on the Eucharist; and his writings indirectly led the way to false theories on the relation of faith to science, on the nature of evil, and on predestination. From what has been said, it will scarcely be a matter of surprise that his works were in subsequent years frequently condemned.

But, in justice to Erigena, it must be said that his writings possess a certain elevation and grandeur, a freshness and originality, and a brilliancy that dazzle and please. He was an elegant Greek scholar, was perfectly familiar with the writings and systems of Greek philosophers, and with the works of the Fathers of the Church, both Greek and Latin; combined skill in method with a luminous exposition; and was frequently so full of his subject that he resorted to the form of soliloquy to give it adequate expression. He was also the forerunner of the mysticism of the Schoolmen, or the union of contemplative piety with scientific theology, and led off in the controversy on Universals. *Mannon*, the translator of Plato's *Timæus*, was also engaged in furthering the work of Erigena. Many *Greeks* and *Englishmen*, driven from their country—the former by the persecutions of the Iconoclasts, and the latter by the devastating incursions of the Danes—gathered about these two learned and zealous scholars.

After the death of Charles the Bald (A. D. 876), the influence of Charlemagne was no longer felt; and, until the accession of Otho I., Germany was the theatre of scenes of devastation and horror such as have never been witnessed from that age to our own. Science, driven from the courts of kings and the palaces of bishops, took refuge in the monasteries. Many of the Scots, fleeing from the old seats of learning, were hospitably received at the monastery of *St. Gall*, whose mountainous position secured it at once against the hostile attacks of enemies and the moral depravity of the age. Their presence and energy gave an impulse to the earnest efforts on behalf of science and art, to which so much prominence was given under the abbots *Solomon I.* (A. D. 839-871) and *Solomon III.* (A. D. 890-920). The reputation which the monastery thus acquired drew to its walls numerous scholars desirous of gaining the knowledge that was there imparted.¹ Similar spirit and energy in the cause of science were displayed at the neighbouring monasteries of *Reichenau* and *Hirschau*;² but, for all that, the bulk of

¹ Cf. *Dümmier*, The Formulary of B. Solomon III., Lps. 1857; *the same*, Memorials of St. Gall, from the times of the Carolingians, Lps., 1859.

² For details concerning all the following writers, see *Hefele's* Supplem. to Ch. II., where particulars may also be found on the branches taught, the method of teaching, and the libraries used. † *Kelcein*, Latin Sequences of the M.A., collected from Manuscripts and Prints, Meutz, 1873.

the writers of name during the tenth century belonged to St. Gall. Such were *Eccehard I.*, who received special marks of recognition from the Emperor Otho I. and Pope John XII. for his excellent religious canticles; *Eccehard II.*, whom Otho, upon the recommendation of *Hedwig*, the widow of Burkhard, Duke of Suabia, a lady equally remarkable for austerity of life and cultivation of mind, invited to court to direct the studies of his son, Otho II.; and finally, the learned *Eccehard III.*, a relative of the preceding Eccehard, and Dean of St. Gall. The fame of the monastery of St. Gall was greatly increased by the vast and varied acquirements and splendid reputation of two of its scholars. These were the two *Notkers*—the one a physician (*Physicus*), an author of sacred hymns, sequences, a painter, and a musician; the other (*Labeo*), the most learned German of the tenth century, was gifted with a versatility of talent, and was equally eminent as a theologian, a musician, a poet, a mathematician, an astronomer, and a philologist.

One of the songs composed by Notker *Balbulus*, entitled "*Media Vita*," became very popular, and his work "*De Interpretibus Divinarum Scripturarum*" long remained a valuable guide to the students of theology. A large debt of gratitude is also due to him for having in a measure cast his mother-tongue into scientific form, for he was the first to employ it in the treatment of scientific subjects († A. D. 1022). At the close of the tenth and the opening of the eleventh century, the fame formerly enjoyed by the monastery of Reichenau as a seat of learning was again restored by the monks *Burkhard* and *Rupert*, both poets, and by *Herman* the *Decrepit*. *Regino of Prüm* († A. D. 915) and *Burkhard*, Bishop of Worms († A. D. 1025), made new collections of decretals.

In the year 910 was founded the monastery of *Clugny*, which became for a time the custodian, and, later on, the fosterer of learning in France. Among the causes which mainly contributed at this time to the progress of learning were the labours of the monasteries of Germany; the efforts of the Saxon Emperors in its behalf and their taste for the creations of classical antiquity, which had been awakened and cultivated by their intercourse with Constantinople; and the zeal of many holy bishops. To these must be added the influence of the Arabian schools at *Cordova* (after the year 980), where special attention was given to the study of the natural sciences.

Both *Hock* and *Hefele* have shown, not by general assertions or doubtful inferences, but by actual citation of facts and names, that the tenth century, so often called the Age of Iron, the Age of Lead, and the Dark Age, is far from being as black as it is usually represented. They have shown that it is very important to make a distinction between the first and second half of the century, and that to form a judgment of the whole from the character of either of its parts would be to commit a grave

historical blunder.¹ Some idea of the mental culture of this century may be had from what we are told of the accomplished *Hroswitha* (Helena of Rossow, † A. D. 984), a nun of Gandershiem, who was an elegant Latin scholar—a language which, as she herself informs us, had been taught her *by ladies*—knew Greek moderately well, sang the exploits of Otho the Great in rhyming hexameters, and wrote comedies in the style of Terence.²

We should not here omit mention of the *School of Liège*, founded by Bishop *Nothar* († A. D. 1007), and by him placed under the direction of *Wazon*, a man in every way worthy of the charge, who afterwards became Bishop of Liège. This school was styled by contemporaries the nursery of learning, because of the number of bishops and scholars who were trained within its walls.³ Neither was *Italy* destitute of scholars during the tenth century. There was *Ratherius*, the austere Bishop of Verona and Liège († A. D. 974), who in his writings pursued the dissolute clergy of the age with vehement and relentless severity;⁴ *Atto*, Bishop of *Vercelli* (from A. D. 945), who constantly lamented the relaxation of discipline;⁵ and *Luitprand*, Bishop of *Cremona* (after A. D. 970), the author of a history containing a frightful picture of the depravity of the age; but the truthfulness of the statements given in this work is very much shaken by the looseness of his own life and his courtly servility.⁶

Among the *French* writers of this century was Canon *Flodoard*, the author of a history of the Church of Rheims.⁷ It is with feelings of pride that the historian mentions the name of *Gerbert*. In learning

¹ Angelus Politianus, Laurentius Valla, and even Baronius, judging the whole Church by the deplorable condition of the Apostolic See, have unquestionably drawn too dark a picture of the tenth century. A more enlightened and favourable judgment has been passed upon these years by *Du Pin*, *Biblioth. des auteurs ecclés.*, in the avertissement du siècle X.

² *Carmina Ottonis I.: Comœdiæ sacræ VI.* (Opp. ed. *Schurzfleisch*, Vit., 1794, 4to, ed. *Barack*, Norimb., 1858; *Comœd. VI.*, ed. *J. Bendixen*, Lubec., 1857. The letter alleged in *Mabillon*, *Annal. Bened.*, T. III., p. 547, and in *Stengel*, *Laud. Bened.*, p. 169, says of *Hroswitha*: *Græce et Latine doctissima, oratores dicendi arte supergressa, poetarum sui temporis nulli inferior*, etc. *Aschbach*, *Roswitha and Conrad Celtes*, Vienna, 1867, strangely questioned the genuineness of the works of *Hroswitha*, pretending that they were the fabrications of *Conrad Celtes*, who lived in the sixteenth century. As to the victorious refutation of *Barack*, *Ruland*, and *Köpke*, see *Reusch*, *Bonn Theol. Revue*, nro. 23, year 1869. *Hroswitha's* works in *Migne's Ser. Lat.*, Vol. 137.

³ Cf. *Gesta episcoporum. Leodiens.* (*Martene IV.*, p. 865.) **Alb. Thijm*, *Vazon, évêque de Liège et son temps*, Brux., 1862 (revue Belge et étrangère). *Höfler*, *German Popes*, Pt. II., p. 381 sq.

⁴ *Ratherius*, *De contemptu canonum; apologia sui ipsius; de discordia inter ipsum et clericos; meditationum cordis s. præloquior.*, libb. VI. and epp. IV. (Opp. edd. *Ballerini*, Veron. 1756, f.) Cf. *Engelhardt*, on *Ratherius* (*Treatise of Church History*, nro. 5). *Vogel*, *Ratherius of Verona and the tenth century*, Jena, 1854.

⁵ *Atto Vercell.*, *De pressuris ecclesiast.*, libb. III.; *collectio canonum*; epp. XI. (*d'Achéry*, *Spicileg.*, ed. II., T. I., in *Migne's Ser. Lat.*, T. 134).

⁶ Cf. *Wattenbach*, *Sources of the Hist. of Germ.* 2nd ed., p. 264. *Gregorovius*, *Hist. of the City of Rome*, Vol. III., pp. 273-274.

⁷ *Flodoardi*, *Historia Ecclesie Rhemensis* (in 948), ed. *Colvenerius*, Duaci, 1617. He also wrote a *chronicon sive annales*, from 877 to 966. *Bouquet*, T. V., and in *Migne, Ser. Lat.*, T. 135.)

and finished scholarship, for which he was partly indebted to the Arabs, he was far in advance of his age.¹ A copious, original, and elegant writer, he was equally conversant with *mathematics, astronomy, and the natural sciences*, and with the *Bible, the Fathers, and the Sacred Canons*. These latter were the sources whence he drew the principles of his dogmatical, moral, and disciplinary teaching. He was so enamoured of philosophy that he deemed it, equally with faith, a divine gift. He was also a close student of rhetoric, and published a text-book on the subject. The fame of his marvellous learning reached the remotest corners of France and Germany, and raised the *School of Rheims* to a height of reputation which it was unable to sustain when he had passed away, and was never again able to reach. His name, his labours, and his zeal gave a fresh impulse to study and drew to his side a numerous and enthusiastic band of disciples († A. D. 1003). The most illustrious of these was *Fulkert of Chartres* († A. D. 1029), who, if he contributed little to science and literature by his own writings, has the honour and merit of having trained talented and accomplished scholars who contributed much. Another of the disciples of Gerbert was *Berengarius of Tours*, whom we shall again have occasion to mention when we come to speak of his discussion with *Lanfranc* (who became Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1070) in the second controversy on the Eucharist. We have already seen how powerful an influence was exercised in Italy by *Peter Damian* in restoring the morals and discipline of the clergy. Trained in the austere discipline of the monastery of Fonte-Avellana, and in its severe and exact course of studies, he was specially fitted for this difficult task. His writings, which are chiefly directed against the simony and immorality of the priesthood, and are grave and ascetical in character, show an extensive knowledge of Holy Scriptures, of the writings of the Fathers, and of the Canons of the Church († A. D. 1072).²

Side by side with the cloister-schools of *Fulda* and *Hildesheim*, there flourished in Northern Germany, during the first half of the eleventh century, the celebrated *school of Paderborn*, founded by Bishop *Meinwerk*³ (A. D. 1009-1036). *Herman* of Reichenau, surnamed *Contractus*, on account of bodily deformity, is praised by *Trithemius*, a writer usually well informed, as a philosopher, an astronomer, a

¹ For editions of his works, see above, p. 225, note 1. Conf. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, T. VI., p. 577. *Hock*, Gerbert, or Pope Sylvester II. and his Age, Vienna, 1837. *Höfler*, German Popes, Pt. I., p. 85-88.

² Opera, Rom., 1606-1610; Venet., 1744, fol.; in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 144 and 145.

³ In the *Vita Meinwerck*, cap. XI., the busy, studious life there is poetically described thus: "Studiorum multiplicia sub eo florere exercitia; quando ibi musici fuerunt et dialectici enituerunt, rhetorici clarique grammatici, quando magistri artium ibi exercebant trivium, quibus omne studium erat circa quadrivium. Ubi mathematici claruerunt et astronomici, habebantur physici atque geometrici. Viguit *Horatius* magnus atque *Virgilius*, *Crispus Sallustius* et urbanus *Statius*, ludusque fuit omnibus, insudare versibus et dictaminibus jucundisque cantibus." (*Bolland.*, Acta SS. m. Junii, T. I., p. 637.) Cf. † *Evelk*, Supplem. to the History of the state of the Studies and Instruction in the German and French Church of the eleventh century, Paderborn, 1856 sq. (Two Pro-grammes.)

poet,¹ an orator, a musician, and a theologian of merit, and bore the reputation of being the greatest biblical scholar of his age—a reputation to which his knowledge of the Greek and Arabic languages contributed not a little.²

After the death of the Emperor Henry III. (A. D. 1056), and Luitpold, Archbishop of Mentz (A. D. 1059), things took a turn for the worse. Study was neglected, law and equity violated, and morality outraged. But, in spite of such drawbacks, there were distinguished scholars in Germany during the second half of the eleventh century. There was the celebrated historian, *Lambert of Hersfeld*, who imitated successfully the classic elegance and purity of the great Latin authors. He brought his narrative down to the election of anti-king Rudolph, “in order,” as he says, “that anyone wishing to take up the subject after him may have a convenient point from which to start out.” There was also *Othlo*, a Benedictine monk of the monastery of St. Emmeram, at Ratisbon (A. D. 1062), who, looking away off into the future, foretold the peculiar form which certain minds would give to mysticism as time went on.³

§ 204. *New Controversy on Predestination, occasioned by the Teachings of Gottschalk.* (See Vol. I., p. 412.)

The writings of Ratramnus, Scot. Erigena, Lupus, Florus, Remigius, Prudentius, and confess. Gottschalki. (*Mauguin*, Vett. auctor. qui sæc. IX.. De prædest. et grat. scripserunt opp. et fragm., Par., 1650. 2 vols. 4to.) *Mansi*, T. XIV. et XV. *Harduin*, T. V. *Kunstmann*, The letters written by Rabanus Maurus in the controversy on Predestination (*Hist. Polit. Revue*, Vol. 52, p. 254 sq.)

Usserius, Gottschalki et prædest. controuv. hist., *Dubl.*, 1631. 4to, *Har.*, 1662. *Cellot*, *Hist. Gottschalki prædestinatiani*, Par., 1655, f. *Mauguin*, Gottschalki controuv. hist. et chron. synops., Par., 1650, 4to. *Natalis Alex.*, H. E. sæc. IX., et X., diss. V. **Hefele* *Hist. of Conc.*, Vol. IV., p. 124-213. *Kunstmann*, Rabanus Maurus, p. 119 sq. *Weizsäcker*, The dogma of Divine Predestination (*Annuary of German Theology*, 1859).

The monk Gottschalk, like the Gallic priest Lucidus, in a former age, misinterpreting the writings of *St. Augustine* and *Fulgentius*, put forth the most extravagant views on predestination. He was the son of *Berno*, a Saxon count, and had been from his earliest years destined by his parents to a cloistered life. Acting upon the authority of the teaching laid down by a council of Toledo, that one became monk either by personal profession or by the promise of his parents (*monachum facit aut propria confessio aut paterna devotio*), they forced him against his will to take the monastic vows in presence of Rabanus Maurus, abbot of the monastery of Fulda.

In the year 829, a synod held at Mentz under the presidency of Archbishop *Otgar* took his case under consideration and released him from the obligations he had taken upon himself; but the abbot

Author of the *Salve regina* and *Alma redemptoris mater*.

¹ *Trithem*, De Scriptor. Ecc., cap. 321. Cf. *Hefele*, Supplem., Vol. I., pp. 312, 313.

² *Othlonis*, Lib. visionum, De cursu spirituali; De trib. quæst. (*Pez. Thesaur.*, T. III., in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 146.)

Rabanus Maurus appealed to the Emperor, Louis the Mild, who decided that Gottschalk should keep to his former engagement. These circumstances made a residence at Fulda in many ways disagreeable to the young Saxon, and, passing across to France, he entered the monastery of *Orbais*, in the diocese of Soissons. Ill at ease in a mode of life not of his own choosing and at variance with his tastes and disposition, and smarting under the recollection of the harsh treatment he had received from Rabanus Maurus, he sought distraction from his own thoughts by plunging into the study of SS. Augustine and Fulgentius. He soon built up a system of predestination, which, though entirely at variance with the spirit and drift of St. Augustine's teachings, was nevertheless supported by some of his boldest utterances.

According to Gottschalk, there is a twofold predestination (*gemina prædestinatio*), by virtue of which God foreordains some to eternal *life* and others to eternal *death*. It is not, said he, the will of God that *all* should be saved, but *only* the *elect*, who alone are the objects of His merciful redemption. As the elect cannot but be saved, so neither can the reprobate help being damned. For these latter the Sacraments are but empty forms and idle ceremonies. Baptism is powerless to unite them in fellowship with Christ, or to make them of the body of His Church. Since the Fall, man enjoys only the *liberty of doing evil and committing sin*.

While the language of Gottschalk, which is at times harsh and aggressive, sufficiently bears out the scheme of predestination imputed to him by his opponents, it is still quite possible that he was more orthodox in thought than expression. While returning, in the year 847, from a pilgrimage to Rome, Gottschalk stopped at a hospice erected by Eberhard, Count of Friuli, for the accommodation of pilgrims, and while here proposed and explained his new system to his hosts, to the count, and to *Noting*, the newly-elected Bishop of Verona. Not long after, Bishop Noting met Rabanus Maurus, who had recently been elected Archbishop of Mentz (A. D. 847), at the court of Louis the Mild, and told him of the doctrines of Gottschalk, and how he himself had been startled by their novelty and boldness. Rabanus promised to write a refutation of them at once, which he did in two tracts—the one addressed to Bishop Noting, and the other to Count Eberhard. In these answers he draws a broad and clear distinction between God's *foreknowledge* and His *predestination*—between those predestined to eternal life and those whom God foreknows will not be saved. He constantly insists on this distinction, and maintains that the relation of God to the reprobate is properly expressed by the word “foreknowledge,” i. e., that they are themselves the instruments of their own perdition, and that God, foreknowing that they would be wicked, predestined everlasting punishment to them, not them to everlasting punishment. And, appealing to Prosper as authority for the statement, he says: “God did not predestine nor withdraw from the number of the reprobate those whom He *foreknew* would be sinners.”

Gottschalk, after reading the letter of Rabanus to Bishop Noting, expressed surprise that he should be accused of erroneous teaching, and, in a reply, retorted upon Rabanus by charging him with holding the errors of semi-Pelagianism. He returned to Germany, and assisted at a great *synod* convoked at *Mentz* (A. D. 848) by the archbishop, to consider the question in the presence of King Louis. The synod, after having taken up and discussed the teachings of Gottschalk and Rabanus, declared those of the former heretical and those of the latter clear of any such taint. As Gottschalk refused to give up and retract his errors, he was sent back to his metropolitan, Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, with a letter from the synod, drawn up by Archbishop Rabanus. Hincmar treated him with considerable severity. As Gottschalk, on being summoned before the *Council of Chiersy* (Quiercy, or Cr  cy on the Oise), held in the year 849, not only refused to retract his doctrines, but boldly and obstinately defended them, he was himself adjudged guilty of contempt of his lawful superiors and of obstinate adherence to his errors, and his teachings condemned as heretical. He was sentenced to corporal punishment and to confinement for life in the monastery of Hautvilliers, in the diocese of Rheims. During this confinement Gottschalk drew up two confessions of faith in defence of his system of predestination, to which he steadily adhered, to the last hour of his life, and died (A. D. 868) without becoming reconciled to the Church.

But his teachings lived after him, and the history of his life excited both interest and sympathy. Some said that the treatment of him had been unnecessarily and excessively harsh,¹ while others attacked both Rabanus Maurus and Hincmar for having done violence to the teaching of St. Augustine and for having favoured semi-Pelagianism. Gottschalk had accused Hincmar of rashness for taking exception to the expression "*Te trina Deitas*" in the hymn of the Church belonging to the office common to martyrs.² The new doctrines were taken up and warmly defended by *Ratramnus*, a monk of Corbie; *Remigius*, Archbishop of Lyons; *Prudentius*, Bishop of Troyes; and *Lupus*, Abbot of Ferri  res, one of the ablest and most elegant writers of his age. They were combated with equal warmth and energy by *Rabanus*, *Pardulus*, Bishop of Laon, and *Hincmar*. The last-named persuaded *Scotus Erigena* to take part in the controversy; but this bold and reckless thinker, by attacking the system of Gottschalk in its philosophical rather than in its theological

¹ *Hincmar*, in a defence of his conduct, could cite only the rule of St. Benedict, where it said: "Indisciplinatos et inquietos durius arguendos—vel corporis castigatione—co  rendos esse." And again, can. 3 of the Council of Agde: "In monachis quoque par pr  sentis sententi   forma servetur, quodsi verborum increpatio non emendaverit, etiam verberibus statuimus co  ceri."

Hincmar took *deitas* as expressing divine substance or essence, which indeed is but one, while *trinitas* refers simply to the persons. His idea, then, was *orthodox*; but he overlooked the circumstance, that *Deitas* was usually taken as identical with *Deus* (not sensu strictiori=stantia divina), wherefore the above expression was not open to reprehension.

bearings, opened up a wide and dangerous field of controversy, and was himself hotly assailed by *Arnold*, Archbishop of Lyons, and by *Florus*, the master of the cathedral-schools in the same city.¹

Hinemar, perceiving that his opponents were growing daily more numerous and violent, resolved to end the controversy by an appeal to ecclesiastical authority. Accordingly, he laid the matter before the *second Synod of Chiersy* (A. D. 853), which, taking the four propositions of the archbishop (4 *Capitula Carisiacensia*) as a basis, decreed—1. That there is but *one* predestination; 2. That the *free will* of man, before it is capable of doing good, requires preventing or antecedent and assisting grace; 3. That God will have *all* men to be saved; and, 4. That Christ died for *all* men.²

The controversy continued some time longer, but was confined chiefly to the use of terms. At the Councils of *Valence* (A. D. 855) and *Langres* (A. D. 859), an attempt was made by Remegius, Archbishop of Lyons, and other defenders of the Gottschalkian system, to have the doctrine of double predestination made a dogma of faith; and, as a part of the plan, the *Four Capitula* were entirely misrepresented, and the writings of Erigena condemned as containing absurd and foolish errors.

The decrees of this synod were sent to Pope *Nicholas I.* for his approval, which he declined to give, and prudently kept aloof from the quarrel.

The controversy was finally brought to a close at the national Synod of *Toucy* (A. D. 860), in the diocese of Toul, composed of fifty-seven bishops from the fourteen French provinces, by the adoption,

¹ He was "Magister" at the Cathedral School of Lyons († about 860), and first advertised upon the false theological views of Scotus: Qui velut de præscientia et de prædestinatione divina *humanis*, et ut ipse gloriatur, *philosophicis argumentationibus* disputans, nulla ratione reddita sive scripturarum sive St. Patrum auctoritate prælata velut sequenda et tenenda, *sua sola presumptione* definire ausus est. (Bibl. max., T. XV.) In matter of fact, Erigena was still reproached with the following errors: 1. Præscientiam et prædestinationem Dei unum et idem esse; 2. Prædestinationem et præscientiam Dei esse essentiam sicuti voluntatem, sapientiam, etc. 3. The *definition*: Prædestinatio divina est lex omnium naturarum æterna et immutabilis disciplina. 4. That, as sin was but a *μη ὄν* (a nonentity), God could not predestinate the sinner to hell, or positively punish him; that, therefore, damnation consisted only in the torturing consciousness of having missed one's destination.

² Deus elegit ex massa perditionis, secundum præscientiam suam, quos per gratiam prædestinavit ad vitam; et vitam illis prædestinavit æternam. Ceteros autem, quos justitiæ judicio in massa perditionis reliquit, *perituros præscivit*, sed non, ut perirent, prædestinavit. Penam autem illis, quia *justus* est, prædestinavit æternam. Ac per hoc *unam* Dei prædestinationem tantummodo dicimus, quæ aut ad donum pertinet gratiæ, aut ad retributionem justitiæ. Habemus liberum arbitrium ad bonum, præventum et adjutum gratia; et habemus liberum arbitrium ad malum, desertum gratia. Liberum autem habemus arbitrium, quia gratia liberatum et gratia de corrupto sanatum.—Deus *omnes* homines sine exceptione vult salvos fieri, licet non omnes salventur: quod autem quidam salvantur, salvantur est donum; quod autem quidam pereunt, pereuntium est meritum.—Nullus est, fuit vel erit homo, pro quo (Christus) passus non fuerit, licet non omnes passionis ejus mysterio redimantur. Quod vero omnes passionis ejus mysterio non redimuntur, non respicit ad magnitudinem et pretii copiositatem, sed ad infidelium et ad non credentium *ea* fide, quæ per dilectionem operatur, respicit partem. *Mansi*, T. XIV., p. 920. *Harduin*, T. V., p. 18.

without much debate, of the conclusions of the second and larger work of Hincmar, entitled, "*De Prædestinatione*," as the basis of settlement.

§ 205. *First Controversy on the Eucharist—Paschasius Radbert.*

Paschasius Radbertus, *De corp. et sang. Domini s. de sacrament*, first edition, 1831, revised ed., 1844 (*Martène et Durand*, Coll. ampl., T. IX.), *Epist ad Frudegard. et ad Carol. Calv. and Expositio in Matt. xxvi. 26*, and in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 120. *Rabani Mauri*, *Ep. ad Heribald. s. poenitentiale*, cap. 33. (*Mabill.*, Vett. Anaclet., ed. II., p. 17, and *Canissii*, Lect. Ant., T. II., Pt. II., p. 311, in *Migne's Ser. Lat.*, T. 112.) *Dicta cujusd. sapient.* (according to *Mabillon Rab. Mauri*), *De corp. et sang. Dom.* (*Mabill.*, Acta SS. O. St. Ben. sæc. IV., T. I., p. 591.) *Ratramnus*, *De corp. et sang. Dom.* ad Carol. Reg. ed. *Boileau*, Par., 1712. *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 121. Anonymous Cellotianus (*Gerbertus*), *De corp. et sang. Domini* (*Pez*, Anecd., T. I., Pt. II., pp. 131-146).

Histoire littéraire de France, T. V., p. 287, and *Natal. Alex.*, H. E. sæc. IX., et X., diss. X. *Hausherr*, S.J., *St. Paschasius Radbertus*, Mentz, 1862. See Tübg. Quart., 1863, p. 359 sq. *Reuter*, *De Erroribus, qui ætate media doctrinam Christianam de st. Eucharistia turbaverunt*, Berol., 1840.

The doctrine of the Real Presence and of Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Eucharist had been the universal and unvarying belief of the Catholic Church from the earliest day of her foundation. Other doctrines were called in question; this never. It had never been a subject of controversy, because the steady and uniform faith with which it was held had never been disturbed. This, and other reasons equally obvious,¹ will account for the absence of any special controversial reference to the doctrine in the Fathers of the Church and ecclesiastical writers anterior to the ninth century. They did not make it a particular subject of discussion, because there was no call upon them to defend it against the objections of adversaries.

Paschasius Radbert, a monk, and, after the year 844, the abbot of the monastery of Corbie († A. D. 865), was the first to write (A. D. 831) a specific and comprehensive treatise on the Eucharist, intended for the use of the students of the monastery of New-Corvey, recently founded in Saxony. His only object in this work was to lay before his readers a simple statement of the faith of the universal Church on the Eucharist. Radbert got out a second edition of the work in 844, which was considerably enlarged by the addition of some startling views advanced by *Haymo* of Halberstadt and *Amalarius* of Metz, and in this form dedicated it to Charles the Bald.

In order the better to understand the drift of the controversy to which the publication of Paschasius's treatise gave occasion, it will be necessary to state briefly in advance the teachings of the earlier Doctors of the Church, as gathered from their occasional utterances concerning the doctrine of the Eucharist, that we may thus be in a better position to judge whether Radbert was in accord or disagreement with them on the question. Their opinions may be classified as follows:

¹ See Vol. I., p. 508.

I. Some viewed the Sacrament of the Eucharist as immediately and intimately connected with the Incarnation. They call it the *Body of Christ, which was born of Mary*, and which suffered and died for us. They take these words in their literal sense, and reject any sort of symbolical or figurative explanation of them. Adopting the language of the Apostolic Father, *St. Ignatius*, they brand such as deny the actual Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist as out-and-out heretics.

II. Others draw a distinction between the *external forms and appearances* of bread and wine and the internal substance or essence. They use, in drawing out this distinction, such terms as image, figure, and sign (*imago, figura, signum*).

III. Others give special prominence to the *spiritual* sense in which the Body and Blood are eaten and drunk; speak of Christ as being present in the Sacrament in some mysterious way or manner, and refer, as an instance of their meaning, to the example of Christ, who, when instituting the Sacrament of the Last Supper, held Himself in His hands.

Paschasius based his exposition of the Eucharist on the teaching of these early Fathers, but particularly on that of *St. John Damascene*¹ and *St. Ambrose*.² He drew out the doctrine of the Church with accuracy and fulness, but in terms which have now passed out of use and are liable to be misunderstood,³ insisting particularly on the following points:

1. The Presence of the *true Body and Blood of Christ* in the Sacrament of the altar.
2. The firm belief that the bread and wine, after the act of

¹ *Joan. Damasc.*, De Fide orthod. IV. 13: Σώμά ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ἡνωμένον Θεότητι τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου σῶμα, οὐχ ὅτι αὐτὸ τὸ ἀναληφθὲν σῶμα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατέρχεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος μεταποιοῦνται εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Θεοῦ. (Opp. ed. le Quien., Ven., 1734, T. I., p. 269 sq.)

² *Ambros.*, De Mysteriis, lib. I., c. 9, n. 53: Si ordinem quærimus, viro mixta femina generare consuevit. Liqueat igitur, quod præter naturæ ordinem virgo generavit. Et hoc quod conficimus corpus ex Virgine est: quid hic quæris naturæ ordinem in Christi corpore, cum præter naturam sit ipse dominus Jesus partus ex Maria virgine? Vera utique caro Christi, quæ crucifixa est, quæ sepulta est; vere ergo carnis illius sacramentum est. (Opp. ed. *Bened.*, T. II., p. 339.)

³ Nullus moveatur de hoc corpore Christi et sanguine, quod in mystico vera sit caro et verus sit sanguis, dum sic voluit ille qui creavit. Omnia enim quæcunque voluit fecit in cælo et in terra: et quia voluit, licet in figura panis et vini maneat, hæc sic esse omnino, nihilque aliud quam caro Christi et sanguis post consecrationem credenda sunt; et ut mirabilis loquar, non alia plane (caro), quam quæ nata est de Maria et passa in cruce, et resurrexit de sepulchro, cap. I. Quia Christum vorari fas dentibus non est, voluit in mysterio hunc panem et vinum vere carnem suam et sanguinem consecratione spiritus st. potentialiter creari, creando vere quotidie mystice immolari: ut sicut de virgine per spiritum st. vera caro sine coitu creatur, ita per eundem ex substantia panis et vini mystice idem Christi corpus et sanguis consecratur, cap. IV.—In hoc Christi verbo "hoc est corpus meum" creatur illud corpus, quia divinum verbum est. In hoc verbo "hic est calix sanguinis mei" sanguis efficitur, quod antea vinum et aqua fuerat, cap. XV.—Ideo hæc mysteria non carnalia, licet caro et sanguis sint, sed spiritualia jure intelliguntur. Privolum est ergo, sicut in apocrypho libro legitur cogitare de stercore, ne commisceatur digestionem alterius cibi, cap. XX.

consecration, though still retaining the forms and appearances of bread and wine, are in very truth the *Flesh* and *Blood of Christ*.

3. *The fact*, which, as he said, must seem still more marvellous, *that this Flesh is none other than that which Christ took in the womb of the Virgin Mary, which was born of her, in which He suffered for us on the cross, and in which He rose again from the dead.*

Paschasius states, in his *Explanation of Matthew*, xxvi. 26, that one great object of his treatise on the Eucharist was to bring home to the minds of the *boys* studying in the monastery the truth of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar; that, with this object steadily before his thoughts, he had been at special pains to bring prominently forward the truth that the Body of Christ in the Eucharist was *identical* with that which was born of Mary, and was crucified and *rose* again from the dead; that, though the substance (*veritas*) and the form (*figura*) exist together in the Eucharist, he had no intention of ignoring, much less denying, that there were *formal* differences between them, or of asserting that the form and appearance of the natural Body of Christ were the *same* as the form and appearance of His Body in the Eucharist. He explicitly rejected the grossly carnal doctrine of the Capharnaïtes,¹ which had been unjustly imputed to him.

The adversaries of Paschasius, while accusing him of teaching that the recipient apprehended the Body and Blood of Christ by the carnal sense of taste, endeavoured to show that there were properties special to the Body of Christ in the Eucharist not possessed by the natural Body of Christ while on earth. They appealed to the writings of *St. Jerome* and *St. Augustine* to establish a *distinction* between the sacramental, the natural, and the mystical Body (the Church) of Christ. The Body of Christ in the Eucharist, said they, is in substance (*naturaliter*) identical with the Body taken from the womb of Mary, but different in form and appearance (*specialiter*). These views were advocated by certain anonymous writers and by *Rabanus Maurus*, Archbishop of Mentz.

But Radbert's most determined opponent was a monk of his own monastery, by name *Ratramnus* († A. D. 866), who remained for a long time unknown. He maintained that a distinction should be made between the presence of Christ in the Sacrament and the presence which came within the domain of the senses; that the Sacrament consisted of two parts, viz., the figure or form (*figura imago*) and that to which the figure or form belongs, or the substance of the Sacrament (*veritas, res sacramenti*). Hence he insisted that there was a *difference* of *form* and *appearance* between the natural and the Eucharistic Body of Christ, and that the form by which the latter is apprehended through the senses is not its own, but that of bread and wine.

¹ The name of a sect, who, reasoning from John. vi. 52, 59, put a gross and material interpretation upon the doctrine of Transubstantiation. (Tr.)

With the exception of the above points, Ratramnus, in his treatment of the question, is *very obscure*; and this obscurity clings to him, whether engaged in refuting an adversary or establishing his own position. He accuses his opponents of maintaining that there is no distinction whatever between the outward appearance of the Sacrament, or that which falls under the senses, and its essence; that it appears to the senses as it is in fact, and is not hidden under any outward veil; that that which is visible to sense is identical with that which is visible to faith; and that consequently there is no call for an exercise of faith in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.¹

In attempting to explain the constituents of the Sacrament, Ratramnus appears at times to admit that the substance of the bread is changed into the Body of Christ by the words of consecration; but he also appears to maintain that the Divine Word or Logos takes the place of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament and nourishes the soul; and even goes the length of asserting that the Israelites received the Body of Christ in the manna—a view explicitly condemned by Christ Himself (John, vi.). In presence of such facts as these, the efforts of Boileau and Natalis Alexander to prove that the work of Ratramnus contains no dogmatical errors cannot be regarded as satisfactory.²

¹ Ille panis, qui per sacerdotis ministerium Christi corpus efficitur, aliud *exterius* humanis sensibus ostendit, et aliud *interius* fidelium mentibus clamat. Panis ille vinumque figurate Christi corpus et sanguis existit.—Christi corpus et sanguis non sunt idem, quod *cernuntur* et quod *creduntur*. Secundum enim quod cernuntur, corpus pascunt corruptibile, ipsa corruptibilia; secundum vero quod creduntur, animas pascunt in æternum victuras, ipsa immortalia.—*Differunt autem a se species et veritas*. Quapropter corpus et sanguis, quod in ecclesia geritur, differt ab illo corpore et sanguine, quod in Christi corpore *per resurrectionem jam glorificatum* cognoscitur. Et hoc corpus pignus est et veritas, illud vero ipsa veritas.—Videmus itaque multa differentia separari mysterium sanguinis et corporis Christi, quod nunc a fidelibus sumitur in ecclesia, et illud quod natum est de Maria virgine, quod passum, quod sepultum, quod surrexit, quod cœlos ascendit, quod ad dexteram Patris sedet.—But Ratramn argued further: Dicunt, quod nulla sub figura, nulla sub elevatione fiat, sed ipsius veritas nuda manifestatione peragatur. (Sed) si figurate nihil hic accipitur, sed totum in veritate conspiciatur: *nihil hic fides operatur*. Nam si videres, diceres, *video*, non diceres, *credo*, corpus sanguinemque esse Christi. Nunc autem quia *fides* totum, quidquid illud est, aspicit, et oculus carnis nihil apprehendit, intellige, quod non in *specie*, sed in *virtute* corpus et sanguis Christi existant, quæ cernuntur.—Et sicut non *corporaliter*, sed *spiritualiter* panis ille credentium corpus dicitur: sic quoque Christi corpus non corporaliter, sed *spiritualiter* necesse est intelligatur.—Igitur si vinum illud sanctificatum per ministrorum officium in Christi sanguinem corporaliter convertitur: aqua quoque, quæ, pariter admista est, in sanguinem populi credentis necesse est corporaliter convertitur.—At videmus in aqua secundum corpus nihil esse conversum. Consequenter ergo et in vino nihil corporaliter ostensum. Accipitur spiritualiter, quidquid in aqua de populi corpore significatur. *Accipitur ergo necesse est spiritualiter, quidquid in vino de Christi sanguine intimatur*. Notwithstanding the efforts of Natalis Alexander to put an orthodox interpretation upon the words of this author, his meaning is still very doubtful, and may be understood as implying no more than a Presence, which, *dependent on the faith* of the individual, is still a means of bringing him to the knowledge of Christ Jesus in the Eucharist. Still, the Magdeburg Centuriators held that the work of Ratramnus *transubstantiationis* habet semina: videtur enim vocabulis *commutationis* et *conversionis*.

² See the history of this work, edited by Boileau, Par., 1712, in Mabillon, Acta ordin. St. Bened. sæc. IV., Pt. II., p. 8. sq.; in Du Pin, Bibl., siècle IX., and in the Book of Ratramn etc., Oxford, 1838. The author, at the request of Charles the Bald, answers two questions: utrum aliquid secreti contineat, quod oculis fidei solummodo pateat—et utrum ipsum corpus sit, quod de Maria natum est et passum?

Servatus Lupus, after examining the doctrine of Ratramnus, pronounced many things in it to be of doubtful orthodoxy; *Florus*, Master of the School of Lyons, made an attempt to clear up the difficulties, and, where that was not possible, to explain them away; and *Scotus Erigena*, at the request of Charles the Bald, unfortunately engaged in the controversy, and, yielding to his tendency for the allegorizing method, explained everything in a superficial and rationalistic sense, and so attenuated the dogma of the Eucharist that in his hands it ceased to be more than a holy symbol and solemn memorial¹ (*memoria corporis et sanguinis Christi*) of the Body and Blood of Christ.

Amalarius, a priest of Metz, gave still greater offence by his treatment of the question. Starting with a proposition, which is in itself true and not of unfrequent occurrence in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, to the effect that the Body of our Lord in the Eucharist is food and nourishment, not alone for the soul of man, but for the body also, he went on to deduce from this that the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, when received by man, is subject to the same laws of

¹ *Scoti Erig.*, De Euchar., lib. (?), attacked already in the year 870 by Adrevaldus, monk of Fleury, in his work, De corpore et sanguine Christi ctr. ineptias Joan. Scoti (*d'Achéry*, Spicileg., T. I., p. 150). Hincmar. de Prædest., c. 31, accuses him: "Quod sacramenta altaris non verum corpus et verus sanguis sit Domini, sed tantum memoria veri corporis et sanguinis ejus," etc., and in the ep. Ascelini ad Bereng.: "Joan. Scotum toto nisu totaque mente ad hoc solum tendere video, ut mihi persuadeat, hoc videlicet, quod in altari consecratur, neque vere corpus, neque vere sanguinem esse," etc., in *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 775. The treatise of Erigena, to which Berengarius referred, was condemned by a synod of Paris, and by the councils of *Vercelli* (A. D. 1050), and *Rome* (A. D. 1059), and having been burned in consequence, has not come down to us. But, since the publication of Erigena's commentary on the work of *Dionysius the Areopagite*, entitled *Hierarchia Cælestis*, edited by *Floss*, there is no longer any question as to the views of Erigena on the Eucharist (*Joan. Scoti*, Opera, ed. *Floss*, pp. 140, 141). Sequitur "et in unum principationem ipsam divinissimæ eucharistiæ assumptionem." Intuere quam pulcre, quam expresse asserit: *visibilem hanc eucharistiam*, quam quotidie sacerdotes ecclesiæ in altari conficiunt ex sensibili materia panis et vini, quamque confectam et sanctificatam corporaliter accipiunt: *typicam esse similitudinem spiritualis principationis Jesu*, quam fideliter solo intellectu gustamus, h. e. intelligimus inque nostræ naturæ interiora viscera sumimus ad nostram salutem et spirituale in crementum et *ineffabilem deificationem*. Oportet ergo, inquit humanum animum ex sensibilibus rebus in cælestium virtutum similitudinem et æqualitatem ascendente arbitrarî, divinissimam eucharistiam visibilem in ecclesia conformatam maxime typum esse participationis ipsius, qua et nunc participamus Jesum per fidem et in futuro participabimus per speciem, eique adunabimur per caritatem. Quid ergo ad hanc magni theologi Dionysii præclarissimam tubam respondet, qui visibilem eucharistiam nihil aliud significare præter se ipsam volunt asserere, dum clarissima tuba præfata clamat, *non illa sacramenta visibilia colenda neque pro veritate amplexanda*, quia significativa veritatis sunt, neque propter se ipsa inventa, quoniam in ipsis intelligentiæ finis non est, sed propter incomprehensibilem veritatis virtutem, quæ Christus est, in unitate humanæ divinæque suæ substantiæ ultra omne, quod sensu sentitur corporeo, super omne, quod virtute percipitur intelligentiæ Deus invisibilis in utraque sua natura." An attempt has been made to show, by the quotations from the Areopagite, made by Erigena, and, above all, by the expression, "ineffabilis deificatio," that Erigena, notwithstanding his equivocal expressions, saw incomparably much more in the Eucharist than the later heretics, Berengarius, Zwinglius, and Calvin. But as to Erigena's appeal to the Areopagite, *Hugo*, a St. Victore (opp. ed. Rothom., T. I., p. 482) says: Sane hoc notandum, quod *quidam ad hoc loco* (the words quoted from the Areop.) munimentum erroris sui ducere putaverunt dicentes, in sacramento altaris veritatem corporis et sanguinis Christi non esse, sed *imaginem* illius tantum et *figuram*. Hence, not much capital can be made of the expression, "ineffabilis deificatio," as against the positive testimony of *Hincmar* and the *Epist. Ascelini ad Berengarium*.

decomposition, assimilation, and excretion as other food taken into the human system. A doctrine so revolting outraged the religious feeling of Christians, and was branded with the opprobrious name of *Stercoranism*.¹ But, revolting as it was, even Rabanus Maurus, towards the close of his life, was accused of favouring it.²

A want of clearness, an indistinctness of ideas, and an indefiniteness in terms, are faults common to the writers on both sides of this controversy, from its rise to its close; but, notwithstanding this vagueness, it is certainly somewhat remarkable that no controversialist on either side impugned either the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar or the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The scope of the discussion was strictly confined to *the mode of Christ's Presence and the manner in which the change of substance was brought about*. On these points, however, the writers on both sides went to extremes, or were, rather, led to them when their respective lines of reasoning were carried on to their logical conclusions; and the results at which they arrived prove how hazy and unscientific were their views on the Blessed Sacrament. One party, of which Amalarius may be taken as the representative, gave such prominence to the material elements of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist as to totally destroy its spirituality; while the other, whose representative was Scotus Erigena, so spiritualized the Body of Christ that the matter of the Sacrament (*res sacramenti*) was reasoned away till all that was left was but an outward appearance or shadow destitute of all reality. *Gerbert*, who afterwards ascended the papal throne under the name of Sylvester II., summing up this controversy, in his work on the Eucharist, classifies the different parties to which it gave rise under the following heads: 1. The Stercoranists, whose position was wholly untenable; 2. Those who held, with *Rudbertus*, that the Body of Christ received in the Eucharist is identical with that born of the Virgin Mary; 3. The opponents of Radbert, who held that the Body of Christ in the Eucharist is not in all respects identical with His natural Body. Gerbert himself taught that there is no essential difference between the last two opinions; for, said he, the Body of Christ in the Sacrament and

¹ *Matth. Pfaff*. Diss. de Stercoranistis med. ævi tam Latin. quam Græc., Tübingen, 1750, 4to. (The author is rather too liberal with his accusations of Stercoranism).

² *Viz.*, in his weak and obscure answer to a question on this subject, proposed to him by Heribald, Bishop of Auxerre: "Quod interrogastis, utrum eucharistia postquam consumitur, et in secessum emittitur, more aliorum ciborum iterum redeat in naturam pristinam, quam habuerat, antequam in altari consecraretur?" To this Rabanus made the following answer: "Superflua est hujusmodi quæstio, cum ipse salvator dixerit in evangelio: omne quod intrat in os, in ventrem vadit, et in secessum emittitur" (Matt. xv. 17). "Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis, i. e. ex rebus visibilibus et corporalibus conficitur; sed invisibilem tam corporis quam animæ efficit sanctificationem et salutem. Quæ est enim ratio ut hoc, quod stomacho, digeritur et in secessum emittitur, iterum in statum pristinum redeat, cum nullus hoc unquam fieri asseruerit?" (*Canisii*, Lect. Antiq., T. II., Pt. II., p. 311.) Rabanus might indeed have expressed his thought in a more simple and, at the same time, more correct way, if he had said: Only common food—as Christ already said in St. Matt. xv. 17—is subject to the laws of nature. Here there is no common food; hence, there can be no question of the consequences of the natural laws.

that born of the Virgin Mary are essentially (*naturaliter*) one and the same; while, on the other hand, there may be modes of existence (*modus existendi*) special (*specialiter*) to one and not to the other; so that, being identical in essence, there may nevertheless be aspects in which they differ.

To those who found fault with Paschasius for applying the words *figure* (*figura*) and *truth* (*veritas*) to the Sacrament of the altar, he replied that the words were quite appropriate—*figure* signifying that which falls under the senses, and *truth* that which is apprehended by faith.

To the third charge brought against Paschasius, viz., that Christ is crucified again as often as Mass is said (*totiens Christum pati quotiens missas contingat cotidie celebrari*), he replied that no such words were to be found in the writings of Paschasius; that his adversaries had drawn the inference from words used by him to express the identity of the Body of Christ on the altar with that on the cross (*in altari et in cruce*), and that Paschasius himself had protested against such an imputation.¹ Gerbert adds these words: “It would be wrong to imagine that there is anything false, deceptive, or of little account in the Mystery of the Body and Blood of Christ, since there bread and wine are changed into what they were not, by the divine blessing and the power of the Word of God.”

The words of *Lessing*, whose work is referred to at the head of the following paragraph, contain an admirable argument against the constant and persistent assertion of Protestants, that *Transubstantiation* was not a doctrine of the Church until after the time of Paschasius, by whose labours it became so.

“If it be true,” says he, “as Zwinglius asserts, that the doctrine of *merely external signs* was the primitive and original doctrine of the Church, how was it possible that it should suddenly have given rise to the doctrine of Transubstantiation? Would not this have been a dangerous leap in the dark, such as the human reason never takes, even, in its most unaccountable wanderings from the truth? And, in order to avoid taking it, should we not in our own case have approached the doctrine of Transubstantiation by a more consistent, if less direct course? Should we not have gone on from merely external signs to *pregnant signs*, as we will call them for the sake of brevity, or to such as are full of meaning and hidden virtue? And, having assumed this much, we should then have passed from signs to *reality*. The process would then be this: First came the belief in *merely*

¹ In the epist. ad Frudegard., Paschasius says: *Hæc victima nobis mortem Unigeniti per mysterium reparat, qui licet surgens a mortuis jam non moritur tamen, in seipso immortaliter atque incorruptibiliter vivens, pro nobis iterum in hoc mysterio sacræ oblationis immolatur.* Hinc pensemus, quale sit pro nobis sacrificium, quod pro absolutione nostra passionem Unigeniti filii semper imitetur.

² His expressions are: *Figura est, dum panis et vinum extra videtur, veritas autem, dum et sanguis Christi in veritate interius creditur.*—In mysterio corporis et sanguinis Christi, quod virtute cœlestis benedictionis et verbi divini in id, quod non erat, consecratur, nihil falsum, nihil frivolum, nihil infidum sentiamus. Cf. *Hock*, Gerbert, pp. 166-169.

external signs; next, the belief in *signs possessing a virtue*; and finally, *a substituting for any sign whatever the reality or the thing itself*. Now the question arises, how did it come about that the transition was made from the first to the second stage without exciting comment or being the occasion of a controversy, while the transition from the second to the third, effected, as we are told, by Paschasius, was the occasion of much trouble and quarrelling? This is the more remarkable, since the former would have been more offensive than the latter to the faith and religious feelings of the people. Now, as it is absolutely certain that the first leap in this supposed course of intellectual gymnastics was not the occasion of either protest or controversy, it is but natural to infer that no such course ever took place at all, and that the doctrine of the Church was from the beginning what it is to-day."

This reasoning will acquire the full force of positive proof when it is recollected that there are historical facts which go to show that if there was one thing of which the faithful were more suspicious than of another, it was the introduction of any new dogma or teaching. Thus, for example, they indignantly protested against those who denied the Divinity of Christ; rose in tumult when an attempt was made at Constantinople to abolish the use of the expression "*Mother of God*;" and obstinately resisted the substitution of the word *hedera* for *cucurbita*, the one to which they were accustomed, in a new translation of Jonas, iv. 6.

§ 206. *Second Controversy on the Eucharist, occasioned by the Writings of Berengarius of Tours.*

I. *Lanfranci*, Lib. de Euchar. sacr. ctr. Berengar. (1063-1070), Bas., 1528, and oftener (Opp. ed. d' *Achéry*, Par., 1684, f. ed. *Giles*, Oxon., 1844 sq., 2 V., and in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 150.) *Hugo*, Episcop. Lingonens. (Langres), Tractatus de corpore et sanguine Christi. *Deoduinus*, Episcop. Leodiens. ep. ad Regem. *Durandus*, Abb. Troarnens., de corp. et sang. Christi. *Guitmundi*, Archiep. Aversani, de corp. et sang. Christi veritate in Eucharistia, lib. VIII. (collected in Max. Bibl. SS. PP., T. XVIII.; Bibl. Patr. Col., T. XI.) *Berengar.*, Lib. de s. cœna ctr. Lanfranc. lib. posterior. (edition announced by *Stäudlin*, and partly published in six programmes, Götting., 1820 sq.), complete, but very incorrect. edition by A. F. and T. *Th. Vischer*, Berol., 1834; fit for use only with the Appendix by *Grotefend*, written down already by *Schönemann*, head librarian of the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel. The Acts in *Mansi*, T. XIX. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I. *Adelmanni*, De Verit. corp. et sanguin. Dom. ep. ad Bereng. (Bibl. PP. Colon., T. XI., p. 348; Max. Bibl., T. XVIII., p. 438), most complete ed., C. A. *Schmidt*, Brunsv., 1770. *Bernaldus*, Constant. (1088), De Berang. multipli. condemnatione. (*Matth. Rieberer*, Raccolta Ferrarese di opuscoli scientifici, Venez., 1789, T. XXI.) *Sudendorf*, *Berengarius Turonensis*, a collection of letters (22) referring to him, Hamb., 1850.

II. *Roye*, Vita, hæresis et pœnitentia Berang. Andegavi, 1656. *Mabillon*, De Multiplici Ber. damnat. (Analect., T. II.) *Lessing*, *Berengarius of Tours*, Brunswick, 1770. (*Lessing*, complete works, ed. by *Lachmann*, Vol. VIII., p. 814 sq.) *Stäudlin*, *Berengarius of Tours* (*Stäudlin* and *Tzschirner*. Archives, Vol. III., p. 1); see *Reuter*, De Erroribus, etc. See above, p. 570. *Will*, Restoration of the Church, nro. 2. *Hefele*, Hist. of Counc., Vol. IV., p. 703 sq.

The view of the Eucharist set forth and defended in the eleventh century by Berengarius was an out-and-out *heresy*. Berengarius was

born at Tours, was educated by *Fulbert* of Chartres, and, after quitting school, taught secular branches for a time in his native city. A skilful dialectician, and possessing considerable knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church, he soon rose to eminence, and became, in the year 1031, Scholasticus, or Director of the Cathedral-school of Tours, and in 1041 was appointed Archdeacon at Angers.¹ On the fundamental doctrine of the Christian religion, he adopted the teaching of *Scotus Erigena*, to whose authority he openly appealed,² and pursuing the rationalistic tendency³ of his mind, which had early developed itself, he pronounced, still more distinctly and emphatically than his master, against the doctrine of Transubstantiation. He held that no change whatever, in the strict and proper sense of the word,⁴ was effected in the material elements of the Eucharist, and that the only change they underwent was precisely the same as that which takes place in the matter of the other Sacraments through the form of prayer used in each. Thus, for example, as a divine virtue or influence is imparted to water or oil by the sacramental form, and operates through them, so also in the Sacrament of the Eucharist the bread and wine become the medium or channel of this virtue, but in themselves are essentially what they were before the sacramental act was performed. It is true, Berengarius admitted in words that a *change* takes place in the Sacrament of the Eucharist; that the *true* Body of Christ is present, and that there is an oblation of the Body of Christ in the Mass; but his only purpose in doing so was to give an orthodox colouring to his innovations, to give them a Catholic exterior, and to avoid openly assailing the received doctrine of the Church. Hence he clothed his errors in the accepted language of Catholic theology, and proposed openly what in his heart he denied. For, while using an orthodox phraseology, he really meant only *that Christ is spiritually present in the*

¹ On the life of Berengarius, *Hist. littéraire de la France*, T. VIII., p. 197 sq.

² Berengarius Joannis Scoti lectione ad hanc nefariam devolutus est sectam. (Flor. Franc. hist. fragm.) But Berengarius himself acknowledged that he was a partisan of *Erigena*: Si hæreticum habes Joannem, cujus sententias de eucharistia probamus, habendus tibi est hæreticus Ambrosius, Hieronymus, Augustinus, ut de cæteris taceam. (Ep. ad Lanfranc., in *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. VI., p. 1016.) Cf. *Pagi*, Ad Baron. annal. a. 1050 nr. VII. Berengarius also made use of the same false method, in treating positive doctrines of the Church, that had been used by *Erigena*. For Lanfranc, De Eucharistia, c. 7, addressing him, says: Relictis sacris auctoritatibus ad dialecticam confugium facis. Et quidem de mysterio fidei auditurus ac responsurus, quæ ad rem debeant pertinere, mallet audire ac respondere sacras auctoritates, quam dialecticas rationes. Therefore, exactly as *magister Florus* had complained of *Scotus Erigena*, see p. 429, n. 1.

³ *Bp. Guilmund* thus refers to the studies of Berengarius: Cum juveniles adhuc in scholis ageret annos, ut ajunt, qui eum tunc noverant, elatus ingenii levitate, ipsius magistri sensum non adeo curabat, libros insuper artium contemnebat. And, further down, he goes on to say: Cum per se attingere philosophiæ altioris secreta non posset, neque enim homo ita acutus erat, sed ut tunc temporis liberales artes intra Gallias pene obsoleverant, novis saltem verborum interpretationibus, quibus etiam nunc nimium gaudet, singularis scientiæ sibi laudem arrogare et cujusdam excellentiæ gloriam venari qualitercunque poterat affectabat.

⁴ *Guilmund* says, L. c.: Nam Berengariani omnes quidem in hoc conveniunt, quia panis et vinum essentialiter non mutantur.

elements, and that a certain efficacy or virtue is imparted to them by the faith of the individual.¹ That this was in truth the opinion of Berengarius is still further proved by his assertion that the Body of Christ, after his resurrection, could not possibly pass through the closed doors of the apartment in which the apostles were assembled; thus showing that he was either ignorant of or denied the properties of the spiritualized and glorified body.

The immediate occasion of the *breaking out* of this controversy was a correspondence between Berengarius and his former friend, *Lanfranc*, then Scholasticus of the cloister of *Bec*, in Normandy, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Berengarius had hoped to find *Lanfranc* favourable to his own views; but, learning the contrary, he reproached him for having rejected the doctrine of *Scotus Erigena* as heretical, and for defending that of *Paschasius Radbert*, and closed his letter by inviting the monk of *Bec* to discuss the subject with him before a number of judges.

Lanfranc was then absent in Rome, and *Leo IX.*, having received intelligence of the contents of the letter, called two synods (A. D. 1050)—the one at *Rome*, and the other at *Vercelli*—at both of which

¹ Owing to the vacillating character of Berengarius and his frequent changes of mind, there is some doubt as to what was precisely his doctrine on the Eucharist. Two different opinions are ascribed to him: 1. That he denied Transubstantiation, but admitted the Real Presence in the Eucharist; in other words, that he held a doctrine similar to that of *Lutheran* impanation. 2. That he denied the Real Presence, and, like *Zwinglius* at a later day, put a figurative interpretation upon the form of consecration. Relative to the first opinion, we have the words of *Martène* and *Durand* (*Thesaur. nov. anecdotor.*, T. IV., p. 99): “Ex hoc loco et ex superius dictis patet, Berengarium realem, ut ajunt Christi præsentiam admisisse in Eucharistia, sed transubstantiationem præsertim eum negasse, id quod probat multisque exemplis demonstrat noster Mabillonius in præfat. ad sæcul. VI. ord. Bened.” And *Guilmund* relates: “Multum in hoc differunt (Berengariani), quod alii nihil omnino de corpore et sanguine Domini sacramentis istis inesse, sed tantummodo umbras hæc et figuras esse dicunt. Alii vero dicunt, ibi corpus et sanguinem Domini revera, sed latenter, contineri, et ut sumi possint, quodammodo, ut ita dixerim impanari. Et hanc ipsius Berengarii subtiliorem esse sententiam ajunt.” But *Adelmann* (Director of the School of Liège, and in 1048 Bishop of Brescia), L. c., that the second opinion contains the true doctrine of Berengarius, who, he says, held only a *figura quedam et similitudo*. But the following words of his own prove the true position of Berengarius: “Non minus *tropica locutione* dicitur: panis, qui ponitur in altari, post consecrationem est corpus Christi, et vinum sanguis, quam dicitur, Christus est leo, Christus est agnus, Christus est summus angularis lapis.”

But the following words of Berengarius, taken from the third fragment of his epist. ad *Adelmannum*, are still more significant. He had already said in his treatise, *De sacra Cena*, that the whole Body of Christ was delivered up to death, *ita habeas totum integrumque Christi corpus accipi (per sacramentum altaris)*, and that since the Body of Christ, being now in heaven, in a condition of invisible unity, no visible manifestation of it can take place, and consequently, when the eating of His Body is spoken of, it should be understood in a *spiritual* sense to mean that the participant raises his mind and heart up to the Body of Christ in heaven. He adds: Since, according to the words of Holy Writ, the Body and Blood will remain in heaven until the end of the world, none of the faithful can presume to say, “se ad refectionem animæ suæ accipere nisi totam et integram Dei sui carmen, non autem cælo devocatum, sed in cælo manentem, quod ore corporis fieri ratio nulla permittit, cordis, ad videndum Deum mundati, devotione spatiosissima, nulla indignitate, nullis fieri prohibetur angustiis.” It is impossible also, says he, and most unworthy of the Divine Majesty to receive Christ entire *ore corporis*, ac per hoc Christi corpus totum constat, accipi ab interiori homine, fidelium corde, non ore. Cf. *Bellarminus*, *De sacra Eucharistia*, lib. III., c. 18.

Lanfranc was present, to consider the teachings of Berengarius. After a careful examination, they were condemned, and the works of Scotus Erigena burned. As Lanfranc had become suspected of favouring the views of Berengarius, he availed himself of the opportunity presented in these two synods to clear himself of the suspicion. He wrote, besides a refutation of the condemned errors, a history of the origin and purpose of this correspondence, and explained his other relations with Berengarius. He takes occasion in this work to give a clear and forcible exposition of the Church's teaching on the Sacrament of the altar; and, in reply to the objection of Berengarius, that some of the early Fathers of the Church frequently called the Eucharist *species*, *similitudo*, *figura*, says very appositely in the twentieth chapter, "that no one could even now *adequately describe the Sacrament* without employing these terms." He then goes on to show that the Doctors of the Church, while employing these terms, called the Eucharist "*the true Body and the true Blood of Christ*" (*verum corpus et verus sanguis Christi*). The controversy was spreading rapidly; the minds of men were much disturbed by it; and Berengarius himself, by his writings and addresses, was daily drawing to his side a greater number of followers. His teachings were again examined, and condemned, at a synod held at Paris, A. D. 1051. But the controversy grew only more and more heated and general as days went on. In the year 1055, *Hildebrand*, the Papal legate, who had come into France on other business, presided at the Council of Tours, convened for the settlement of this question, and, having granted Berengarius a fair hearing, expressed himself satisfied with a confession of faith which the latter was willing to make publicly before the assembled Fathers. The wording of this formula was in exact conformity with the doctrine of the Church, but Berengarius had no intention of making a profession of faith in the orthodox sense. Some of the Fathers, suspicious of his honesty, and aware of his sophistical arts and his method of equivocating, where an equivocation would serve his purpose, insisted that his confession should be made more explicit, and that, while professing in words that bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ by the form of consecration, he should add that he received this doctrine *with internal assent*. He made the confession with this additional binding clause, solemnly and under oath, while he did not believe, as he afterwards confessed, a single word he was saying, in the sense in which his auditors understood, and in which he knew they understood him. In this way he deceived the Papal legate, who had all along treated him with marked kindness, and whose whole thoughts were now occupied with the reformation of the abuses that had crept into the Church, rather than with the more subtle questions of theology.

When the artifice had been detected, Berengarius was cited before a council of one hundred and thirteen bishops, convoked at Rome (A. D. 1059) by Pope Nicholas II., and there obliged to commit his own writings to the flames, and to subscribe, under oath, to a confession of

faith drawn up by Cardinal Humbert, in terms so *precise and emphatic* as to exclude any possibility of an equivocal interpretation. The expressions used in this document may seem *harsh*,¹ but it was necessary to employ them, this being the only possible way of preventing this wily sophist from appearing before the world as one having the sanction of the Church while engaged in assailing the very central dogma of her faith.

He had barely quitted Rome when he rejected the formula subscribed to before the council, as he said, from the fear of death. The duplicity of Berengarius, his submission and cowardice in the face of danger, and his arrogance and perjury when at a distance from it, are not attractive traits of character or proofs of exceptional manliness. Nor is our admiration for him much increased by the method he took to justify his conduct and compound with his conscience. He now appealed to the example of Aaron, who from fear had made a golden calf, and again to that of St. Peter, who from a like motive had denied his Master. Like a true precursor of more modern heretics, he assailed Pope Leo IX. in violent language, calling him, not *Pontifex*, but *Pompifex*, and called the Church of Rome, not the Apostolic See, but the See of Satan.

As he still continued to attack the doctrines of the Church, and to excite considerable disturbance throughout France by his teachings, Cardinal Hildebrand, who had in the meantime ascended the Papal throne under the title of *Gregory VII.*, summoned him once more to Rome. At a synod convened here (A. D. 1078), Berengarius was again required to declare, under oath, that "the bread of the altar is, after consecration, the true Body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, died on the cross, and is now seated at the right hand of the Father in heaven; and that the wine of the altar is, in like manner, after consecration, the true Blood which flowed from the side of Christ." And, in order to cut off any possible way to a subterfuge, he was required, at a synod held at Rome in the following year, to subscribe to a formula which, in speaking of the change of bread and wine in the Eucharist, contained, instead of the simple word "*converti*" or "*changed*," "*substantialiter converti*" or "*changed substantially*," with the antithesis "*non tantum per signum et virtutem Sacramenti sed in proprietate naturæ et veritate substantiæ*."

But this proud dialectician was obliged to submit to a still greater humiliation. Gregory ordered him to prostrate himself on the ground, and confess that *he had been all along in error* in his views on the mystery of the Eucharist. Fearing, as he says, that the Pope would

¹ "Panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Chr. esse, et sensualiter non solum sacramento, sed etiam in veritate manifestum sacerdotum tractari frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri, jurans per sanctam et hominibus Trinitatem et per hæc sacrosancta Christi evangelia." It was not intended to establish a profession of faith for the whole Church by this formula, but simply to compel this shifty dialectician to profess, without subterfuge, that the substance of the Body of Christ was truly eaten in the Eucharist, or to say he would not.

pronounce sentence of excommunication upon him, and that the populace would in consequence hurry him off to the worst of deaths, he lost heart and yielded to the fresh demand. But, once he had quitted Rome, he was true to his old character, and drew up an account of the two Roman synods, in which he indulges in bitter taunts against such as opposed him, and wholly misrepresents the conduct of Pope Gregory, whom he accuses of wavering, inconstancy, and of hesitating as to which side he would take in the controversy.

Berengarius again endeavoured to defend himself before a synod assembled at Bordeaux, A. D. 1080. His opponent was *Guitmund*, one of Lanfranc's disciples, who wrote a learned and able work¹ against him.

Bent under the weight of years, and broken with affliction, Berengarius withdrew, towards the close of his life, to the island of St. Cosmas, near Tours, where he spent his last days in retirement and comparative quiet. Chastened by the influence of a penitential and solitary life, he gradually gained the mastery over his pride, and became convinced of the truth of the Catholic doctrine in the Eucharist. He passed away in the year 1088, at peace with the Church, and manifesting in his last moment the most sincere sentiments of penitence, to the great edification of his many friends. His last words were: "To-day will my Lord Jesus Christ be made manifest to me, for my glory, as I humbly hope, in virtue of the penance I have done, or for my punishment, as the great number of souls whom I have led astray gives me cause to fear."

CHAPTER VI.

MEMORABLE EVENTS IN THE GREEK CHURCH.

§ 207. *Eastern Schism—Photius—Eighth Œcumenical Council.*

I. *Photii*, Ep. ed. *Montacutius*, Lond., 1651, f. in *Migne*, Ser. Gr. T. 102. *Nicetæ Davidis*, Vita s. certamen S. Ignatii (*Mansi*, T. XVI., p. 209), epp. Roman. Pontif. et Acta Synod. (*Mansi*, T. XV., XVI.; *Harduin*, T. V.)

II. *Leo Allatius* (about 1640), De Eccl. occident. et orient. perpetua consens., Col., 1648, 4to, and concerning his still unprinted works, cf. *Lämmer*, De Leonis Allat codicibus, Friburgi, 1864. *Maimbourg, S.J.*, Hist du schism des Grecs., Paris, 1677; German, by *Meuser*, Aix-la-Chapelle, 1841; second ed. contin. down to most recent times, 1853. *Pitzipios-Bey*, L'église orientale, exposé hist. de sa séparation et de sa réunion avec celle de Rome, Paris, 1855, 4 vols.; German, Vienna, 1857. **Katerkamp*, Ch. H., Vol. IV., pp. 359-448. †*Jager*, Hist. de Photius, ed. II., Paris, 1845; †*Tosti*, Storia dell' origine

¹ Cf. *Gfrörer*, Univ. Ch. H., Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 513. *Döllinger*, Ch. H. Vol. III. p. 81.

dello scisma Greco, Firenze, 1856, 2 vols. *Pichler*, Hist. of the ecclesiastical separation between the East and the West, Munich, 1861, Vol. I., censured by reason of excessive partiality. *Hergenröther*, Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, his life, his writings, and the Greek schism, Ratisbon, 1867, sq., 3 vols. *Palma*, Præl. H. E., T. II., Pt. II., pp. 82-124. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. IV., p. 218 sq.

APART from the many points of ecclesiastical discipline which had been gradually sundering the Greek from the Roman Church in the interval between the Council of Sardica and the Iconoclast controversy, the cause of greatest offence to the Emperors and patriarchs of Constantinople, and that which estranged them entirely from the interests of Rome, was the close alliance between the Papacy and the Empire of the West.

During the reign of *Michael III.*, surnamed the Drunkard, Bardas the Cæsar, the uncle and tutor of the Emperor, made an attempt to gain possession of supreme power. But Bardas, though an ambitious and immoral man, had some commendable qualities, and was particularly distinguished as a munificent patron of literature and the sciences. Here praise must end. The most scandalous profanation of sacred things was permitted at the imperial court, and the most impious acts openly performed.¹

Ignatius, the saintly patriarch, if unable to put a stop to these outrages upon decency and the sanctity of religion, was still in position to offer a determined resistance to the scandalous conduct of Bardas, to whom he denied permission to go to Holy Communion unless he would promise to live in lawful wedlock with his own wife, and break off his incestuous intercourse with his daughter-in-law. He was equally determined in his opposition to an attempt to force *Theodora* and her daughters, the mother and sisters of the Emperor, to enter a convent and take the veil of religion. Such resistance to their will provoked the indignation, and excited the anger of both the Emperor and Bardas, and, in order to avenge themselves for the supposed affront, they had the patriarch deposed, his adherents driven from places of influence and honour, and *Photius*, a layman, a relative and the first secretary of the Emperor, appointed to the patriarchal throne. Photius received ecclesiastical tonsure on the 20th of December, A. D. 857, and the other orders on the five succeeding days. As a matter of form, he was elected patriarch of Constantinople in the imperial palace, and was consecrated bishop on Christmas Day by *Gregory*, Archbishop of *Syracuse*, who had been previously excommunicated by the patriarch *Methodius* and deposed by *Ignatius*. A council held at Constantinople (A. D. 859) at first deposed Photius and declared him excommunicated; but the majority of the bishops, being the servile tools of the court and sure of its protection, renewed the deposition of *Ignatius* and pronounced sentence of

¹ The courtiers were made to play the parts of priests and bishop in clerical attire. All the sacred rites of religion were, by order of the Emperor *Michael*, ridiculed and celebrated by buffoons as wicked as their master, with much pomp and at great expense. See Life of *Ignatius*, *Harduin*, V., f. 974, and Constant. Porphyrogenet. Continuat. lib. IV., c. 38. (Tr.)

anathema upon him. He was next treated with every sort of ignominy, and finally driven to such extremes, by the violence of his persecutors, that he consented to put his name to an instrument of abdication.

As a strong party at Constantinople still held out in favour of Ignatius, the imperial court, in the hope of overcoming their opposition and closing the schism that divided the city, sent an embassy to Pope *Nicholas I.*, begging him to recognise Photius as the legitimate patriarch. Photius also sent a letter to the Pope, representing, in tones of feigned humility and simulated sorrow, how he had been forced, against his own will, to assume the burdensome duties of the patriarchate, and how the Emperor, who was so considerate and kind to others, had been so harsh and precipitate to him. Nicholas, though a simple-minded man, could not be imposed on by so thin a disguise. Very much to the surprise of both Photius and the Emperor, who, confident that he would not venture upon such a step, had cunningly requested him to send ambassadors to Constantinople "to put an end to the quarrels occasioned by the new appointment to the patriarchate, and to remove the last traces of iconoclasm," Nicholas took them at their word, and in the year 860 sent thither, as his legates, *Rhodoald*, Bishop of Porto, and *Zacharias*, Bishop of Anagni. Unfortunately, these men were not faithful to their trust. On the one hand, they were taken in charge by the party of Photius, prevented from having access to others, and thus cut off from the only means of obtaining the information requisite to form a just judgment on the question at issue; and on the other, they permitted themselves to be bribed to take sides against Ignatius. After having been plied with all manner of promises and threats for above three months, they finally yielded, and at the so-called oecumenical council of Constantinople (A. D. 861), presided over by Photius and attended by three hundred and eighteen bishops, pronounced sentence of deposition on Ignatius and declared Photius the rightful patriarch. Ignatius at once drew up an appeal against this sentence, had it signed by the bishops and monks who adhered to him, and sent it to Rome by the abbot Theognist. Pope Nicholas, on a careful examination of the matter, found that his envoys had accepted bribes and violated his instructions, and accordingly declared them excommunicated in a Roman synod held A. D. 863, and, in the same assembly, deprived Photius of every sacerdotal office, honour, and prerogative, and recognized Ignatius as Patriarch. When the Pope forwarded these decrees to Constantinople, the Emperor Michael sent back a very violent and abusive letter to which the Pope replied with dignity and courteous civility.¹

The exasperation which the Pope's course in this matter had excited at Constantinople was considerably heightened when *Bogoris*, King of the *Bulgarians*, whose subjects had been converted to Christianity by the Greeks, entered into union with the Church of Rome

(A. D. 866) as the only means of putting an end to the confusion reigning among the Christian missionaries labouring in his kingdom. After Nicholas I. had published his celebrated *Responsa* (in one hundred and six chapters), for the instruction and guidance of those missionaries who went forth to carry the blessings of the Gospel and the light of civilisation into distant lands, Photius issued a similar collection of instructions for the use of the Bulgarian neophytes; but, compared with that of the Pope, it was of little practical value.

In the year 866, Bardas, to whom Photius owed his elevation, was murdered by *Basil the Macedonian*, with the connivance and approbation of Michael. Basil was created Cæsar, and took Photius under his protection. The latter now proceeded with increased violence against his opponents. He represented to the Emperor that, together with the seat of empire, the Primacy had also passed from Rome to Constantinople. He again revived all questions that had ever come up for discussion between the *two Churches*;¹ but, of all these, as Archhishop *Theophylactus* very justly remarked, the only one of vital importance was the controversy on the Filioque.

CONTROVERSY ON THE FILIOQUE.²

This controversy was of importance, chiefly because it involved a dogma of the Church, but partly also because the addition to the Symbol of Faith of the word *Filioque* (and from the Son) would naturally excite the hostility of the Greeks against the Latins.³ The Greeks said that they would abide by the words of the Second Œcumenical Council of Constantinople (A. D. 381), which ran "*who proceeds from the Father* (i. e., from the Substance of the Father), who is adored and glorified with the Father and the Son, who spoke by the prophets." The West was now far in advance of the East in the province of speculative theology, and the relations of the Father to the Son and Holy Ghost were far more lucidly and accurately explained than formerly. This was chiefly due to the luminous and profound writings of SS. *Hilary*, *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, and *Leo the Great*⁴ on the subject.

These theologians, in explaining the relations of the Holy Ghost

¹ *Photii*, Ep. 2, in *Montacutius*, P. 247 sq.; in *Migne's Ser. Gr.*, T. 102, p. 722 sq.

² *Le Quien*, Dissert. de processione Spiritus St. (with his edd. opp. *Joh. Damasceni*, T. I.); *Walch*, Historia controvers. Græcor. et Latinor. de process. Spiritus St., Jen., 1757; *de Buo*, Essai de conciliation sur le dogme de la procession du St. Esprit, Paris, 1857; *van der Maeren*, Dissertatio theologica de processione Spirit. St. ex Patre Filioque, Lovan., 1864.

³ *Photii*, Constantinop. liber de Spirit. Sti. mystagogia, quem notis variis illustratum ac theologiæ crisi subjectum nunc primum, ed. *J. Hergenröther*, Ratisb., 1857; in *Migne's Ser. Gr.*, T. 102. *Hergenröther*, The Theological Polemics of Photius against the Latin Church (*Tüb. Quarterly*, 1858, p. 559-592). By the same, Photius, Vol. I., p. 684-711.

⁴ See Vol. I., p. 394. *Augustin.*, De Trinit. IV., 20: Nec possumus dicere, quod Spir. St. et a Filio non procedat, neque enim frustra idem Spiritus et Patris et Filii Spiritus dicitur. Nec video, quid aliud significare voluerit, cum sufflans in faciem discipulorum ait: accipite Spiritum St. Neque enim flatus ille corporeus substantia Spiritus St. fuit, sed demonstratio per congruam significationem, non tantum a Patre, sed et a Filio procedere Spiritum St. Cf. V. 14; XV. 29, 47: Si quidquid habet, de Patre habet Filius: de Patre habet unigue, ut et de illo procedat Spiritus Sanctus.

to the Father and the Son, said that *He proceeds from the Father and from the Son*. Between the Latins and the more imaginative Greeks there was not any substantial difference¹ as to the doctrine itself. The difficulty between them arose from the preference on the part of the latter for the faulty formula, "the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *through the Son*" (διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ).

The word *Filioque* first came into use in the West about the beginning of the fifth century. It was first familiarised in Spain, and is to be found in the symbol of faith of the first council of Toledo (A. D. 400), convened to condemn the Priscillianists. It was found incorporated into the symbol of Nice, as enlarged at Constantinople, when the Visigoths were converted to Christianity. Its use must have become pretty general before the holding of the third council of Toledo (A. D. 589), by a decree of which the people were ordered to sing the whole symbol containing it during the celebration of the Divine Mysteries. The formula based on the words of St. John, xvi. 15, ran thus; "Who proceeds from the Father *and the Son*."²

The word passed from Spain into France and Germany in the course of the eighth century.

The Greeks, always more or less disposed to take exception to the proceedings of the Latin Church, professed to find an *error* against faith in this formula, notwithstanding the *unanimity* of the Western Church in receiving it. Nor can the answer of Pope *Leo III.* to the envoys sent by Charlemagne to consult him in relation to the proceedings of the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle (A. D. 809) be brought as an objection against this unanimity, for his words were directed against the extravagant interpretations put upon the formula by provincial synods, and not against the formula itself, which he fully admitted.³

¹ Ἡ βασιλικὴ ἀγαθότης καὶ ὁ κατὰ φύσιν ἀγιασμὸς καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἐκ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἐπὶ τὸ πνεῦμα δίδκει. Basil. de Sp. S., c. 18. ἀξιώματι μὲν γὰρ δευτερεῖεν τοῦ υἱοῦ, παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶναι ἔχον, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνον καὶ ἀναγγέλλον ἡμῖν . . . id. adv. Eunom. III. 1.—ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ λαμβανόμενον. Epiph. hæc. 79, nr. 18, 52, and in many other places.—ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ λαμβανόμενον. Greg. Nyss. de Sp. S. in *Mai*, Collect. VIII. II., p. 15. There are also Greek Fathers who call the Son the source of the Holy Ghost, *πηγὴ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, just as they call the Father the source of the Son, *πηγὴ τοῦ υἱοῦ*. Cf. *Petan*. Theolog. dogmat. de Trinit., lib. VII., c. 3-7, and *Hergenröther*, Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, according to St. Gregory of Naz., Ratisbon, 1850, and Freiburg Eccl. Cyclopæd., T. IV., p. 766. Very remarkable is the judgment on this controversy of *Holden*, Analysis Fidei "Qui ex patre filioque procedit" hæc formula explicatior et magis exquisita videbatur Concilii Patribus, quam Græcorum loquendi modus—qui a patre *per filium* procedit—tametsi forsitan hæc discrepantia in verbis magis quam in re ipsa sita sit, seposita malevola hæreticorum intentione, qua Spiritus Seti. Deitatem impetere conati sunt, quod Patribus Concilii suspectum fortasse notum fuit.

² *Conc. Tolet.* I. a 400; *Tolet.* III. a 589. Credimus et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificatorem, ex Patre et Filio procedentem, cum Patre et Filio adorandum et glorificandum. (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 472; *Mansi*, T. IX., p. 981, and oftener.)

³ The conference of Leo III. is given, with full details, in *Baron*. Annal. ad. an. 809 nros. 53 sq. After having read attentively the proofs brought on the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, he said: "Ita sentio, ita teneo, ita cum his auctoribus et sacre scripture auctoritatibus. Si quis aliter de hac re sentire vel docere voluerit, defendo: et nisi conversus fuerit, et secundum hunc sensum tenere voluerit, contraria sentientem funditus abjicio."

Photius roused the suspicions of the Greeks by representing to them that the Latins were favouring the Manichæan heresy by admitting *two* principles in the Deity. It was this misrepresentation of facts that constituted the greatest obstacle to the success of the subsequent endeavours to unite the two Churches at the *Fourth (Œcumenical) Council of Lateran*, and at the Councils of *Lyons* and *Florence*.¹

As has been said, Photius managed to retain his influence at court after the accession to power of Basil, the murderer of his former patron, Bardas; and, confident of the sympathy of the Eastern bishops on the *Bulgarian* question, he determined to take vengeance on Rome for having declared for Ignatius and against himself. In the year 867, he convoked a synod at Constantinople, at which pretended representatives of the three patriarchs were present, and endeavoured to invest it with the authority of an œcumenical council. The Pope was falsely accused of certain offences, declared guilty, anathematised, and deposed.² It appears now that only twenty-one bishops put their names to this ludicrous decree, and consequently Photius must have forged the hundreds of others affixed to it, embracing bishops, priests, and deacons who had never so much as heard even of the existence of the synod. Photius, in order to flatter the vanity and gain the goodwill of the Emperor Louis and his queen, Ingelberge, sent them, together with costly presents, an interpolated copy of the acts of this synod, in which they were addressed by the title of *Imperial*—an appellation which the Greeks had persistently refused to apply to the Western emperors.

The Pope could well afford to smile at these futile attempts to injure the Apostolic See, and, through it, the whole Church. They could deceive no one except such as wished to be deceived. But Photius now tried a bolder and more dangerous game. Knowing well that there is no better way of securing success among any people, and especially among people like the Orientals, who, proud of their traditions, did not wish to be dictated to by Rome, than by appealing to their prejudices, he accordingly adopted a plan by which he could do the most injury to Rome with the least expenditure of labour. In a circular letter³ addressed to the three patriarchs and the more eminent bishops of the East, inviting them to take part in the synod of Constantinople, he took occasion to attack the Church of Rome. He represented her as teaching, through her missionaries in Bulgaria, new and erroneous doctrines. He said that these observed fast on Saturday, abridged the time of Lent by a week, took milk-food on fasting days, despised priests living virtuously in the married state, rejected confirmation administered by priests, falsified confessions of faith sanctioned by œcumenical councils by making additions to

¹ See §§ 221, 224, and 272.

² Ep. encycl. *Photii*, L. c. and ad episcop. Aquilej. (*Combesisii*, Auctuar. Bibl. PP. noviss., T. I., p. 527; *Migne's Ser. Gr.* T. 102, p. 722 sq.

³ Epist., II. (Tr.)

them, and, finally, taught that the Holy Ghost proceeds not from the Father only, but also from the Son, thus implying that there are two principles in the Trinity—the Father having the principle of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and the Son also the principle of the Holy Ghost.¹

The Pope invited many eminent bishops, and among them Hincmar of Rheims, to take up the defence of the Western Church and refute the false and damaging accusations brought against her by Photius.

The most important writings called forth by these invitations were the defences of *Æneas*, Bishop of Paris, and *Ratramnus*, a monk of Corbie. The latter is especially distinguished by the judicial calmness and Christian temper with which he treats the subject, and all found it an easy task to repel and confute the false charges brought against the Latin Church.

In the year 867, the same in which the Synod of Constantinople was held—the despicable emperor, Michael, met with the punishment which his crimes richly deserved. His favourite and co-regent, Basil the Macedonian, contrived his destruction, had himself proclaimed sole Emperor and crowned by Photius, whom, on the following day, he drove from the patriarchal throne. There were political reasons why Basil should do this. He felt the necessity of securing himself on the imperial throne by gaining the good-will of the people, who, for the most part, believed that Ignatius had been wronged, and longed to see him restored to his former dignity. Ignatius was accordingly reinstated, and, by his advice, the Emperor wrote to the Pope, advising him of what had taken place, and requesting him to convoke an œcumenical council to annul the decrees of the synod held under the presidency of Photius, and to put an end to his party—a request to which Nicholas cheerfully acceded. Nicholas died before this project could be carried into effect, but his successor, *Hadrian II.* (A. D. 867-872), took it up after him. He held a council at Rome (A. D. 868), at which Photius was again deposed and sentence of anathema passed upon him, Ignatius declared the rightful patriarch, and the acts of the false synod of Constantinople committed to the flames. The Pope then gave his consent to the convocation of an œcumenical council at Constantinople.

EIGHTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL (A. D. 869).

The bishops of the East were summoned to attend this council by the Emperor. That it required a *special request, addressed by the Greek Emperor* to the Saracens, to obtain a permit for the patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria to proceed to Constantinople, is a sad commentary on the position of the Greek Empire then, compared with what it had formerly been.

The council was opened in the church of St. Sophia, October 5,

¹ *Döllinger*, Ch. Hist., Cox's trans., Vol. III., pp. 90, 91. (Tr.)

A. D. 869. The papal legates presided, and below them sat Ignatius and the representatives of the other patriarchs. The first question treated of by the council was the affair between *Ignatius* and *Photius*. The latter was condemned as an usurper, an author of schism, and a falsificator of synodal decrees; his partisan, *Gregory of Syracuse*, and the other advocates of his cause, were cut off from the communion of the Church;¹ the acts of the false synods held by him were burned; and sentence of anathema passed upon the contumacious Iconoclasts.

After these affairs had been gone through, there was an interruption of three months, and when the council again convened, February 12, A. D. 870, the false testimony against Ignatius was examined, the decrees of the Pope against Photius and in favour of Ignatius confirmed, and the ordinations conferred by Photius declared unlawful. In conclusion, the Fathers drew up a capital decree (ἄρτος) embracing the twenty-seven canons passed by the council, to which all affixed their signatures, but the papal legates added the condition that the decrees should be still subject to revision by the Pope.

This ended the main work of the council to the satisfaction of both the Emperor and the papal legates, after which the legates, Ignatius, the representatives of the patriarchs, and the ambassadors of the Bulgarian king assembled in the imperial palace to discuss the supplementary question of jurisdiction over the *Bulgarians*. The ambassadors perfidiously asked to what Church (i. e., patriarchal) the church of their nation should be subject? The Orientals replied, that, "since Bulgaria had formerly formed part of the Greek Empire, and since the Bulgarians, on taking possession of the territory, found there Greek and not Latin priests, it seemed quite clear that the Church of Bulgaria should recognise the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople." The papal legates answered to this, that "the jurisdiction of the Church is not circumscribed by territorial limits; that the bishops of the two provinces of Epirus, and those of Thessaly and Dardania (Bulgaria), had been consecrated, either directly by the Roman Church or by her vicars, until these countries were withdrawn from her jurisdiction by the violence of Leo the Isaurian; that the King of Bulgaria and his people had voluntarily passed to the obedience of Rome, and recognised in its bishop the successor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles; and that it was still their desire to receive from the Roman Pontiff their doctrine, their bishops, and their priests." The legates finally appealed to the superior jurisdiction of the Church of Rome, which could not accept the decision of another. The discussion went on, and the Greeks continued obstinate. Ignatius, who was under so many obligations of gratitude to the Church of Rome, was appealed to, but in vain, to interpose his influence and end the quarrel. His answer was conveyed in general and evasive language, and he shortly

¹ It is important here to consult *Anastasius* the Librarian, who, as envoy of the emperor, Louis II., was present at the tenth session, and assigns the reasons for the small number of subscriptions to the Council. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. V., pp. 369, 413.

after sent the learned *Theophylactus* as first metropolitan into Bulgaria. The dispute on either side grew daily more vehement and determined, and now threatened to end in a violent division of the two churches.

In the meantime Hadrian II. had died, and his successor, *John VIII.* (A. D. 872-882), at the request of the Emperor, sent the bishops of Ostia and Ancona as legates to Constantinople. They were the bearers of letters to Ignatius, commanding him to at once recall the Greek bishops and priests from Bulgaria, and, in case he should refuse to comply, threatening him with suspension, and, if he should still continue obstinate, with excommunication. Fortunately, a rupture was prevented by the death of Ignatius (A. D. 877 or 878).

Photius, though deprived of the patriarchal throne, had neglected nothing which could bring him into favour at court. He took every occasion to flatter the Emperor, and, among other ingenious devices for this purpose, drew a family tree, on which the genealogy of Basil was traced back to the remote Arsacidæ. A service which threw the prestige and lustre of antiquity and royalty about an obscure dynasty could not fail of bringing its author into positions of influence and prominence; and Photius had accordingly been made tutor to the young prince and counsellor to the Emperor; and, three days after the death of Ignatius, was again raised to the patriarchal throne.¹

At the prayer of the Emperor, the Papal Legates, and the Oriental bishops, Pope John VIII. consented to recognise the validity of Photius's claim to the patriarchate; provided, however, that he would apologize before a synod for the evil he had already done, and enter upon a better course of life; that the jurisdiction of Rome over the Bulgarians should be acknowledged; that no layman should henceforth be appointed bishop, and that those who had been ordained by Ignatius should be permitted to retain their positions.² But Photius had no intention of keeping these promises, and, once on the patriarchal throne, directly proceeded to carry out his schemes with increased violence and the most shameless dishonesty. In the first session of a great council held at Constantinople (A. D. 879), at which three hundred and eighty bishops were present, his friend, *Zachary* of Ephesus, made a speech, in which, after bestowing the most extravagant praise on Photius—giving him, among other titles, that of “the Divine”—he went on to say that “there was no special need of this council; that it had convened merely to save the honour of the Roman Church, and to remove from her the charge of having promoted discord and schism.”³ In the second and third sessions, Photius read the Pope's letter to himself and his instructions to the legates in a mutilated and interpolated translation, omitting whatever

¹ The facts of the Bulgarian difficulty have been taken chiefly from *Döllinger*, Ch. Hist., Eng. trans., Vol. III., p. 97 sq. (Tr.)

² Joh. VII. ep. 199 and 253 (*Mansi*, T. XVI., p. 136 sq.; in *Harduin*, Ep. 93, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 63 sq.), in *Baron.* ad a. 879. *Hefele*, L. c., p. 434 sq.

³ *Harduin*, VI., p. 223. (Tr.)

reflected upon his own conduct, and particularly the conditions required of him before taking possession of the patriarchal throne, and introducing a eulogy of himself and a repudiation of the Eighth Œcumenical Council. In the fourth session, the Pope's instructions with regard to the jurisdiction of Bulgaria and the appointment of a layman to the office of bishop were entirely disregarded, and a proposal to condemn the synods that had declared against Photius met with general acceptance. In the sixth session, the symbol of Nice, with the Constantinopolitan addition of 381, was read, accepted, and sentence of anathema pronounced against those who should add to it or take from it. This last clause was evidently directed against the addition of the Filioque.

In the seventh and last session, Procopius of Cæsarea, made an address, containing an extravagant eulogy of both the Emperor and Photius, the latter of whom he compared to Christ, because of his efforts to unite all the fathers of the Church in one sheepfold and under one shepherd, and bestowed upon him the title of œcumenical patriarch. The council then closed with the profession, that the acts were the belief and the teaching of all, and that whosoever did not so think and believe would not see the glory of God. The Papal legates, being ignorant of the Greek language, and completely outwitted by the diplomatic astuteness and dishonesty of the Greeks, acted in good faith, and gave their assent to nearly every enactment of the council.

When the letter of Photius accompanying the acts of the council reached the Pope, the latter replied, expressing his astonishment that many things had been done contrary to his instructions, which, in some instances, had been entirely altered.¹ He closes this letter, which was conveyed to Constantinople by Bishop Marinus, with the declaration, that "he would not consider binding upon him, whatever his legates had done contrary to his instructions."² When Marinus had arrived at Constantinople, and proceeded to carry out his instructions from the Pope, the Emperor ordered him to be cast into prison, where he remained for a month. When the knowledge of this outrage came to Rome, Pope John, placing his hands upon the Book of Gospels, solemnly excommunicated Photius and all who advocated his cause, or recognised the late council, held under his presidency. This sentence was repeated by the successors of John VIII., Marinus I., and Hadrian III. But it was not till *Leo VI.*, the Philosopher, the son of Basil, came to the throne (A. D. 886), that Photius was obliged to relinquish the patriarchate. He withdrew to a monastery, where he died, A. D. 891. The new Emperor appointed his youngest brother, *Stephen*, to the patriarchate, and, together with

¹ *Mirandum valde est, cur multa, quæ nos statueramus, aut aliter habita, aut mutata esse noscantur, et nescimus, cujus studiis, vel neglectu variata monstrentur.* Epist. 108, *Harduin.*, VI., p. 87. (TR.)

² *Si fortasse nostri legati in eadem synodo contra apostolicam præceptionem egerint, nos nec recipimus nec judicamus alicujus existere firmitatis, l. c.* (TR.)

the bishops then at Constantinople, wrote to the *Pope*, requesting him to *confirm* the appointment. But while Pope Stephen (V.) VI. was still taking counsel, uncertain, amid the conflicting reports that reached him, how to proceed, the young patriarch died (A. D. 893). He was succeeded by *Anthony II.* (A. D. 899), in whose behalf a number of bishops, headed by Stylianus of Cæsarea, addressed a letter to *Formosus*, the then reigning Pope. The Pontiff replied, granting their prayer, but refusing at the same time to recognise the legality of the ordinations conferred by Photius; for, it was argued, "Photius could not confer a dignity (the priesthood) which he did not himself (lawfully) possess." Compared with the treatment of the Meletians, Novatians, and Donatists, in a former age, this decision was certainly harsh.

§ 208. *Revival of the Schism by Michael Cerularius.*

Epp. Nicolai Patriarch. (*Baron. ad a., 912.*) *Luitprandi*, Legatio ad Nicephor Phoc. (Corpus Scriptor. Hist. Byzant., Bonn., 1828, Pt. XI.) Epp. *Cerularii*, Et alior (*Canis. Basnage*, Lectt. Antiq., T. III., Pt. I., p. 281 sq.) Epp. Leonis IX. (in *Mansi*, T. XIX. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 927 sq.) Most complete collection of them in *Acta et Scripta*, quæ de controversiis eccles. Gr. et Latin. sæc. XI. composita extant, etc., ed. *Corn. Will.*, Lips. et Marb., 1861, in 4to.

The successors of the patriarch Anthony remained, during the tenth century in communion with Rome, and the other patriarchs of the East continued to enter the names of the Roman bishops upon their diptycha, and to commemorate them in the Canon of the Mass. But for all this, the intercourse between the two churches was neither active nor cordial. When the *Emperor Leo*, in spite of the protests of the patriarch, *Nicholas the Mystic* (A. D. 896, with an interruption till 925), and contrary to the usage of the Greek Church, contracted a fourth marriage (A. D. 905), he was excommunicated. This display of firmness on the part of the patriarch was the occasion of a transient rupture in the Byzantine Church. Nicholas refused to yield, even to the Papal legates, who had come to Constantinople at the request of the Emperor, and advised a milder policy, and was in consequence violently deposed and cast into prison (A. D. 906). When on his death-bed, the Emperor repented of his course, asked pardon of Nicholas, and restored him to his former dignity. At a synod, held A. D. 920, fourth marriages were forbidden, and harmony was again restored between the two churches.

But the jealousy arising from the ambition and mutual recriminations of princes, again caused their separation.

The occasion of this schism was the arrival of Papal legates at Constantinople, during a visit (A. D. 968) of Luitprand, Bishop of Cremona, as ambassador of the Emperor Otho, bearing letters from Pope John XIII., in which *Phocas* was styled "Emperor of the Greeks," and Otho "*Emperor of the Romans and Augustus.*" The Greeks were so indignant at this assumption, as they regarded it, that throughout the course of the eleventh century, though sorely in

need of assistance from the West, they repelled every honest attempt at reconciliation. Finally, the elevation of *Michael Cerularius* (A. D. 1043-1059) to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople became the immediate occasion of the separation of the two churches, for which so many circumstances had already cleared the way. In the year 1053, he and *Leo of Achrida*, the learned metropolitan of Bulgaria, composed a circular letter, addressed to *John, Bishop of Trani*, in Apulia,¹ in which they revived all the old objections against the Church of Rome, dwelling particularly upon the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, fasting on Saturdays, the drinking of blood and the eating of things strangled, and the omission of the Alleluia during the Lenten fast. This letter came in the way of Cardinal-bishop *Humbert*, who translated it, and forwarded a copy to Pope *Leo IX.* About the same time news arrived at Rome that the patriarch Cerularius had deprived the abbots and monks of their churches and monasteries for refusing to give up their own and adopt the usages of the Greek Church. The Pope felt that, under the circumstances, there was a call upon him to reply to the circular letter of the Greek patriarch, which he did, in a letter addressed to both Cerularius and the metropolitan, *Leo of Achrida*, written with such clearness and moderation that it produced a favourable impression upon the Emperor, who, on the one hand, requested *Leo IX.* to send legates to Constantinople, and, on the other, compelled the patriarch to renew friendly relations with the See of Rome. The Pope complied with this request, and in the year 1054 sent as his legates Cardinal *Humbert*, Peter (Archbishop of Amalfi), and the Chancellor *Frederic*, who were the bearers of a letter to the emperor *Constantine IX.* (*Monomachus*), written with considerably more severity than the former one addressed to the patriarch, and containing *animadversions* on the pride of the latter for *presuming to arrogate to himself the title of "Œcumenical patriarch."*² *Constantine* received the legates kindly, entertained them in his own palace, and sought to mollify the wrath of the patriarch. But the latter, who had all along studiously avoided a meeting with the legates, complained that the Romans came to Constantinople *not to be taught, but to teach,*³ and accused the Emperor of being in collusion with them. The legates, after an angry *correspondence*,⁴ finding that it was impossible to come to terms with Cerularius, solemnly excommunicated him (July 16, A. D. 1054), and placed upon the altar of the Church of St. Sophia, in presence of clergy and people, the *instrument of excommunication.*⁵ They then returned to Rome, under a safe-conduct from the Emperor.

¹ *Baron.*, Ad a. 1053, nr. 22. *Leo Allat.*, Lib. III., c. 14, in *Will.*, Acta et Scripta, p. 51-64.

² *Baron.*, Ad. an. 1054, nro. 10 sq. Both epistles in *Will.*, p. 56-92.

³ See Vol. I., p. 473.

⁴ *Humberti*, Cardinalis dialogus, quo textus prefatorum sycephantarum explicatur: *Nicetas*, Presbyteri et monasterii Studii libellus contra Latinos editus; *Humberti*, Responsio adv. *Nicet.* libellum, in *Will.*, L. c., p. 93-150.

⁵ *Baron.*, Ad an. 1054, nr. 19-43. The brevis et succincta commemoratio eorum quæ gesserunt Apocrisiarii—in regia urbe, in *Will.*, p. 150-151.

But, on the other hand, Cerularius was not an idle spectator of events. He represented to the people that the Emperor was in league with the Latins to destroy the Greek Church, and left no means untried to excite public feeling against him. He also assembled a synod at Constantinople¹ (A. D. 1054), by an edict of which the Pope's name was erased from the liturgy. This spiteful ebullition, while both harmless and ludicrous, shows to what lengths even men of parts may be driven by motives of pride and ambition. In a letter written to *Peter, Patriarch of Antioch*, Cerularius gave an increased catalogue of the scandals which he fancied he had discovered in the Roman Church. Among other things, he objects that bishops wore rings and engaged in war; that two brothers were permitted to marry two sisters; that baptism was administered by a single immersion, and that the images and relics of saints were not honoured.

The efforts of *Peter of Antioch* and *Theophylactus*,² Archbishop of Achrida, to prevent a formal schism, were to no purpose. The haughty patriarch, Michael Cerularius, would listen to no terms of accommodation. His arrogance became so excessive, that he openly declared "there was but a very trifling difference between the priestly and imperial dignity," and assumed the insignia and emblems of royalty. So great was his influence that, in the year 1057, he caused the deposition of the emperor, Michael Strationicus, and elevated *Isaac Comnenus* to the throne. But the latter, in the very year of his elevation, offended at the insolence of the patriarch, exiled him to the island of *Proconnesus*, in the sea of Marmora, where he died, A. D. 1059.

His death did not, however, change the relations of the two churches. They regarded each other with suspicion and mutual distrust, and the schism, though not yet formal, was irreparable. No sooner had the Oriental Church been left to herself, cut off from Rome, and deprived of the strong and unyielding authority of the Papacy, than she became the slave of the State and the pliant tool of imperial power.

§ 209. Learning among the Greeks.

Some of the emperors who occupied the throne of Byzantium during this epoch were themselves scholars and authors of merit.

¹ In *Will*, L. c., p. 155-168.

² *Cerularii*, Ep. II. ad Petr. Antioch. (*Cotelcrii*, Eccl. Gr. Monumenta, T. II. *Will*, pp. 172-204.) Among the reproaches made to the Latin Church are the following, viz.: That the priests did not permit their beards to grow; that the bishops wore rings, as if their churches were their brides; that two brothers might espouse two sisters; that the Latins did not honour relics, nor many among them images of the saints; and, finally, that they had falsified the Symbols of Faith by the addition *filioque*. *Peter*, Patriarch of Antioch, wrote in defence of the Latin Church, in *Cotelcr*, L. c., p. 158; in *Will*, pp. 189-204, and *Theophylactus*, in his treatise, "*Ἐπὶ τῷ ἐγκαλοῦνταί Λατῖνοι*" (*Mingarelli*, Fasciculus Anecdotor., Romæ, 1756), calls this reproach a σατανικὴ σκεοφανία. Conf. *Neander*, Ch. H., Vol. IV., pp. 645-649, English transl., by Torrey; 11th American ed., Boston, 1872, Vol. III., p. 584 sq., where it is also said: "Perhaps what had been heard concerning the principles of the older Frankish Church furnished the occasion for the accusation of the neglect of relics and images of the saints." (Tr.)

Such were Basil the Macedonian, Leo the Philosopher, and Constantine VII.; and others, again, were patrons of institutions of learning and of scientific and literary men. The period which passes under the name of "*Byzantine*" produced many indifferent and not a few excellent authors in almost every province of literature. Of the theologians, the patriarch *Photius* († A. D. 891) is the most distinguished. Besides being a first-rate scholar himself, he was also a munificent patron of institutions of learning. In his "*Bibliothèque*"¹ have come down to us extracts from two hundred and seventy-nine works, both Christian and Pagan, all of which have perished in the lapse of ages; and his "*Nomocanon*,"² as a collection of laws, is superior in method and convenient arrangement to any preceding work of a similar character.

The best known of the exegetical writers are *Arethas*, Bishop of Cæsarea (C. A. D. 950); *Æcumenius*, Bishop of Tricca,³ in Thessaly (C. A. D. 990); *Theophylactus*,⁵ Archbishop of Bulgaria († A. D. 1107); and *Euthymius Zigabenus*,⁶ a monk of Constantinople († A. D. 1118). The prevailing tendency among the Byzantines, in treating any branch of theology, whether history, exegesis, or dogma, was to bring together and arrange, according to a fixed plan, a number of extracts from the most eminent writers of preceding ages, without any attempt to put them through a mental process, assimilate them, make them their own, and bring them forth fresh, in a new form, from the mould of their own minds. This method is specially characteristic of the later expounders of Holy Writ, whose interpretations are borrowed chiefly from St. John Chrysostom, Theodoret, and others nearly, if not quite, the equals of these in intellectual endowments. A great deal of the merit and utility of such collections, or, as they were sometimes called "*golden chains*," depended upon the pertinency of the selections to illustrate the subject in hand, and on their skilful arrangement. Hence there was a wide field left to the critical talent and judgment of the compilers, some of whom, and notably *Æcumenius*, *Theophylactus*, and *Euthymius Zigabenus*, are reckoned among the best of the older exegetical writers.

Simeon, surnamed "*Metaphrastes*," on account of the skill which he displayed in working up and embellishing several old lives of saints and martyrs, gained quite a reputation, probably during the

¹ *Μυριόβιβλον* s. *Bibliotheca*, ed. *Hæscholius*, Rothomagi, 1653, f. *Imm. Bekker.*, Berol., 1824, 2 T., 4to, in *Migne*, Ser. Gr. T. 103, 104.

² Pars I. c. schol. Zonaræ et Balsam. (*Bevergii*, Synodicon s. pandectæ canonum., Oxon., 1672, 2 T., f.; Pars II. *Iustelli*, Bibl., T. II., p. 785, in *Migne*, Ser. Gr., T. 104. *Pitra*, Jus Græc., T. II.)

³ Comment. in act. Apost.; epp. Paulin. et cath., ed. *Morellus*, Par., 1631, 2 T., f., in *Migne*, Ser. Gr. *posterior*, T. 118, 119.

⁴ Not Thrace, as *Neander* says. (Tr.)

⁵ Comment. in XII. prophet. minor.; IV. evang.; acta Apost.; epp. Paulin. (opp. ed. *Finetti de Rubéis*, Ven., 1755, 4 T., f.), in *Migne*, Ser. Gr., T. 123-125.

⁶ Comment. in Psalm. (opp. Theophyl.); in IV. evang., ed. *Matthæi*, Lps., 1792, 3 T., in *Migne*, Ser. Gr., T. 128-131.

latter half of the tenth century, by the remarkable biographies which he published of one hundred and twenty-two saints.¹

Some time in the course of the tenth or eleventh century, one *Suidas*, the circumstances of whose life are unknown, published a sort of cyclopædia, called a *Lexicon*, containing definitions and explanations of words, notices of persons, histories of places, etc., arranged in alphabetical order. This work is of great value to the student of antiquity, inasmuch as it has preserved to posterity numerous extracts from ancient Greek writers, both profane and ecclesiastic, from grammarians, scholiasts, and lexicographers; in short, a whole store of linguistic and literary information,² taken from a host of authors, most of whose works have long since perished.

§ 210. *Conversion of the Chazari, Bulgarians, and Russians, by the Greeks.*

The Tartars, or, more properly, *Tatars*,³ who, issuing from the country along the south-western shores of the Caspian Sea and directing their course across the Caucasus, went north beyond the river Volga, and thence went on till they reached the Danube, were of the same family as the Turks—i. e. Mongolian—and first became known to Europe under the names of *Avari*, *Chazari*, and *Bulgarians*. About the close of the sixth century, the Western *Avari*, under their great leader, Khan Bajan, conquered Pannonia and the adjacent countries as far as Friuli and the rivers Enns and Elbe. In the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, their rule extended from the banks of the Dnieper over the countries of Ukraine, Moldavia, Wallachia, Hungary, Moravia, and Bohemia, as far as Norgaw.⁴ Those of them living further to the West were conquered by Charlemagne, and thereby converted to Christianity. They were well-nigh extirpated by the Moravians, and, after the year 827, ceased to occupy a place in history.

The religion of the *Chazari*, who never came farther west than Southern Russia, was for a long time a mixture of Paganism, Islamism, Judaism, and Christianity. After the year 950, the Gospel was preached to them by *Cyril*.

Of the *Bulgarians*, some settled along the banks of the Volga, and in the ninth and tenth centuries, embraced Islamism; others settled in Moesia, and, uniting with the Slaves, founded European Bulgaria. Their frequent conflicts with the Byzantine Empire gave them an opportunity of gaining a knowledge of Christianity, which they were disposed to look upon with favour after having had their prayers

¹ These lives are scattered here and there in the pages of *Surius* and *Bollandus*, *Vitæ (acta) Sanctorum*; a list of eighty-eight, in *Hamberger*, *Authentic Traditions*, Vol. IV., p. 140-142. Cf. *Leo Allatius*, *De variis Simeonibus et Simeonum scriptis*, in *Combesis*, *Manipul. Constantinop.*, Paris, 1664, 4to.

² Ed. *Küsterus*, Cantabr., 1703, 3 T., f.; ed. *Gaisford*, Oxon., 1834, 3 T., f.; ed. *Bernhardy*, Hal. 1834, 3 T., 4to. Cf. *Chambers's Cyclop.* (Tr.)

³ Thus, for example, the Syrian historians have *Tataroi*. (Tr.)

⁴ *Döllinger*, Ch. H., Vol. III., p. 31. (Tr.)

answered by the God of the Christians, whom they called upon in a season of famine.

At the request of their prince, *Bogoris*, the Emperor Michael sent the monk *Methodius*¹ (A. D. 863) to preach the Gospel among them. The prince, being very fond of pictures, commissioned the missionary, who was quite an artist, to paint a chase on the walls of one of his palaces. But, instead of complying with this request, *Methodius* represented the *Last Judgment*—a subject which gave him an opportunity of explaining the truths of Christianity. These he impressed upon the minds and brought home to the hearts of his hearers with such eloquence and depth of feeling that the prince and the great bulk of his people were converted to the faith of Christ.

After his conversion, *Bogoris* requested Pope *Nicholas I.* to send him Roman priests; but, strange to say, when Archbishop *Sylvester*, who had been sent by *Hadrian II.*, the successor to *Nicholas*, arrived, the prince refused to receive him, and, in spite of the Pope's protests, had another consecrated by the patriarch *Ignatius* (between A. D. 867 and 874),² thus furnishing a fresh subject of controversy between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople.

The Waragian (Norman) *Ruric* (A. D. 864-879) was the first to unite the *Russians*³ (or *Ruriscians*, so called from their leader) into a regularly organized kingdom. They soon acquired the habits of plunder, and shared the enterprising spirit of *Ruric* and his companions-in-arms. When engaged in predatory expeditions, or in search of new fields of conquest, they frequently made their appearance off Constantinople. Their wars with the Greeks brought them, for a second time, to a knowledge of Christianity, which, according to an ancient tradition, had been preached on the banks of the Don, in the *Cheronesus*, and in the environs of *Kiew*, by the apostle *St. Andrew*. Be this as it may, it is quite certain that Christianity was known among the inhabitants of Southern Russia at a very early day, for *Tertullian*, *Origen*, and, still later, *St. John Chrysostom*, and many others, in speaking of the wonderful triumphs of the cross, state that the word of the Gospel had, even in their time, being preached among the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, of whom, if we may trust the geography of *Tacitus* and *Strabo*, the *Russians* and *Roxolans* formed a part. But whatever knowledge of Christianity they may have then possessed was entirely lost amid the universal upheaval and chaos caused by the migrations, and the Gospel truths made no satisfactory or

¹ *Constantin. Porphyrogen.*, Continuator. IV. 13 sq. (*Barduni*, Imper. Orient. I. 134.) *Photii*, Epp. in *Canisii*, Lectt. Antiq., T. II., Pt. II., p. 379 sq. The letters of Popes *Nicholas I.*, *Hadrian II.*, and *John VIII.* in *Mansi*, T. XV. and XVI.; *Harduin*, T. V. and VI., Pt. I. Cf. *Stolberg-Kerz*, Pt. XXVIII., pp. 346-375.

² *Nicetas David.*, Ignat. vita (*Mansi*, T. XVI., p. 245). Cf. *Faillmerayer*, Hist. of the peninsula of Morea during the Middle Ages, Stuttgart, 1830, Vol. I.

³ *Strahl*, Hist. of the Russian Church, Halle, 1830, T. I. † *Stolberg-Kerz*, Pt. XXXII., pp. 29-73. * *Theiner*, Recent Situation of the Catholic Church of both rites in Poland and Russia, Augsb., 1844, p. 1-33. *Karamsin*, Hist. of the Russian Empire, in Germ., by *Hauenschild*, Riga, 1820, Vol. I. and II. *Ustrialow*, Hist. of Russia, 4 vols., transl. into Germ. by E. W., Stuttg., 1839.

permanent impression upon them till the ninth century, when the patriarch *Ignatius*, while still at peace with the Holy See, sent missionaries into their country. The whole empire was converted during the tenth century, and just in that space of time which intervened between the patriarchates of *Photius* and *Cerularius*, and when the Churches of Rome and Constantinople were at least still united, if not in complete harmony. The work was commenced under *Oleg* (until A. D. 912), and progressed favourably under his successor, *Igor* (A. D. 912-945), who was undoubtedly led to respect the Christians and appreciate their religion by the gentle influence of his good and prudent queen, *Olga*. On the death of *Igor* (A. D. 945), this princess took the reins of government into her own hands and ruled the empire till her son, *Swätoslav*, came of age (A. D. 855). Having, while at the head of the government, had occasion to visit Constantinople, she received baptism from the patriarch Theophylactus, taking *Helena* as her Christian name. "*This messenger of the Gospel*," says *Nestor*, the annalist, on her return to Kiew, "*like the morning-star going before the sun*," announced the coming of the full light of Christianity. About the year 956, she had a church built at Kiew and dedicated to St. Nicholas; and, about the year 961, asked and obtained Christian missionaries¹ from the Emperor Otho I. She closed her virtuous and holy life A. D. 969, without, however, having had the consolation of seeing her son, the then reigning monarch, and his people converted to Christianity. The conversion of the Russians was reserved to her grandson, *Wladimir I.* (A. D. 980-1014.) The extensive conquests of this prince had gained him the title of *Great*, and his name became famous among many nations, some of which professed Mohammedanism, some Judaism, and some Christianity, and each was desirous of having him embrace its own peculiar form of worship. But, after examining them all, he concluded to become a Christian, was baptized at the city of Cherson (A. D. 988), taking as a Christian the name of *Wassily*, and, by his labours in behalf of his new religion, earned for himself the glorious title of *the Apostolical*. After his marriage to the Greek princess *Anna*, he set about converting his people to Christianity. He commanded all the idols at Kiew to be destroyed, and the statue of *Perun*, the chief god of the Russians, to be overturned and cast into the Dnieper. He next ordered the inhabitants, young and old and of both sexes, to appear, on the following day, on the banks of the same river, to receive baptism. Those who had the previous day lamented the destruction and loss of their idols, like true Slaves, came now in a body and submitted to be baptized as freely as if they had never bowed before sticks and stones, and like persons glad to be rid of them. According to the narrative of *Nestor*, at the conclusion of the ceremony, "*Wladimir*, kneeling upon the bank of the river, returned thanks to God, the Creator of heaven and

¹†* *Aschbach*, The Mission sent by Emperor Otho I. to the Grand Duchess *Olga*. {*Dieringer's Cath. Review*, 1844, Vol. I., pp. 82-94.)

earth, and besought Him to bless these His new children, and to confirm them in the faith."

The work commenced and put under way by Wladimir was completed by *Jaroslav*, his son and successor (A. D. 1019-1054). This church was under the spiritual government of the *metropolitan of Kiew*. This city, having within its limits not less than four hundred churches, and called, on account of its importance, the second Constantinople, remained in close union with both the Eastern and Western Churches until the time of Cerularius.

Michael I. (A. D. 988-992), *Leontias* (A. D. 992-1008), *Jonas* (A. D. 1008-1035), *Theopemptus* (A. D. 1035-1051, and *Hilarion* (A. D. 1051-1072), succeeded each other as metropolitans of Kiew. The last-named was appointed without the approval of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and in obedience to an order of the Grand Prince, Jaroslav, at a synod held at Kiew. Those who succeeded him remained always united to the Church of Rome in spite of the intrigues of Cerularius. As a proof of this opinion, we may mention the institution of a feast to commemorate the translation (May 9, A. D. 1087) of the relics of St. Nicholas of Myra, in Lycia, to Bari, in Lower Italy, which was made obligatory upon the whole Russian Church, in 1093, by the Patriarch *Ephraim* (A. D. 1090-1096). Even the liturgical books in use in the Russian Church at the present day were all composed during the period when she still preserved friendly relations with the Church of Rome. These relations, notwithstanding the hierarchical subordination of the Russian Church to that of Constantinople, were not seriously shaken until the fifteenth century when they were entirely broken off.

From the eleventh century onward, the *Monastery of the Catacombs or of Peczera*, at Kiew, became for Russia the seat of learning, the home of literature, the seminary of the clergy, and the centre of civilisation. It was in this monastery that *Nestor* (A. D. 1056-1111) wrote his annals in the language of his country,¹ and this one fact would seem to indicate, that if the Russian Church had remained united to Rome, the country would have seen an incomparably greater intellectual progress, and a more abundant development of its material resources and elements of national prosperity, than its history shows.

§ 211. *Sects of the Eastern and Western Churches.*

The errors of Gnosticism and Manichæism were propagated in the countries lying beside those inhabited by Chazari and Bulgarians, and in the Crimea, by the old sect of the Paulicians.² These sectaries passed, in the eleventh century, into countries lying farther West, particularly into *Upper Italy* and *France*, where they were known as *Manichæans*; from whom, however, they were distinguished by a

¹ *Annales* until 1110, Petersburg, 1767, sq., 5 T., 4to, transl., with annotations, by *Schlosser*, Götting, 1802, sq., 5 vols.

² See Vol. I., p. 534 sq.

practical mysticism, an extravagant asceticism, and a determined opposition to every form of ecclesiastical hierarchy. It is more than likely that *Leuthard*¹ was of this class of Paulicians. He was an ignorant and illiterate man, and first made his appearance among the peasantry about Châlons-sur-Marne, preached against the use of images, destroyed all crucifixes that came in his way, and ended by destroying himself.

We have fuller and more accurate knowledge of another sect which flourished, about the year 1022, in the country around *Orleans*,² and professed to believe nothing except *what the Holy Ghost had written upon the heart of each individual*. *Liso* and *Stephen*, the leaders of this heretical sect, together with a young ecclesiastic and disciple by the name of *Heribert*, were put to death by order of *King Robert*.

But the most peculiar of all these sects was that discovered by *Gerard*, Bishop of Cambrai, existing in the neighbourhood of *Arras* (A. D. 1025), and founded by an Italian named *Gondolfo*.³ He held that those alone possessed the true doctrine who renounced all earthly goods, subdued the passions, lived of the labour of their own hands, and embraced all men as brothers; but, in addition to all this, he held that *the Sacraments of Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist were unavailing*, and empty ceremonies, and, in proof of the assertion, appealed to the vices of the clergy. It was also a doctrine of this sect, that the efficient principle of justification in man is wholly *personal*.

Sectaries professing either the same or kindred doctrines, and known under the name of *Patarini*,⁴ appeared openly, later on, at the town of *Monteforte*, near Turin, and others, withdrawing from public gaze, practised their peculiar rites in the environs of Milan. One of these latter, named *Girard*, disclosed the teachings of the sect to *Heribert*, Archbishop of Milan (A. D. 1027-1046). The expression, Son of God, they said, has an allegorical meaning, and signifies the soul after it has been enlightened by the Lord; so also the Holy Ghost signifies the spiritual illumination of the mind, which enables it to penetrate the meaning of Holy Writ. Again, the conception of Jesus Christ by the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin Mary and His birth are but figures of speech, to signify the birth of divine life in the soul, and the illumination of the intellect to the understanding of the Sacred Scriptures. We have a priest, said they, still speaking in an allegorical sense, who daily visits his brethren dispersed over the earth; when this one, who is sent of God, comes to us, we obtain from him, in virtue of our piety, the remission of our sins.

¹ *Glaber Radulph.*, Lib. II., c. 2. *Leuthardus* in pago Catalaunico, in the year 1000.

² The accounts of the contemporaries, *Ademari*, Chron. (*Bouquet*, T. X., p. 154 sq.) *Glaber Radulph.*, Lib. III., c. 8 (*ibid.*, p. 35); *Gesta synodalia Aurelian.* a. 1017. (*Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 376; *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 821 sq., and *d'Achéry*, *Spicilegium*, T. I., p. 604.)

³ The source of this is *Acta Synod. Atrebatens.* a. 1025 (*d'Achéry*, *Spicileg.*, T. I., p. 607 sq.; *Mansi*, T. XIX., p. 423 sq.)

⁴ Source: *Landulf. Senior.*, *Mediolan. Histor.*, lib. II., c. 27 (*Muratori*, *Scriptor.*, T. IV., p. 88). Uncertain statements in *Glaber Radulph.* IV. 2.

We have no priest besides him. He wears no tonsure, and is not a Roman. We know no more of such things than of the Sacraments, of which we allow only those of faith and prayer.

It was also thought that the existence of a sect of Manichæans had been discovered at *Goslar*,¹ about the year 1050, who held that the eating of any sort of animal food left the taint of impurity. In order to put a stop to the further propagation of their teachings, *Henry III.* had them all executed.² This manner of punishment, which, in the case of the Priscillianists, had already excited just and unanimous reprobation,³ was assumed as a sort of *political right*, and constantly practised by all rulers during the *Middle Ages*, when heresy was regarded in the light of a *civil offence*, and punishable by the State. That the Church had no hand in the infliction of the death-penalty in such cases, is clear enough, from the very different policy adopted by her in dealing with Gottschalk and Berengarius. *Vazon*, Bishop of Liège († 1048), protested, but in vain, against this policy of the State.⁴

§ 212. Retrospect.

Whole centuries had gone by since the Church of Christ was founded among the Germans, and still the masses of the people were not animated by that sober, earnest Christian spirit, which early sunk into the minds and hearts of the Greeks and Romans, and quickened those great nations into new and vigorous life.

The difference of result in the two peoples is undoubtedly to be sought for in their peculiar traits of character, and in the degree of civilisation which each had reached before embracing Christianity. To these causes should be added the anomalous and disturbed condition of the various European States, occasioned by the invasions of the migrating nations, by the absence or inefficiency of all authority, and the consequent lawlessness reigning in the Frankish Empire; by the inroads of the Saracens, the ravages of the Normans and Hungarians, and by numerous civil wars. Once all these circumstances, and their necessary tendency to retard the spread of religion, are taken into account, the marvel will no longer be that the aspect of Christendom, at the close of this epoch, presented so few hopeful signs, but that it presented so many. On the one hand, the Church checked, if she did not fully restrain, the licentious morals of the age; and on the other, the people themselves combined, in self-defence, to suppress the evils of the times. Everyone was looking forward in the hope that some one, with the genius to set things in order and act the part of a deliverer, would appear. Princes alone,

¹ *Hermann Contracti*, Chron. ad. an. 1052 (*Pertz*, Monum. Germ., T. V.)

² This correlation with the ancient Paulicians, and thereby with the Manichæans, is pretty generally admitted, according to *Muratori*, Antiquitatum, T. V., p. 83 sq. *Gibbon*, Hist. of the decline, etc., ch. 54.

³ See Vol. I., p. 531.

⁴ *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium*, c. 59 (*Martène et Durand*, Amplissima Collectio, T. IV., p. 898 sq.) Cf. on *Vazon*, Hist. litt. de la France, T. VII., p. 588 sq., and above, p. 422, note 3.

and the corrupt among the clergy, dreaded his coming. Hence Christendom hailed the rising power of the Papacy with joy, and looked hopefully forward to the influence which it was shortly to exert. Everyone believed that the Pope, and he alone, possessed the courage and strength necessary to grapple with and overcome the evils that menaced both Church and State.

Again, there were here and there evidences of a scientific tendency; and it soon became clear that a fuller and more exact knowledge of Christian dogmas was needed. In the midst of these evils, there were not wanting men of piety and solid worth, who gave promise of a better condition of things. The controversies on *Adoptionism*, on *Predestination*, and the *Eucharist*, while rendering the perception of religious truths more sensitive, strengthened and cultivated the reasoning powers of the mind, when exercised within the domain of theology. The spirit of the Church penetrated and permeated the laws of the State. We have proofs of this statement at a very early date, in the *Lex Alemannica* and the *Lex Visigothorum*; but its most complete verification is to be found in the Capitularies of the Frankish kings.

As this epoch was drawing to a close, the relations of Church and State were coming to be satisfactorily adjusted, and society was being gradually organized.

SECOND EPOCH.

FROM GREGORY VII. (A. D. 1073) TO THE OPENING OF
THE WESTERN SCHISM, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE PAPACY IN THE MIDDLE AGES—HEIGHT AND DECLINE OF ITS
POWER.

PART FIRST.

RISE AND HEIGHT OF THE PAPAL POWER IN THE MIDDLE AGES,
FROM THE ACCESSION OF GREGORY VII. TO THE DEATH OF
BONIFACE VIII. (A. D. 1073-1303.)

“The two great lights and the two swords.”—Gen. i. 16; Luke, xxii. 38.

§ 213. *Outline—Sources and Works referring to them.*

WHATEVER of civilisation or mental culture is possessed by the Germans owes its origin to Christianity. Again, it is entirely due to the authority and influence of the *Popes* that Christianity was preached to them at all, and that the Church was established in their midst. Rome was at a very early day the centre and source of all religious and political life. When the various German tribes separated from each other and formed themselves into distinct nations, and every State and nearly every municipality manifested an inclination to break with every other State and municipality and set up independently for themselves, the *Popes*, and they alone, started the idea of Catholic unity, organized this heterogeneous mass of peoples into one great Christian confederation, capable of undertaking and successfully prosecuting vast and momentous enterprises. The practical development of this idea was greatly facilitated by the *alliance*

between the Church and the empire—between the Church of Christ and a *thoroughly Christian empire*. So necessary and vital was this alliance, and so extensive its operation, that all Christian countries were affected by it, and their progress or decline depended upon either the union or the alienation of the two powers.¹

But when the Emperor, in place of being the protector, became the *oppressor* of the Church; when the Church, by reason of the fiefs she possessed, became the slaves of princes and feudal lords; when these *put on sale ecclesiastical rights and benefices*, or used them to reward their own creatures; when they forced upon the Church an *unchaste and dissolute* clergy, and assumed, without any title of right, the office of administering ecclesiastical affairs, thus paralysing the Church's normal action and interfering with her legitimate influence; then, as if by a spontaneous outgrowth and issue of the times, the necessity of which was recognised by the greatest minds of the age, not only was all spiritual power little by little centred in the Pope, but the world acknowledged that in him resided *the principle of spiritual supremacy, that he was God's representative on earth, and, as a consequence, superior to every temporal authority and power*. He alone was equal to the task of lifting the Church from the depth of degradation into which she had been plunged, of emancipating her from the servitude of princes and the insubordination and simony of a dissolute clergy, and of restoring her to her former dignity and beneficent authority. He, too, was the protector of national liberties, the vindicator of the rights of individuals, the enemy of every sort of tyranny and oppression; the one, in fine, to whom every eye was turned in anticipation of the triumph of morality and the restoration of Christian civilisation.

The whole Christian hierarchy, from the Head of the Church down to the most humble and obscure of her members, were all inspired and animated by the true Christian spirit; and it is this earnest appreciation of religious influences that impresses upon the second epoch of the Middle Ages the serious cast which is its special characteristic.

It was from motives of duty, not ambition, that the great Popes of this epoch, such as Gregory VII., Alexander III., Innocent III., and others, contended for the fulness of power. The contest was for them a duty forced upon them by the peculiar circumstances of their position, and, as such, it was in the event triumphant. They not only welcomed and sought to give practical expression to every noble thought and generous aspiration of their age, but, as a rule, had the marvellous good fortune to see their efforts crowned with complete success. The term of years during which the Popes exercised a direct influence upon society constitutes a grand epoch, filled with events that *will ever retain their hold on the memory of man*. Such were the Crusades, the establishment of universities, the development of the

¹ Cf. § 184.

science of theology, both scholastic and mystic, the formation of a national poetry based upon truly religious principles and inspired by religious feeling and sentiment, the exuberant growth of monastic life, and, finally, the splendid achievements in every department of art.

I. SOURCES.—Very important sources in the following collections: *Canisii*, *Lectt. antiquæ*, Ingolst., 1601, ed. *Basnage*, Antv., 1725, 4 T., f. *D'Achéry*, Vett. Scriptor. Spicileg., Par., 1653, ed. *de la Barre*, 1723, 3 T., f. *Baluzii*, *Miscellanea*, Par., 1678, ed. *Mansi*, Luc., 1761, 4 T., f. *Mabillon*, Vett. Analecta. Par., 1723, f. *Martène et Durand*, *Thes. novus anecdotorum*, Par., 1717, 5 T., f., and by the same authors: Vett. Scriptor. et Monum. coll. amplissima, Par., 1724 sq., 9 T., f. *Petz*, *Thesaur. Anecd. Aug.*, Vind., 1721, 6 T., f. **Pertz*, *Monumenta Germ.*, T. VII.-XIV.—*Regesta Rom. Pontificum* until 1198, ed. *Jaffé*; *Regesta regum atque imperat. Rom.* Extracts and observations by *Böhmer*, Frankfort, 1831, in 4to. *Böhmer*, *The Laws of the Empire*, from 900-1400.—*The Chronicles*, *Hermann. Contract.*, continued by *Bertholdus* of Reichenau until 1080, epitomised and continued by *Bernoldus* of St. Blaise until 1100. *Lambertus Hersfeldensis*; *Marian. Scotus*; *Siegbert*, *Gemblac.*, *Chronicon Urspergense* (Pars. I. to 1126; Pt. II. to 1229), Argentor., 1609, f. *Annalista Saxo*, to 1139 (Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, T. I.; *Pertz*, T. VIII.-X.) *Otto*, Episc. *Prising.* († 1158), Chron., libb. VIII., to 1146, continued by *Otto de St. Blasio* to 1209 (Urstis, T. I.; *Usserm.*, T. II. See *Wattenbach*, *Germany's Sources of History*, 2nd ed., p. 403). *Alberti Stadens.*, Chron., to 1256 (*Schilteri Scriptt. rer. Germ.*) *Chronica regia s. Sti. Pantaleon.* (Monastery of Cologne), continued by *Godefridus* to 1273 (Eccard., T. I.; *Freher.*, T. I., p. 335). *Alberici*, monk of Drübeck, in the territory of Liège, Chron. to 1241, from 1106, original (Leibn. Accessionib. Hist., T. II.) *Matthæi Paris.* († 1259), Hist. Major., 1066-1259, continued to 1276, (ed. Wats., Lond., 1640, f. ed. *Luard*, London, 1875, 2 vols., *Martini Poloni* († 1278), Chron. (in *Schilter*; continued to 1243, in *Ecchard.*, T. I.; see above, the beginning of § 182.) *Vincent. Bellovacens.* († 1264), *Specul. Historiale*, libb. XXXII. (Argentor., 1473, 4 vol., f.) *Duaci*, 1624, exclusively Church History. *Adam Bremensis*, from 1067, canon of Bremen, Hist. Eccl., libb. IV. (in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 146.) *Odoric. Vital.*, monk of St. Evreuil († after 1142), H. E., libb. XIII., to 1142 (*du Chesne*, Scriptt. Normann.) *Ptolemæi de Fiadonib.*, H. E., to 1316 (*Muratori*, T. XI.) Cf. **Wattenbach*, *Germany's Sources of History*, 2nd ed., Brl., 1866, p. 293 sq.

Greek Historians, the Byzantines.—*Joh. Zonaras*, see Vol. I., p. 31. They are joined by *Nicetas Aceminatus*, from 1117 to 1206; *Georg. Acropolita*, 1204-1261, ed. *Leo Allatius* Par., 1651, f., and in the Corp. Scriptt. Hist., *Byzant.*, Bonn., 1828 sq. *Georg. Pachymeres.*, 1258-1308, ed. *Possinus*, Rom., 1661, sq., 2 T., f. *Imm. Bekker*, Bonn., 1835. *Niceph. Gregoras.*, 1204-1359, ed. *Boivinus*, Par., 1702, 2 T., f., and in the ed. *Bonnens.*

II. WORKS.—*Baronii*, *Annales*, to 1198 and the continuators (see Vol. I., p. 33.) *Fleury*, Hist. Ecclesiast.—The excellent Monographies of Gregory VII., by *Voigt* and by *Gfrörer*, and by the Englishman, *Bowden*; of Innocent III., by *Hurter*; of Boniface VIII., by *Tosti*; also, the biographies of prominent men, authors, and poets. Among *Profane Historians*: †*Muratori*, Hist. of Italy, T. VI.-VIII.; *Moeller*, Précis de l'histoire du moyen âge, p. 273-414 (troisième période depuis S. Greg. VII. jusqu'à la mort de Boniface VIII., 1073-1303. *Heeren-Ukert*, Hist. of the European States. *Schlösser-Kriegk*, Univ. Hist., Vol. VI., p. 233 sq. *Luden*, Hist. of the German People, Vol. VIII.-XII., p. 323. *Damberger*, Synchronistical History, Vol. VII.-XII. † *Cesare Cantù*, Univ. Hist., Vol. VI. † *Weiss*, Text-book of Univ. Hist., Vol. II.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE PAPACY.

Among the SOURCES: *Jaffé*, *Regesta Rom. Pontif.*, p. 402 sq., continued by *Potthast*, from 1198 to 1304. *Vitæ Pontificum Romanor.*—ab æqualibus conscriptæ, ed. **Watterich*, T. I., p. 291 sq.; T. II., to Cælestinus III., † 1198.—Among the WORKS: Principally those of *Papencordt*, *Hist. of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, p. 207 sq.; *Gregorovius*, same title of work, Vols. IV. and V., and *von Reumont*, *Hist. of Rome*, Vol. II., p. 366 sq. *Fleury and Döllinger*, *Manual of Ch. H.*, Vol. II., p. 131-276; Engl. transl., Vol. III., p. 272 sq. Cf. *Haas*, *Hist. of the Popes*, Tübg., 1860, p. 279-423; *Grane*, *Hist. of the Popes*, Vol. II., Ratisb., 1866. **Phillips*, *Canon Law*, Vol. II., Pt. I.

A.—FROM GREGORY VII. TO CALIXTUS II.—FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CONTEST ON INVESTITURES UNTIL ITS TERMINATION BY THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS (A. D. 1122).

§ 214. Pope Gregory VII. (A. D. 1073-1085.)

Gregorii VII. Registri s. epp., libb. XI. (lib. X. wanting), in *Mansi*, T. XX., p. 60-391. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1195-1515, but compare *Udalrici Babenbergens. Codex Epistolar.*, collected about 1125 (*Eccard.*, Corp. Hist., T. II.): ed *Jaffé*, Berol., 1865 (Bibl. rerum Germ., T. II.) When Gregory VII. was grossly misrepresented and his memory shamefully insulted, his defence was taken up by the Protestants *Gaab*, *Apology of Pope Gregory VII.*, Tübg., 1792, and *Vindication of Gregory VII.*, Presburg and Freiburg, 1786, 2 vols. *John von Müller*, *Luden*, *Rühs*, *Leo*, *Lectures on German History*, Vol. II. *Voigt*, *Hildebrand as Pope Gregory VII.* (Weimar, 1815), Vienna, 1819; 2nd ed., Weimar, 1846, transl. into French by Abbé Jaeger, 1837. *Bowden*, *Life of Gregory VII.*, London, 1840, 2 vols.—very important.—† *Gfrörer*, *Pope Gregory VII. and his Age*, Schaffhausen, 1859 sq., 7 vols. *Giesebrecht*, *Hist. of the Period of German Emperors*, Vol. III., Pts. I. and II. † *Davin*, *Gregoire VII.*, Tournai, 1867. **Hefele*, *Hist. of Councils*, Vol. V., pp. 1-166. *Montalembert*, *St. Gregoire VII.* (correspondent of 1875 in several articles.) The same, in *The Month* of 1875. Translated into English. (Tr.)

AN ominous silence, such as precedes a storm, settled upon Rome when Alexander II. passed out of this world. His remains had hardly been laid in their resting-place when both clergy and people cried out with one accordant voice, "Hildebrand! Hildebrand! He it is whom St. Peter has chosen to be his successor." To comply with an

¹ Among contemporary writers for Gregory, *Bonizo* (See Lit. heading of § 188); *Paulus Bernridens*, *De Vita Gregorii VII.* (*Abailon*, Acta SS. Ord. S. B. sæc. VII., Pt. II., and *Muratori*, Scriptor., T. II., Pt. I., with other defenders in *Gretseri*, Opp., T. VI.); *Bruno*, *Hist. Belli Saxon.*, from 1073-1082 (*Pertz*, T. VII.) *Bernoldus*, *Presbyt. Constant.*, *Hist. sui temporis*, 1054-1100, being a continuation of *Hermann. Contract.* (*Usserum*, Monum., T. II.) AGAINST Gregory, *Benno*, Cardinal of the Antipope Clement III., *De vita et gestis Hildebrandi*, libri II. (a libel bristling with contradictions); *Benzo*, Bishop of Alba, in Piemont, *Panegyricus rhythmicus in Henricum IV. Imperatorem* (*Menken*, Scriptor. rer. German., T. I., p. 957; *Menken's* bad text materially improved in *Pertz*, T. XI., p. 507-568). Cf. *Will*, *Benzo's Panegyric on Henry IV.*, etc., Marburg, 1856; Latin essay on Benzo, by *Vogel*, Jena, 1850; by *Hennes*, Bonnæ, 1865; by *Krueger*, Bonnæ, 1865. *Othert*, Bishop of Liège, *de vita et obitu Henrici IV.* (*Goldasti*, Apolog. pro Henr. IV., Hannoveriæ, 1611, 4to.—Chroniclers: *Lambert* of Hersfeld, *Marianus Scotus Otho of Freising*; even *Siegbert* often acknowledges the worth of Gregory. Cf. *Stenzel*, *Hist. of Germany under the Frankish* ¹ *muerors*, Vol. II., p. 55.

article of the decree of Nicholas II. on papal elections, the cardinals and the Roman clergy confirmed the popular choice.

Hildebrand had already filled high and responsible positions in Rome, had frequently gone on distant and complicated missions, and knew well the difficulties that would beset one who should endeavour to govern the Church as became an upright and conscientious Pope. Hence, dreading the responsibility, he protested, but to no purpose, against his own elevation to the papal throne. He was invested with the purple and crowned with the tiara, April 22, A. D. 1073. Forced, against his own will, to accept the exalted position of the papacy, and, modestly shrinking from its onerous duties, Gregory thought he saw one way still open by which he might escape the burden. The last decree on papal elections contained an article requiring that the Pope-elect should receive the approval of the Emperor of Germany. Gregory, who still assumed only the title of "*Bishop-elect of Rome*," notified Henry IV., King of Germany and Emperor-elect, of what had taken place, and begged him not to approve the action or confirm the choice of the Romans. "But should you," he went on to say, "deny my prayer, I beg to assure you that I shall most certainly not allow your scandalous and notorious excesses to go unpunished."¹ Several historians, putting this bold declaration beside the decree of Nicholas II. (A. D. 1059),² which went on the assumption that the King of Germany did not enjoy the right of approving the Pope-elect until after he had been crowned Emperor, and then, only by a concession made to himself personally, have pronounced it supposititious. But when it is recollected that its authenticity rests upon the combined testimony of *Bonizo*, Bishop of Sutri, the friend of Hildebrand, and of *William*, abbot of *Metz*, as well as on the authority of the *Acta Vaticana*, it is difficult to see how the objection can be sustained. Moreover, it will be remembered that Hildebrand himself had a hand in the framing and enactment of the statute on papal elections; and hence, lest it should now be supposed that he had then purposely limited the scope of the imperial privilege of approval, in view of his own elevation at some future day to the papal throne, he now forewent a right on which he might have fairly insisted, and, in order to dissipate any suspicion of dishonest dealing, requested the ratification of the Emperor-elect.

Again, Hildebrand thought it best to yield, for the present, for another reason. When the news of the decree on papal elections reached Germany, the current of popular feeling ran strong against the Popes; and Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, during his residence at Rome, in 1068, had represented to the papal court the possible consequences of such irritation in strong and emphatic language.

¹ Ne assensum præberet, attentius exoravit. Quod si non faceret, certum sibi esset, quod graviores et manifestos ipsius excessus nullatenus impunitos toleraret, in *Baron.* ad a. 1073, nr. 27. *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 148, p. 114 sq. Cf. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. V., pp. 1-10, where there is full proof of the authenticity of this declaration.

² See p. 235.

Under these circumstances, it was deemed prudent not to evoke unnecessarily a storm which it might be difficult to allay.

Henry IV., on receiving news of Hildebrand's election, sent Count Eberhard, of Nellenburg, as his plenipotentiary to Rome to protest against the proceeding. The politic Hildebrand was careful not to be taken at a disadvantage. "I have indeed," said he, "been elected by the people, but against my own will. I would not, however, allow myself to be forced to take priest's orders until my election should have been ratified by the king and the princes of Germany."

Lambert of Hersfeld informs us that Henry was so pleased with this manner of speech that he gave orders to allow the consecration to go on, and the ceremony was accordingly performed on the Feast of the Purification in the following year (A. D. 1074). This is the last instance of a papal election being ratified by an emperor. Still, the great Catholic powers have continued to exercise a greater or less influence on papal elections down to our own day. Out of respect to the memory of Gregory VI., his former friend and master, Hildebrand, on ascending the papal throne, took the ever-illustrious name of *Gregory VII.*

Once seated upon the pontifical throne, Gregory proceeded, with greater vigour than he had ever before exhibited, *against such bishops and abbots as had obtained their appointments uncanonically from temporal princes, and against simonists and immoral ecclesiastics.* He at once set himself to reform the abuses and scandals of the Church, the existence of which he constantly deplores in letters.¹ "*I have often,*" says he, "*besought God either to take me out of this world or to make me useful to our common mother, the Church; but He has neither set me free from my great sufferings, nor has He, as I have besought Him, made me of use to the mother whom I so dearly love.*" He then goes on to describe the deplorable condition of the Church. "*The Eastern Church has lost the true faith, and is now assailed on every side by infidels. In whatever direction one turns his eyes—to the West, to the North, or to the South—everywhere are to be found bishops who have obtained the episcopal office in an irregular way; whose lives and conversation are out of harmony with their calling; who go through their duties, not from love of Christ, but from motives of worldly ambition. There are no longer princes now who set God's honour before their own selfish ends, or who allow justice to stand in the way of their ambition.*" And, speaking of the men of his time, he says: "*Those among whom I live—Romans, Lombards, and Normans—are, as I have often told them, worse than Jews and Pagans. And as for myself,*" he adds, "*I am so weighed down with the enormity of my sins that I can hope for pardon only from the abundant mercy of Christ. And did I not live in the hope of one day leading a more perfect life and serving our holy Church more faithfully, I should certainly not remain in Rome, where, as God is my witness, I*

¹ *Gregor., Epp., libb. II., ep. 49. Metzler, The legislation and other efforts of Gregory VII., to purify the election of Bishops, Lps., 1868.*

have lived these twenty years past only by constraint. Thus it comes to pass that I am placed between fear and hope—fear daily renewed and hope indefinitely deferred—driven to and fro by ceaseless storms, living in the midst of death, and dying in the fulness of life.”

Gregory, with admirable foresight, commenced his great work with the *reformation of the clergy*. He first of all assembled a numerously attended synod at Rome (A. D. 1074), and revived all the *old* decrees against incontinency, enjoining their observance under the severest penalties. This he considered the only efficient means of restoring and preserving among the clergy the moral purity of life which their state demanded. In no other way could they be so detached from the world and worldly affairs as to devote themselves wholly to the services of the Church or be completely *independent of the State*. The decrees of Clement II., Leo IX., Victor II., Nicholas II., and Alexander II., had indeed called forth a stubborn resistance, but no such stormy opposition as this measure of Gregory. The reason is not far to seek. Gregory was in earnest, and meant to have the decree carried out to the letter; and, the better to put down any contumacious resistance, *made the people in a measure the executors of his will*.¹

The married priests, of course, offered the most determined and pertinacious opposition.² Archbishops, bishops, and abbots who

¹ Gregory says: Sed nec illi, qui in crimine fornicationis jacent, missas celebrare aut secundum inferiores ordines ministrare altari debent. Statuimus etiam, ut si ipsi fuerint contemtores nostrarum, immo SS. Patrum constitutionum (see § 85), *populi nullo modo illorum officia recipiant*, ut qui amore Dei et officii dignitate non corriganter, verecundia sæculi et *objurgatione populi* resipiscant. (Ep. ad Otton. Episc. Const. See above, p. 236, n. 3.)

² Lambert. Hersfeld., Ad a. 1074: Adversus hoc decretum infremuit tota factio clericorum; hominem plane hæreticum et vesani dogmatis esse clamitans, qui oblitus sermonis Domini qui ait: non omnes capiunt hoc verbum, etc. All manner of objections were made against the obligation of the rule of celibacy by the synods of Erfurt, Passau, and Paris, held in the year 1074. Passages of *St. Paul* were cited in support of their position, and against the Pope. Such were: “Melius est nubere quam uri” (1 Cor. vii. 2, 9); and “oportet episcopum irreprehensibilem esse, *unius uxoris virum*” (1 Tim. iii. 2; cf. Matt. xix. 11). The case of *Paphnutius*, at the Council of Nice, was also appealed to (see Vol. I., p. 459). The opponents of the rule of celibacy told the Papal legate, at Nürnberg (A. D. 1074), that “they would rather renounce the priesthood than their marriage contract, and that he for whom men were not good enough might go seek angels to preside over the churches” (in Lambert of Hersfeld). *Sigebert* of Gemblours says that many declared the prohibition against hearing the Mass of married priests an error of doctrine, inasmuch as the Church teaches that “the efficacy of the Sacraments is wholly independent of the worthiness of the minister.” Such, however, was not the bearing of the prohibition, which was entirely disciplinary; and the Pope, while acknowledging the validity of such ministrations, simply wished to correct an abuse, by declaring them unlawful. The clergy of the dioceses of *Cambrai* and *Noyon* complained in two letters, written in the year 1076, both of Rome and of their own bishops, because their sons were not permitted to take holy orders. Cf. also *Martène*, *Thesaurus Anecdotor.*, T. I., p. 320 sq.

But Gregory was decisive in the matter, and refused to depart a hair's breadth from what he conceived to be the true ideal of the priesthood. Hence he published in the same year the following imperative decree: “Si qui sunt presbyteri vel diaconi vel subdiaconi, qui in crimine fornicationis jaceant, *interdicimus eis* ex Dei parte omnipotentis et sancti Petri auctoritate *ecclesie introitum*, usque dum peniteant et emendent. Si qui vero in peccato suo perseverare maluerint, *nullus vestrum eorum audire præsumat officium*: quia

undertook to enforce the decrees were assaulted, and barely escaped with their lives from the fury of the assailants. But the only effect of measures so violent was to strengthen the determination of religiously-minded men, and such as desired a more pure, a more intelligent, and a less worldly priesthood, to have nothing more to do with those priests who refused to yield obedience to the laws of the Church, or to strengthen the authority of the Pope.¹

Simony being closely connected with the sin of incontinency, Gregory felt that to effectually correct the latter it was necessary to entirely eradicate the former. But to accomplish this, it was further necessary to put an end to the *practice* of *investiture*, and to withdraw from the laity, once for all, the power of appointing to spiritual offices. Hence, in a second synod, held at Rome¹ (A. D. 1075) it was enacted that, "if any person should accept a bishopric or an abbacy from the hands of a layman, such one should not be regarded as a bishop or an abbot, nor should he enter a church until he had given up the place thus illegally obtained." It was further enacted that "the same rule should apply to the lower offices of the Church, and that any person, even if he were emperor or king, who should confer an investiture in connection with any ecclesiastical office, should be cut off from the communion of the Church." The real intent and scope of this decree, though not apparent upon its face, were evident enough. It raised the bishops out of their condition of feudal servitude and provided for the freedom of ecclesiastical elections. These provisions, Gregory declared, were a necessity, and not arbitrary or of his own making; neither were they innovations, but, on the contrary, the *very ancient practice* of the Church.

It has been frequently asserted, but without any sufficient reason, that the leading idea of Gregory's life was the establishment of a

benedictio eorum vertitur in maledictionem et oratio in peccatum, Domino testante per Prophetam: Maledicam, inquit, benedictionibus vestris." (Mansi, T. XX., p. 433, Grat. decret. dist. 81, c. 15.) When occasion required, Gregory could also command words full of dignity and elevation of thought, and well calculated to call forth a noble enthusiasm among the priesthood. "Multum namque," says he in one of his epistles, "debet nobis videri pudendum, quod quilibet sæculares milites quotidie pro terreno principe suo in acie consistunt, et necis perferre discrimina vix expavescunt: et nos, qui sacerdotes Domini dicimur, non pro illo nostro rege pugnemus, qui omnia fecit ex nihilo, quique non abhorruit mortis pro nobis subire dispendium, nobisque promittit meritum sine fine mansurum." (Greg., Epp., libb. III., ep. 4; Mansi, T. XX., p. 190; Harduin, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1326 sq.) There were also bishops who shared with Gregory this high ideal of the priesthood. Such was *Hanno*, Archbishop of Cologne, who, on taking charge of the political affairs of Henry IV., is thus described by *Lambert* of *Hersfeld*: "Eo moderamine, ea industria atque auctoritate rem tractabat, ut profecto ambigeres, Pontificali eum an Regio nomine digniorem judicares, atque in rege ipso. qui in cultu atque socordia pæne præceps ierat, paternam virtutem et paternos mores brevi exsuscitaret." (Conf. *Palma*, *Prælectiones hist. eccl.*, T. III., p. 19 sq.; *Giles Müller*, *Hanno II.*, Lps., 1858; *Lindner*, *Anno II.*, the holy Archbishop of Cologne, 1869.) Then, *Gebhard*, Archbp. of Salzburg; *Altman*, Bp. of Passau (Vita Altm. in *Pertz*, T. XII., pp. 226-243; *Stülz*, Life of Bp. Altman of Passau, Vienna, 1853); *Adalbero*, Bp. of Würzburg, and others. Cf. the exhaustive apologetic treatise on the laws of celibacy, by *Bernold* of Constance, in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 148; in *Mansi*, T. XX.; in *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I.

¹ On these two councils, see *Mansi*, T. XX., p. 403 sq.; *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1521 sq., and *Palma*, L. c., T. III., pp. 8-18.

universal monarchy, with the Pope at its head and the princes and kings of the earth doing him homage and service as his *vassals*. His very strongest utterance, requiring whosoever should be elected king of Germany after the death of Rudolph of Suabia to promise on oath to render *military service* (militia) to the Holy See, far from making the king a vassal, does no more than constitute him the protector and defender of the rights and possessions of the Roman Church.¹ Neither can the tax exacted from the various princes and countries be considered a *feudal tribute*. Except in particular cases, where a prince or province was bound by special treaty to render all the obligations of feudal dependencies to the Holy See, the tax was no more than a token of devotion, by which was expressed the submission of the giver, on the one hand, and on the other, the spiritual authority of the Sovereign Pontiff.²

Finally, as regards the sentiment attributed to Gregory relative to the origin of the civil power, the Protestant historian, *Neander*, has the following pertinent remarks:³ "We find Gregory," says the writer, "entertaining an idea, which is expressed also in other writings of this party, according to which the priestly authority would appear to be the only one truly ordained of God—the authority by which everything was finally to be brought back into the right train—'for the authority of princes grew originally out of sinful self-will, the primitive equality of mankind having been broken up by the violence of those who, by rapine, murder, and every other species of atrocity, elevated themselves above their equals';"⁴ a view which might be confirmed, in the minds of some, on contemplating the then condition of civil society. Yet, in other places, when not pushed by opposition to this extreme, he recognises the kingly authority as also ordained of God; only maintaining that it should confine itself within its proper limits,

¹ *Gregor.*, Ep., lib. IX., ep. 3 ad Episc. Pataviens.: Quia de re quid promissionis sacramento sancta Rom. ecclesia ab illo (qui est eligendus in regem) requirat, in sequenti significamus: ab hac hora et deinceps *fidelis ero per rectam fidem* beato Petro Apost. ejusque vicario papæ Gregorio, qui nunc in carne vivit, et quodeunque mihi ipse papa præceperit, sub his videlicet verbis: *per veram obedientiam* fideliter, sicut oportet Christianum, observabo. De ordinatione vero ecclesiarum et de terris vel censu, quæ Constantinus imper. vel Carolus sancto Petro dederunt, et de omnibus ecclesiis vel prædiis, quæ apostolicæ sedi ab aliquibus viris vel mulieribus aliquo tempore sunt oblata vel concessa, et in mea sunt vel fuerint potestate, ita conveniam cum papa, ut periculum sacrilegii et perditionem animæ meæ non incurram: et Deo sanctoque Petro adjuvante Christo dignum honorem et utilitatem impendam: et eo die, quando illum primum videro, *fideliter per manus meas miles sancti Petri et illius efficiar*. Those historians who make so much of this oath, should not omit to mention that the Pope, in this very letter (which is addressed to the Bishop of Passau), as if anticipating that some might misinterpret the meaning, and be offended by the tenor of the oath, adds the following words in explanation: Verum quoniam religionem tuam apostolicæ sedi fidelem et promissis tenemus et experimentis non dubitamus, de his, si quid minuendum vel augendum censueris, non tamen *prætermisso integro fidelitatis modo et obedientiæ promissione, potestati tuæ et fidei, quam beato Petro debes*, commitimus. (*Mansi*, T. XX., p. 343; *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1481.) And this is, in effect, no more than what Henry II. solemnly promised to Pope *Benedict VIII.* See p. 227, n. 1.

² See above, p. 241.

³ Cf. *Neander*, Ch. H., Eng. transl. by *Torrey*, 11th Amer. ed., Vol. IV., p. 87.

⁴ In the famous letter to Bishop Herman of Metz, l. VIII., ep. 21.

remaining subordinate to the papal power, which is sovereign over all. He says that *the two authorities stand related to each other as sun and moon*, and compares them to the two eyes of the body."¹

That this is a just estimate of Gregory's principles is proved, *first*, from many open expressions of his opinions, in which he sets forth the necessity of the harmonious action of the spiritual and temporal powers. "In the same measure," says Gregory,² "that union between royalty and the priesthood becomes more intimate and harmonious, will the temporal power be more equitably wielded and the ecclesiastical life more firmly established;" and, *next*, from the many and strenuous efforts of Gregory to *protect and defend the temporal power*

We are inclined to think that the following words of *Hefele* give a correct idea of Gregory's policy:³ "Seeing the world sunk in wickedness and threatened with impending ruin, and believing that the Pope alone could save it, Gregory conceived the vast design of forming a *universal theocracy*, which should embrace every kingdom of Christendom, and of whose polity the Decalogue should be the fundamental principle. Over this commonwealth of nations the Pope was to preside. The spiritual power was to stand related to the temporal as the *sun* to the *moon*, imparting light and strength, without, however, destroying it or depriving princes of their sovereignty. *On the other hand, temporal princes were to be obliged to bow before the supremacy of God's law, and to recognise Him as the source of their own jurisdiction and power.* Should any prince refuse to render this homage, he was to be at once cut off from the body of princes composing the theocratic alliance, denied the privileges attaching to membership, and declared incapable of being the representative of God among the Christian people. Thus, when all the thrones of the earth should lean upon the Apostolic See, then, and then only, would justice, harmony, peace, and unity reign throughout the world."⁴

¹ Lib. I., ep. 19.

² *Gregorii*, Epp., lib. I., ep. 19, ad an. 1073.

³ *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. V., p. 16 sq.; *Luden*, Hist. of the Germ. People, Vol. VIII., pp. 468-471; and *Rühs*, Manual of Hist. of Mid. Ages, 2nd ed., p. 367, gives a similar explanation of Gregory's leading idea. The latter concludes thus: "The inspiring motive of Gregory's whole life was the realisation of this idea (i. e. as the author gives it in his text), and not any vain ambition. Notwithstanding that the ideas which swayed men in those ages, have no application in our own, the disciples of the so-called modern philosophy, indulging in a confusion of ideas, for which there is no excuse, and judging Gregory by our standard, have frequently underrated and misinterpreted him."

⁴ It was not unlikely that power so extensive, when placed in the hands of one man, might at times lead to evil and pernicious consequences. Gregory himself appreciated the difficulty, and made it one of the subjects treated of in his *Twenty-seven Short Maxims*, called his *Dictates* (*Dictatus Gregorii*), relating to the laws and government of the Church. (Lib. II., ep. 55; *Mansi*, T. XX., p. 168 sq.; *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1304). In these Gregory gives a comprehensive view of what constitutes the greatness and supremacy of Papal authority; draws out the system which he endeavoured to introduce in the government of the Church, and shows how the temporal is subordinated to spiritual power. *Baron.*, Ad an. 1076, n. 31, considers these Dictates *authentic*; *Christian. Lupus*, in Notes et Dissert. ad Concilia, holds the same opinion; *Launoï* (Epp., lib. VI., ep. 13); *Pagi*, Crit. in *Baron.*, Ad an. 1077, n. 8; *Nat. Alex.*, Hist. Eccl. Sæc. XI. et XII., dissert. III.,

Judging the actions of Gregory according to this ideal standard, they become intelligible and consistent. His design, which aimed at making the principles of Christianity the source of the political life of the State, was a grand one, and one which, in that *age of violence*, was assuredly approved by those noble and generous souls who felt keenly the necessity of some great moral authority capable of overawing and holding in check the brutal violence of the temporal power. The idea of a *universal theocracy* did not, however, originate with Gregory. It has been ascribed to him because he drew it out in precise form, elaborated it into a complete and perfect system, and closely adhered to it throughout his whole administration. The *subordination of the temporal to the spiritual power*, resulting from the system, had already been proclaimed by *St. Gregory Nazianzen* and *St. Chrysostom*, and by the holy Popes *Gelasius* and *Gregory the Great*; and practically and generally recognized by the payment of Peter's pence and other similar offerings, which the German nations had been sending to Rome since the date of their conversion.¹ Besides the venerable antiquity and high authority upon which this conviction rested, it was further strengthened by *the relations of the feudal system*. Princes regarded their kingdoms as so many fiefs *held of God*, of which they might be deprived for any act of rebellion or high-treason against either Him or His Church. It belonged to the Pope, as the Vicar of Christ and the representative of God upon earth, to pass judgment in the premises. Such is the idea conveyed by the words, "*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho*," inscribed upon the crown which Gregory VII. is said to have sent to the Emperor Rudolph, but the statement is not satisfactorily proven. Gregory was possessed of every qualification for carrying this idea into practical effect. To resolute moral courage and strength of will he added an unbounded devotion to the interests of the Church, and intellectual gifts of such eminence that he readily took in the most complicated facts, divined their solution, and applied a remedy. He was self-reliant without being presumptuous. Grave in his utterance and dignified in his conduct, he was neither vain of his personal merit nor proud of his power. His very enemies were forced to acknowledge that his morals were pure and his life above reproach. That his actions were always prompted by purely disinterested motives is shown from his noble reply to *Mathilda*, Queen of England,² and wife of William the Conqueror, who had made him an offer of

believe them *spurious*. Others, again, and probably with good reason, say that the Dictates are the sentiments and principles of Gregory, arranged by an unskilful compiler. Thus, *Schroëckh*, Ch. H., Pt. XXV., p. 519-521, and *Neander*, Hist. of the Christ. Relig. and Church, Eng. transl., Vol. IV., p. 120 (Orig. Germ., Vol. V., p. 157). See also *Giesebrecht*, Legislation of the Roman Church (Munich Historical Annuary, 1866, p. 149).

¹ *Gregory M.*, Epist., lib. III., ep. 65: *Ut terrestre regnum celesti regno famuletur*. Cf. our Vol. I., p. 455, n. 1, and Vol. II., p. 111, n. 1, and *Lingard*, Hist. of England, Vol. III. (Germ. transl. by *Salis*, Vol. III., p. 3).

² *Gregor.*, Epp., lib. VII., ep. 26. Cf. lib. VII., ep. 21, *ad Aconum regem Danorum*.

whatever it was in her power to give. "*I had much rather hear,*" says Gregory in reply, "*that you lead a virtuous life, are charitable to the poor and loving to your neighbours, than to receive from you gold and jewels and the treasure of this world.*"

But Gregory, though sincerely pious, was far from being narrow-minded. Writing to the King of Denmark, he exhorted him to put a stop to the custom which permitted the persecution of innocent women as witches, and as the causes of the evils that came upon the country in seasons of famine and pestilence. Again, Gregory, while placing a high estimate on monasticism and a renunciation of the world, would never approve this manner of life for such as were usefully engaged in secular pursuits and whose places could not be easily filled by others. These he regarded as having been called by God to their respective positions. Gregory held that love should be the measure and standard of everything. Writing to the margravine, *Beatrice*, and her daughter, *Mathilda*, he says: "The love we bear God should inspire us to love our neighbours, to succour the needy, and comfort the distressed. To act from this motive is, in my judgment, of greater merit than fasting, watching, and other good works, be they ever so numerous, because true love is superior to all other virtues."

In the meantime, a power had been growing up in Upper Italy which was at the disposal of Gregory. The margravine, *Beatrice* († A. D. 1076), and her daughter, *Mathilda*,¹ surnamed the second "*Deborah*," revered him as their spiritual father, and were only too happy to place their influence and their treasure at his command, were ever ready to protect him against the violence of his enemies, and to offer him a secure retreat within their castles in seasons of danger.

Germany, *more than any other country*, engaged the attention and called forth the energies of Gregory. Fully conscious that in him resided the plenitude of the binding and loosing power, and impelled by a sense of his great responsibility, he resolved to carry out the principles of reform upon which he had set his heart. But his efforts were to be met by the most violent opposition on the part of *Henry*

¹ Her promise, in *Baron.*, Ad an. 1074, nr. 10: "Quod non tribulatio, non angustia, non fames, non periculum, non persecutio, etc., poterit eam separare a charitate Petri in Christo Jesu Domino nostro." *Schlosser* says: "His (Gregory's) life remained, as it had always been, without taint. This was admitted by his very worst enemies. The calumny which, later on, some attempted to attach to his name in connection with this lady, is a miserable and ridiculous invention." (*Univ. Hist.*, Vol. II., Pt. II., p. 720.) And *Neander* likewise says: "The connection of the Pope with this lady was certainly of the purest character, and so it appears in his correspondence with her. The enthusiastic devotedness of the most strict and pious persons of the age testifies in favour of Gregory." . . . The impartial *Lambert of Hersfeld* remarks concerning the relation of Mathilda to the Pope: "Tanquam patri vel domino sedulum exhibebat officium." . . . He then refers to the misrepresentations put on this relation: . . . "Sed apud omnes sanum aliquid sapientes luce clarius constabat, falsa esse, quæ dicebantur." Engl. transl., Vol. IV., p. 113, note 1; Germ. orig., Vol. V., Pt. I., p. 197. (Tr.)

IV., a prince whom a vicious and deplorable education had rendered vacillating and light-minded, a debauchee and a despot. In his case there was more call for the enforcement of the decrees on investitures than in that of any other prince.

Henry and his court resided, by preference, at *Goslar*, and from members of the collegiate chapter of this place, all of whom were notoriously immoral, he made nearly all of his selections for the bishoprics of Germany and Italy. As a consequence, these canons practised all the arts of flattery and servility, in order to recommend themselves to the royal favour and secure ecclesiastical preferment. Gregory had declared from the outset that in proceeding against Henry he was actuated by the purest of motives, and bore to that prince personally the kindest of feelings. "No one," says he, in a tone of fatherly *correction*, "has his present and future glory more at heart than ourselves. We shall on the first occasion send nuncios to him who, acting from motives of parental kindness and from a desire to give prudent counsel, will agree with him on a line of action which will promote at once the glory of the Church and his royal dignity. If he heed our counsel, we shall rejoice in his welfare as in our own."¹

Henry, who was at this time closely pressed by the Saxons, wrote to the Pope a humble letter, confessing that he had plundered the possessions of the Church, bestowed ecclesiastical dignities upon unworthy persons, and given churches for a consideration to simonists and such as had entered the ministry of Christ from wrong motives. He closed by promising amendment in the future, but his promise was never kept. The severity of Gregory was anything but agreeable to the dissolute Henry. Had the King been left to himself, his better feelings might now and then have gained the ascendancy, but there were those about his immediate person who desired to make use of him as a champion of their cause, and who in consequence pressed him to assert his sovereign authority against the inflexible Gregory. Henry hesitated. His relations with the Saxons were still doubtful, and his mother, Agnes, and other prudent mediators, kept him in check. But no sooner had he subdued the Saxons than he broke through all restraints and set the commands of the Pope and the laws of the Church at defiance. Learning that Henry had reinstated in their former offices the *Imperial counsellors excommunicated* by Alexander II., that he had stolen the precious stones from the churches and bestowed them upon his concubines,² and that he

¹ *Gregory*, in lib. I., ep. 9, and in ep. 119, enumerates the reasons by which he considered himself bound to provide for the maintenance of Henry IV. Cf. *Hefele's Hist. of Councils*, Vol. V., pp. 9, 10.

² "*Gemmæ (ecclesiarum) autem distractæ quibusdam meretriculis donatæ sunt*," it is said in the *Hist. Archiepisc. Bremensium*, in *Lindenberg.*, p. 94; and in *Bruno*, *Hist. Belli Saxonici*, we read: "*Binas vel ternas concubinas simul habebat, nec his contentus, cujuscunque filiam vel uxorem juvenem et formosam audierat, si seduci non poterat, sibi violenter adduci præcipiebat. Aliquando etiam ipse uno sive duobus comitatus, ubi tales*

was unjustly oppressing the conquered Saxons, Gregory, in 1075, warned him, both by letter and private embassy, and in a tone of paternal solicitude, to change his course of life, and, in January of the following year, threatened him with excommunication. Henry, who was not in a frame of mind to patiently endure such treatment, insultingly dismissed the Papal envoys, and answered the summons of Gregory to appear at Rome and clear himself of the crimes laid to his charge, by calling upon the venal bishops and abbots of the empire to meet at Worms (January 24, A. D. 1076) for the purpose of deposing the Pope. These creatures of the royal bounty, who had been trained in the vicious and servile court of Goslar, readily answered the summons. At their head was Cardinal *Hugo Blancus*, whom Gregory had deprived of his dignity for forging false briefs, showing favour to simoniacal priests, and for assuming to be the representative of the Roman senate and people. Cardinal Hugo read before the assembly a paper, drawn up in the form of a letter, in which the most serious charges were brought against the Pope. Although the Fathers were well aware that these were false and the proceeding irregular, they nevertheless seized upon the opportunity to pronounce sentence of deposition on Gregory, declaring that one so stained with crimes could not be Pope. Each one was required to declare, in writing, that he withdrew from the obedience of Gregory; and, of all those present, only *Adalbero*, Bishop of Würzburg, and *Herman*, Bishop of Metz, *protested* against the proceeding as *uncanonical*; but even these presently withdrew their protest on the representation of the Bishop of Utrecht, one of Henry's creatures, who appealed to them to sign the decree in virtue of the loyalty which, as sworn vassals, they owed to their liege lord.¹ "This shows," says *Neander*, "to what extent these bishops and abbots were willing to be employed as the blind tools of power, and how much they needed a severe regent at the head of the Church." This sentence was announced to the Pope in a letter addressed in the following terms: "*Henry, King by the grace of God and not by the will of man, to Hildebrand, no longer Pope, but a false monk.*" The King was encouraged to proceed to these extremities by the daring violence of *Cencius* (*Crescentius*), a licentious Roman nobleman, who, occupying a stronghold in the very centre of the city, and fearing the power and resolution of Gregory, formed a conspiracy against him, and on the vigil of Christmas, A. D. 1075, set upon him and cast him into prison in the tower of *Cencius's* castle. As soon as the imprisonment of the Pope became known, violent commotions broke out among the people, who forced the conspirators to set him at liberty.

esse cognoverat, in nocte pergebat, et aliquando acti sui mali compos efficitur, aliquando vero vix effugiebat, ne a parentibus amatae sive marito occideretur. Uxorem suam, quam nobilem et pulchram *sussonibus principum invitatus duxerat*, sic exosam habebat, ut post nuptias celebratas eam a separare quareret, ut tunc quasi licenter illicita faceret, cum hoc quod licebat conjugium non haberet." (*Struve*, T. I., p. 176.) Henry's friends have shrugged their shoulders at this, excused him, but never contradicted the fact.

¹ *Döllinger*, Ch. Hist., Vol. III., p. 107.

A synod, consisting of the simoniacal bishops of Lombardy, hastily convened at Piacenza, approved the action of the assembly of Worms.

Information of the proceedings at Worms reached Gregory just as he was opening the Lent Synod of 1076. He received the news with composure, and, with the concurrence of one hundred and ten bishops who expressed their readiness to lay down their lives for him, and, in defence of his outraged dignity, pronounced sentence of excommunication upon the Archbishop of Mentz and the Bishops of Utrecht and Bamberg, prohibited those who had co-operated with them from the exercise of ecclesiastic functions, and allowed a limited time to such as had acted against their will to give signs of repentance. He adopted similar measures against the bishops of Lombardy. At the request of the whole synod, and in presence of the Empress Agnes, who remained faithful to the Church in spite of the shock such a course must have given to maternal feelings, Gregory next declared Henry excommunicated and incompetent to govern either in Germany or Italy, and released his subjects from their oath of fealty.¹

The action of Gregory was the occasion and signal for the outbreak of a violent and long-continued struggle between the *contending parties*. When arguments would not answer, swords were resorted to. Some of those engaged in the conflict were totally in the dark as to the real point at issue. Few, indeed, who espoused the cause of Henry seemed to understand that, according to the political ethics of that age, the subjects of a ruler *who had incurred the ban of the Church were, as a matter of course, absolved from the obligations which lay upon them in virtue of their oath of allegiance.*²

The *partisans of Henry* declared that the Pope, by presuming to release subjects from their oath of allegiance to princes, had set himself above every law, human and divine, and stained himself with the guilt of a most heinous crime. Starting with the principle, that the power of princes is of divine origin, and of its nature independent, and appealing

¹ This was not an act of deposition, but a simple suspension of the exercise of royal authority, and a necessary consequence of excommunication. For, as the people might not hold intercourse with one under sentence of excommunication, so neither could on this account exercise his governing prerogatives. Cf. *Döllinger*, L. c., p. 300. (Tr.)

² Perhaps no one expressed himself stronger on this subject than the scholastic writer *Guenrich*, in a letter addressed to Gregory in the name of Dietrich, Bishop of Verdun. He says: "Non est novum, homines sæculares sæculariter sapere et agere; novum est autem et omnibus retro sæculis inauditum, pontifices regna gentium tam facile velle dividere." (*Martène et Durand*, Thesaur. nov. anecdot., T. I., p. 220 sq.) Gregory's course is defended in *Greg. VII.*, Epp., lib. IV., ep. 2; lib. VIII., ep. 21 ad Herimannum episc. Metensem. (*Mansi*, T. XX., p. 331 sq.; *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. I., p. 1469 sq.) Cf. supplement in *Mansi*, T. XX., p. 377, *Greg. ep. ad Germanos*: "Audivimus inter vos quoddam de excommunicatione, quam in regem fecimus, dubitare ac quærere, utrum juste sit excommunicatus, et si nostra sententia ex auctoritate legalis censura, ea qua debuit deliberatione egressa sit." The defence of Gregory in *Gebhardt*, Archiepisc. Salisburg. ep. ad Herimann. episc. Metens. (1081), in *Tengnagel*. Vett. Monum. ctr. Schismaticos. Ingolst., 1612, 4to. Cf. *Helfenstein*, Gregory VII., according to the Controversial Writings of His Age, Frankfurt, 1856.

to the texts of the New Testament, which enjoin obedience to those in authority,¹ as its sanction, they contended that no power on earth could annul the obligations which subjects owed to their princes. As an example in point, they cited the case of the Apostles, who themselves yielded a willing obedience to *Pagan* magistrates, and taught that this obedience should be given to even such a monster as Nero.

The *opposite party*, while admitting to the full all that had been said of the sanctity of an oath, argued, that, when an oath ran counter to the law of God, it, by this very circumstance, ceased to possess a binding force, and that, as a consequence, no oath given to a secular prince, of whatever character it might be, could possibly oblige one to obey him, when, going beyond his own domain, he invaded that of the Church, and resisted him to whom God had committed the governance of Christendom. Moreover, they added, a prince who has been *cut off from the fellowship of the Church*, is, by this fact, rendered incapable of exercising any governing power, inasmuch as no one may have fellowship with him.² The civil law also recognises this hardship, for it prescribes that an excommunicated prince shall be reconciled to the Church within a year and one day after he has been cut off from her communion.

Finally, in reply to those who appealed to the divine right of kings, they said it was necessary to distinguish between the legitimate use and the arbitrary abuse of authority, between kings and tyrants. A prince who should abuse his power and authority would prove himself incapable of exercising either.

The doubts expressed by Herman, Bishop of Mentz, as to the legality of Gregory's course, were to no purpose. Gregory insisted that his acts were all lawful, and within the scope of his rightful authority. He cited, in justification of his course, the example of Pope Zachary, who deposed the last of the Merovingians, and released the Franks from their oath of allegiance to him; of St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who *excommunicated* Theodosius the Great; and of many other Popes and bishops, who, under similar circumstances, pursued a similar line of conduct; and concluded by asking whether Christ, in giving to Peter the commission to feed His *whole* flock, and in conferring upon him the power of binding and loosing, had made any exception in favour of princes?

The ban pronounced upon Henry created a great commotion in Germany. He and his counsellors, both secular and spiritual, who had also been excommunicated by the Pope, were carefully avoided by the bulk of the people. Henry's condition was unfortunate. Still young, the slave of many vicious habits, wayward and capricious, and needing counsel and support, he found himself on a sudden deserted by those whom he most desired to have about him. Even unprincipled men who had attached themselves to him from motives of self-interest, and the great German vassals who, out of a regard for their feudal obligations, had heretofore been loyal to him, both now gave him up and declared in favour of the Pope—the former because they had nothing more to expect from the King's favour, and the latter because they recognised the claims of a higher law to their obedience. Courtier bishops, who had but lately shown an unseemly servility to the royal will, now expressed themselves penitent for their past conduct and ready to submit to the lawful authority of the Vicar of Christ. The Saxons, on the first knowledge of Henry's excommunication, happy of an opportunity to avenge the outrages of this tyrannous oppressor, flew to arms and remained in a chronic state of insurrection.

In the meanwhile, those immediately about the person of Henry did all in their power to inflame his anger and strengthen his resistance by representing to him that he should not heed an unjust ban,

¹ Rom. xiii. 1 sq.; Peter, ii. 13-17; Tit. iii. 1.

² See above, p. 296.

and that his enemies were "the enemies of the empire." Henry at first gave a willing ear to such representations; but, finding that his party was daily decreasing in numbers and influence, he sought to bring about a reconciliation by negotiation. But in this he was also unsuccessful, and, as affairs were rapidly coming to a crisis, something must be done.

In October of the year 1076, the spiritual and temporal princes of the nation assembled at *Tribur*. *Sieghard*, Patriarch of Aquileia, and *Altman*, Bishop of Passau, a man of eminent piety, appeared before the assembly as papal legates. They were the bearers of a letter from the Pope, in which the latter expressly stated that he did not wish Henry to be deprived of the throne. After a lengthy discussion, it was agreed to leave the final decision to the Pope, who was to be invited for this purpose to a diet of princes to be opened at Augsburg on the coming feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin. It was further stipulated that in the meantime Henry should hold no converse with excommunicated persons; should, for the present, give up the administration of public affairs; and, if not reconciled to the Church within a twelvemonth, be declared for ever incompetent to exercise the functions of government.¹ The last clause was inserted on the authority of "*an ancient law of the empire.*" Helpless, and deserted by everyone, Henry consented to abide by these conditions; but, fearing that things might go worse with him if he awaited the action of the proposed diet, he resolved to anticipate the coming of Gregory into Germany, and hastily set out for Italy to obtain absolution from his censures at any cost.

Accompanied by his wife, Bertha, his young son, and one trusty friend of no rank, Henry crossed the Alps by the Mount Cenis pass, in the exceptionally cold winter of 1076-77. Gregory had made arrangements to meet the German delegates on the Italian frontier and proceed thence with them to Augsburg, and, in order to keep his appointment, set out on his journey twenty days in advance of the day agreed upon. In the meantime, ambassadors arrived in Italy, bearing a message from Henry to the Pope. Henry expressed deep sorrow for what he had done, promised amendment for the future, and earnestly sued to be released from the censure of the excommunication. Gregory refused to accede to their request in behalf of their master, whose *insolence* and numerous transgressions he animadverted upon with unusual severity of language.

A variety of circumstances delayed the journey of Gregory to Germany, and, while he was still in Italy, Henry crossed the Alps and appeared as a suppliant before him. No sooner had Henry arrived than a large party of Italian nobles and bishops gathered about him and offered to do any service for him, provided he would consent to take up their cause and second their opposition to Gregory.

¹ This decision, together with a long table of crimes and complaints against Henry, in *Lambert.*, Ad an. 1076. (*Pertz*, Monum., T. VII., pp. 252, 253.)

The latter, fearing that the irresolute King might yield to their solicitations, and, in his present circumstances, seriously apprehensive of the result of so formidable a combination, withdrew to the castle of *Canossa*, belonging to his devoted friend, Margravine Mathilda of Tuscany. But Henry had no such intention. Circumstances demanded that he should at once have the ban of excommunication removed, and to this he steadily applied himself. The German bishops and nobles who, like himself, were under sentence of excommunication, put on the garb of penitents and went first to beg absolution from the Pope. Gregory listened graciously to their prayer, and consented to grant them absolution, but on condition that they should give unequivocal tokens of their sincerity. The bishops were required to fast for a day in cells, each by himself, after which they were kindly reprov'd and dismissed with a warning not to repeat the offence. But Gregory dealt more sternly with Henry. Knowing the treacherous character of the King, and fearing that he might have a detachment of troops lying in ambush at a convenient distance, the Pope adopted all necessary precautions.

Henry, following the advice of those who counselled unconditional submission, and impatient of delay because the anniversary of his excommunication was approaching, put aside the insignia of royalty, and, clad in a penitential garb, humbly knocked at the gate of the citadel, begging permission to enter. Having been admitted, he remained barefooted in the snow during the whole of the day, and, returning to the same place on the two following days, went through the same discipline, and, with tears in his eyes, begged to have his anathema removed.

When it is remembered that this was in the exceptionally cold winter of 1077, some idea may be had of the severity of Henry's penance. Impatient of delay and despairing of success, Henry was about to retire, but, previously to doing so, entered the neighbouring chapel of St. Nicholas to pray, and, while there, prevailed upon Mathilda to intercede for him. The margravine engaged the good offices of the Italian seigneurs in his behalf, and their united prayers finally overcame the reluctance of the Pontiff. Gregory admitted the King to an audience, January 28th,¹ but, before absolving him,

¹ *Lambert.*, Ad an. 1076, gives a full account of this scene. Cf. *Hefele*, Gregory VII., and Henry IV., at Canossa, Tübing. Quart., 1861, p. 1-36, and *Hist. of Council.*, Vol. V., p. 81 sq. It turns out, after a careful study of the sources, that the affair of Canossa was not so dreadful as it has been heretofore represented. The king did not remain barefooted in the snow before Canossa for three successive days and nights, but only from the morning to the evening of each of three days, returning to his lodgings at nightfall, "a mane usque ad vesperram;" neither was he destitute of all clothing on the upper part of his body, except a shirt; he wore "the garb of a penitent," or a hair-cloth shirt, over his ordinary dress. Even *Floto* (Henry IV., Vol. II., p. 129) says: "At the approach of darkness—which, as the season was winter, came at an early hour—they withdrew to their lodgings, took their meals, and went to rest. On the following day, the same spectacle was repeated." *Fessler*, Pope Gregory VII., and Ecclesiastical Liberty, Innsbruck, 1850. Leo calls the event a triumph gained by a magnanimous man over a wretched weakling. "History of Italy," Vol. I., p. 450; ed. of 1830, Vol. I., pp. 171, 172.

required, as preliminary conditions, that he should appear before the proposed assembly, which was to be presided over by the Pope, where an opportunity would be given him to reply to the charges of his opponents; that upon the issue of this court should depend his right to the kingdom, and that in the meantime he should observe no state retain no mark of dignity, and should exercise no acts of regal power. Should he violate any of these conditions, he would again incur all his former ecclesiastical penalties.

Had the German princes met, as proposed, with Gregory at their head, we should have had a most striking example of the exercise of papal jurisdiction over kings.

When these conditions had been fixed upon, Gregory went through the form of admitting Henry into the Church, after which he celebrated Mass and gave Holy Communion to Henry as a token of his sincere reconciliation to that prince.¹

If the bearing of Gregory in regard to other delinquent princes—such, for example, as Philip of France, who had repudiated Bertha, his lawful wife, and was then unlawfully cohabiting with Bertrada—was marked with greater leniency than in the case of Henry, it was because a statesman so prudent as Gregory knew well how to adapt his policy to the circumstances in which he was placed, and did not care to be engaged at one time in a contest with all the princes of Christendom. When, however, there was a real call upon him to speak out, he was prompt and decisive, as in the instance of Boleslaus, King of Poland.²

¹ According to the narrative of Lambert of Hersfeld, Gregory, having come to the communion, turning about, said that the German King and his partisans had often openly affirmed that he employed unlawful means to reach the Papal throne, and that his life was stained with crimes of such a character as would, according to the laws of the Church, exclude him from the priesthood. He further said that the German nobles were daily wearying him with accusations against their king, which, if true, would not only incapacitate him to govern his kingdom, but would put him beyond the pale of the Church. Then, breaking the Host into two halves, Gregory took one part in his hand, saying, "Let this be the final proof of my innocence, that thereby Almighty God may clear me this day of the crimes of which I have been accused if I am innocent, and may strike me with sudden death if I am guilty." He then called upon Henry to receive the other half with a similar asseveration, but the King hesitated, asked a few moments to take counsel, and finally declined.

Many historians, such as Stenzel (Hist. of the Franconian Emperors, Pt. I., p. 411), severely reproach Gregory for his conduct on this occasion; while others, as, for example, Neander (L. c., Vol. IV., p. 115), regard it as bearing witness to the approval of a good conscience. Henry, as the same author says, was neither sufficiently sure of his innocence, nor sufficiently hardened against religious impressions, to subject himself, uncertain of the result, to such a trial.

On the other hand, Luden (Hist. of the Germ. People, Vol. IX., p. 580) has undertaken to prove, from intrinsic arguments, the improbability of the facts related in Lambert's narrative. For had Gregory really acted, as he is there represented to have done, he would have anticipated the decision of the German Assembly. Donizo and Waltram, Bishop of Naumburg (in Freher, Vol. I., p. 816), both eye-witnesses, say no more than what has been given in the text. The fuller narrative of Bonizo (in Oefele, Vol. II., p. 816), which may be relied on, as he himself lived in the neighbourhood, states that Henry really received Holy Communion from the hands of Gregory. This narrative probably furnished the basis of Lambert's fiction. Cf. Hefele, Hist. of Councils, Vol. V., pp. 88-90.

² Vita S. Stanisl., in Bandtkie, ed. chron. Martini Gall., pp. 319-380.

The event proved the Pontiff had but too much reason for his misgivings of Henry's sincerity. Seduced by the flatteries and promises of the Lombard barons and some of the Italian bishops, the German king disregarded the obligations of his oath. The German princes being naturally irritated at this faithlessness, assembled (March 15, A. D. 1077) at Forchheim, near Bamberg, and, in spite of the remonstrance of Gregory, elected *Rudolph, Duke of Suabia*, king in Henry's place.

Siegfried, Archbishop of Mentz, who had deserted the cause of Henry, and was then engaged in a vain effort to collect the tithes in Thuringia, crowned the newly elected King, after exacting from him a promise to guarantee the free election of bishops, and to recognise Germany as an elective monarchy. The last clause excluded Rudolph's son from the right of succession. By this act the princes pronounced definitively the decision, which, but a short time before, they had reserved to the Pope.

Henry, after hastily arranging matters in Italy, returned to Germany, and was shortly surrounded by all his former adherents: while Rudolph, on the contrary, was shamefully deserted by the very persons who had been most prominent in having him elected. Gregory maintained an attitude of neutrality towards both competitors for the crown. It was his desire to decide between them in conjunction with the spiritual and temporal princes of Germany, and, as both parties counted on his support, they mutually agreed to guarantee him a safe-conduct coming to and returning from Germany. But, notwithstanding this profession, there were obvious reasons why each party should dread his presence. Henry kept the passes of the Alps closely guarded, and again commenced to appoint bishops to sees already filled. The consequence was, that many bishoprics had two occupants—the one belonging to the party of Henry, and the other to that of Rudolph. These divisions in the Church still further inflamed the fierce passions evoked by the civil war. Rudolph and his adherents complained bitterly of the apparent indifference of Gregory to their interests; and their complaints might have remained unheeded had not Henry repelled every overture looking to a peaceable accommodation of his difficulties. For this reason the King was precipitately excommunicated by Bernard, the papal legate, at a synod held in Goslar (November, 1077). The legate at the same time confirmed the election of Rudolph. Still, the Pope, on account of the unusually complicated state of affairs in Germany and the fierceness of partisan feeling, proposed that each of the competitors should present their respective claims for adjudication in a synod to be held at Rome in November, 1078. To this objection was made by Rudolph and his adherents—first, because the case had been already decided by Henry's excommunication; and next, because it was impossible for Rudolph to send ambassadors into Italy, as Henry had all the passes of the Alps closely watched. Moreover, both parties accused each other, before the Pope, some time after, of placing obstacles in the way of

holding the appointed diet of the kingdom. Gregory then exacted a promise, under oath, from the ambassadors of Henry and Rudolph, not to, in any way, prevent the assembling of the proposed diet. In February, 1079, the representatives of the two claimants again appeared in a synod at Rome to advocate the cause of their respective masters.

Gregory made every effort to compromise affairs, but his conciliatory policy greatly irritated Rudolph and his party. They wrote him a letter, in which they expressed the hope that, "if he had been unduly influenced by fear of the man of sin (Henry), or by wicked suggestions from other quarters, he would reconsider his conduct, lest, at the day of judgment, he should be held accountable for the disastrous issue of King Rudolph's cause."

The war in Germany still continued to rage, and was daily becoming more relentless and cruel. Two bloody battles had just been fought in Thuringia. Ambassadors were again sent to Rome by both kings. Each party reproached the other with having prevented the holding of the proposed diet, and each demanded that sentence of excommunication should be passed upon his opponent.

Rudolph's representatives charged Henry with having treated the Church with every sort of disrespect, tyrannised over her priests, and banished and imprisoned many of her bishops and archbishops. The recital of these outrages upon the Church and her ministers excited the indignation of the Fathers, and they in consequence called for Henry's immediate excommunication; but Gregory, believing that a peaceable adjustment of the difficulty was still possible, advocated a more conciliatory policy. He again sent a legation into Germany to preside at the long-deferred diet, but Henry and his adherents again managed to hinder its convening, notwithstanding that sentence of excommunication was incurred by the act, and in spite of Henry's uniform and zealous professions of obedience to the commands of the Pope.

The cause of Henry had many advocates, not only throughout all Italy, but even in Rome. Mathilda alone remained steadily loyal in her devotion to the Holy See. In Germany, the misfortunes of the Church and the miseries of the people were deplorable in the extreme. Men whose only qualification was a servile devotion to Henry were forced into the sees of such bishops as had been cast into prison or sent into exile. Cardinal Petrus Igneus, the head of the legation sent into Germany, on his return to Rome, gave a most unfavourable account of Henry's policy and conduct. It now became very evident that the King was playing fast and loose, trifling with Gregory and waiting an opportunity to set him at defiance altogether. Moreover the bishops of Bremen and Bamberg, his ambassadors at Rome, demanded, in the name of their master, shortly after his defeat at the battle of Fladenheim, that the Pope should excommunicate Rudolph, adding that, in case the demand were refused, *Henry would choose another Pope*. On the other hand, the Saxons and Thuringians still complained bitterly of Gregory's hesitancy and want of resolution;

while the ambassadors of Rudolph spent their eloquence in describing the treachery and tyranny of Henry. Taking things all in all, Gregory felt that he could no longer remain an inactive spectator of events, and that there was now a call upon him to interpose his authority. Accordingly, in a numerously-attended synod, held at Rome, in 1080, Gregory renewed the *sentence of excommunication and deposition* against Henry, the author of so many and so great evils, absolved his subjects from the obligations of their oath of allegiance, and declared, in unequivocal terms, that Rudolph was the true and only King of the Germans.

Henry and his adherents had recourse to retaliatory measures. Nineteen bishops, assembled at Mentz on the feast of Pentecost, A. D. 1080, declared that they would no longer render allegiance to Gregory. The numerously attended synod of Brixen, under the direction of the perjured cardinal Hugo Blancus, composed of thirty Lombard and German bishops, many of whom had been deposed and were then under sentence of excommunication, and participated in by a large number of nobles, after reading an indictment against Gregory, containing charges at once ludicrous and characteristic of such assemblies, pronounced sentence of deposition upon him, and elected in his stead Guibert, the oft excommunicated Archbishop of Ravenna, and well known as a friend and defender of simonists. Guibert took the name of *Clement III.*

Henry rendered homage to the antipope, promised to place him upon the papal throne in the Vatican, and to accept the imperial crown from his hands. Clement III. now excommunicated King Rudolph, and Guelf, Duke of Bavaria.

After the death of Rudolph, who, though victorious, died from wounds received, as is supposed, at the hands of Godfrey de Bouillon, in the great battle fought on the banks of the Elster (October 15, A. D. 1080), between Naumburg and Zeitz, the Pope entered into an alliance with *Robert Guiscard*, Duke of Normandy. Robert again took the oath of fealty, which he had already given to Nicholas II., and a second time received his investiture from the Holy See.

In the year 1081, the Saxons and Suabians elected *Herman*, Count of Salm and a native of *Luxemburg*, king in place of Rudolph.

Henry, assured that all Italy was favourable to his cause, marched into that country, and, in the interval between the years 1081 and 1084, frequently laid siege to Rome, the gates of which, contrary to his expectations, had been closed against him by the inhabitants. In his third attempt, in the year 1084, he succeeded in gaining possession of a portion of the city, and the Romans, wearied of the long siege, and irritated at the determined resistance of Gregory, threw open the gates, and received Henry with outward demonstrations of joy. Gregory retired to the castle of St. Angelo, where he remained shut up, and repelled every advance of Henry looking to a reconciliation, until the latter should have made amends for his past conduct. Henry offered to recognise him as lawful Pope, and to surrender

Guibert into his hands for punishment, if Gregory would consent to crown him emperor. Gregory replied that he would never absolve Henry, or place the crown upon his head, until he should have made the most ample satisfaction for the insults and outrages he had offered to God and His Church. "The Pope added: "Were I willing to turn aside from the path of justice, I might obtain from Henry greater concessions than were ever granted to any of my predecessors. But I have no fear of the threats of wicked men, and am prepared to die, rather than consent to what my conscience cannot approve."

All parties now agreed that the decision of the contest should be left to a general council, which Gregory promised to convoke, November, 1083. In his letter of convocation, the Pope stated that it would be made clear by the action of that body who was the real author of the existing evils, and of the antagonism between Church and State. The king, under pretence of leaving the council perfectly free in its deliberations, withdrew all his troops from Rome, with the exception of a slender garrison left in possession of the fort he had built near St. Peter's Church. He also expressed a readiness to furnish safe-conducts to all bishops of his kingdom wishing to attend the council. But these professions, though made under oath, were, as the event proved, wholly insincere. By his orders, the deputies sent as lay representatives by the German princes were put under arrest; bishops and abbots were seized, and cast into prison. Even the papal legate, Otho, Bishop of Ostia, was waylaid, plundered, and imprisoned. In spite of all these drawbacks, the council convened, November 20th, its members consisting chiefly of the bishops and abbots from Italy and the south of France.

The assembly sat for only three days. Gregory refused to yield anything, or to come to terms with Henry, till the latter should have made satisfaction to the Church by a new penance. He also passed sentence of excommunication upon all those who were then engaged in preventing, by force or fraud, persons from coming to St. Peter and the Pope.

The people, encouraged by the fearlessness of Gregory, attacked and captured the fort near St. Peter's, and razed it with the ground. These events brought Henry a fourth time to Rome, which, after some efforts, he entered, March 21, 1084. He at once presented Guibert to the people as *his* pontiff; had him consecrated on the following Sunday by the bishops of Modena, Arezzo, and Bologna, and on Easter Sunday received the imperial crown from his hands. Bertha was also crowned under the title of empress.

At length the bishops of both parties, wearied of the ceaseless and bloody conflict, and shocked at the alarming evils it entailed, came together at *Gerstungen* (A. D. 1085), in the hope of adjusting their conflicting claims by the principles of science and authority, instead of by the fortunes of war. The bulk of the people, believing that principles drawn from scientific works were not liable to falsification,

or apt to lead men astray,¹ were rejoiced at the prospect of a speedy and just decision of the questions involved.

While Henry was besieging the castle of St. Angelo, *Robert Guiscard* marched on Rome to liberate the Pope. The German king, doubtful of success against so experienced a captain as Robert, and fearing treachery among the Romans, withdrew his forces to Castellana. Robert stormed the city, liberated the Pontiff, and led him to the Lateran, where, kneeling before him, he made him offerings expressive of his fidelity. In the meantime, the Romans, irritated by the insolence of the Norman soldiery, flew to arms, assembled in the public squares, and threatened to attack the Normans. The latter, furious at this attempt, set fire to portions of the city, and, spreading themselves through its streets, committed every sort of excess. Churches were desecrated and plundered; the virgins of the convents, and Roman matrons and their daughters outraged, and the very fingers of ladies were cut off to secure the rings upon them.

When Robert departed, he took Gregory with him to *Salerno*. Here Gregory held his last synod, in which he renewed the excommunication against Henry, and addressed his last letter to Christendom. This was Gregory's testament to the Church:² "*All*," he says, "*have risen and conspired against us. For this only one reason can be assigned, viz., because We would not keep silence in the face of the perils that threatened the Holy Church, or sanction the action of those who wished to reduce her to a condition of servitude. In every country, even the poorest woman may lawfully accept what man she will for her husband; to the Church alone, the Spouse of God and our Mother, is it forbidden, by the arrogant assumptions of impious men, to remain united to her divine Bridegroom. We could not permit the sons of that Holy Church to have usurpers and adulterers for their fathers, lest they should bear upon them the stain of bastardy.*"

Gregory was shortly after taken ill, and died May 25, A. D. 1085. His last words were: "*I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore do I die in exile.*"³ These words are at once an admirable commentary on his life, and a proof that, in his last moments, his conduct had the approval of his conscience.⁴

Apparently vanquished, Gregory died triumphant. The great principle for which he struggled has been victorious. *Bishops are independent of the secular power, and, as a consequence, the freedom of the Church is secure.* The altar affords an asylum to those pursued by the

¹ *Kunstmann*, The Synod of Gerstungen (Freiburg Theol. Periodical. Vol. IV., p. 116 sq.)

² This letter is preserved in the chronicle of Verdun, whence it has been taken by *Mansi*, Appendix altera, epp. XV. ad omnes fideles, T. XX., p. 628-630.

³ Ps. xlv. 8.

⁴ *Paul Bernried* (and the generality of chroniclers agree with him, almost word for word), *Vita Greg. VII.*, c. 108: Adstantibus ei episcopis et cardinalibus eumque pro laboribus sanctæ conversationis et doctrinæ beatificantibus respondit: ego fratres mei dilectissimi nullo labore meo alicujus momenti facio, in hoc solummodo confidens, quod semper dilexi justitiam et odio habui iniquitatem, propterea morior in exilio.

violence of the throne. Taught by the lessons of Gregory, cities have gained the right of franchise, and in this way laid the foundations of the liberty of mankind. While freely admitting that the plans and actions of Gregory were sometimes extravagant, it is nevertheless true that they were always characterised by a certain elevation and grandeur, which challenge a respectful admiration, if not superior, at least equal, to that elicited by the victories of ancient Rome. To exalt Gregory and speak his praise, is in itself a commendation of the speaker's judgment and good sense, and the surest token that he is on the way to distinction and honour. Hence, *the noblest characters* of Gregory's age, and those most distinguished by eminent intellectual gifts in every age since, have fully appreciated his great worth, and expressed their admiration for him in terms which his life and conduct abundantly deserved.

Gregory was beatified, in 1584, by his namesake, Gregory XIII., and placed upon the catalogue of the saints by Benedict XIII., in 1728.¹

§ 215. *Victor III.* (A. D. 1087)—*Urban II.* (A. D. 1088-1099).

Victor III., Chron. Monast. Cassin. (*Muratori*, Scriptt. rer. Ital. T. IV., p. 151), *Mansi*, T. XX., p. 630. The biographies of *Pandolph.*, *Pisan.*, and *Bernard. Guidon.* (*Muratori*, T. III., Pt. I., p. 351; *Watterich*, T. I., p. 549-571); from and according to the sources, *Ruinart*, in *Mabillon et Ruinart*, Opp. posthum., Par., 1724, 4to. Cf. especially *Bernoldus Constant.* in *Usserman*, Monumenta rer. Alem., etc., T. II. *Pertz*, T. VII., Pt. II. *Urbani II.*, Epist. and Doc., in *Mansi*, T. XX., p. 642 sq. *Harduin*, T. VII., Pt. II., p. 1627 sq. *Watterich*, T. I., pp. 571-620.

The influence exercised by Gregory on papal elections, previously to his own elevation, was felt in the choice of those who succeeded him. When dying, he designated *Desiderius*, Abbot of Monte Cassino; *Otho*, Cardinal-bishop of Ostia; *Hugo*, Archbishop of Lyons; and *Anselm*, Bishop of Lucca, as persons worthy to be his successors. Of these, *Desiderius* was chosen, in spite of the efforts made to defeat him by the adherents of Henry and Guibert, who then formed a numerous and influential party at Rome. But it was only after the papal chair had remained *vacant for two years*, that the holy monk, yielding to the earnest prayer of the synod of Capua, and grieved at the deplorable condition of the Church, finally consented to quit his solitude and take upon him the burden of the papacy (May 9, A. D. 1087). *Desiderius*, as Pope, took the name of *Victor III.*

The principal event of this short pontificate was the holding of a synod of the bishops of Apulia and Calabria at Benevento, in which the antipope was again excommunicated, and *secular investiture* and traffic in ecclesiastical dignities forbidden under penalty of anathema.

¹ Cf. even the most vehement manifesto against Gregory, viz., ep. Theodorici, episc. Virdunens., in *Martène et Durand*, Thesaur. novus anecdot., T. I., p. 215. The ecclesiastical office says in praise of him: "Universam ecclesiam mirifice illustravit.—Sicut sol effulsit in ecclesia Dei;—libertati ecclesie restituendæ, extirpandis erroribus et corruptelis tanto studio incubuit, ut ex Apostolorum ætate nullus Pontificum fuisse tradatur qui majores pro ecclesia Dei labores molestiasque pertulerit, aut qui pro ejus libertate acrius pugnaverit.—Vir vere sanctus, criminum vindex et acerrimus ecclesie defensor—pluribus in vita et post mortem miraculis clarus."

Following the precedent of Gregory, Victor also designated the Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, by birth a Frenchman, as the person who, in his opinion, was most worthy to succeed him. For six months Otho refused to accept; but, at the end of this time, finding resistance useless, he consented, and became Pope under the name of *Urban II.* (March 12, A. D. 1088). Immediately after his accession, Urban addressed a circular letter to the Catholic world, in which he said: "We purpose to tread faithfully in the footsteps of Gregory VII., our predecessor of glorious memory and a martyr to the cause of justice." He was as good as his word. In a letter addressed, a few months later, to Alphonso VI., King of Leon and Castile, he censured him for having taken upon himself to depose the Archbishop of Compostella. "Restore him to his see," wrote Urban, "and then send him here, accompanied by your own deputies, that he may be judged according to the canons. Should you refuse, We shall be obliged to employ harsher measures, such as are by no means agreeable to us." Urban was then (A. D. 1088) holding a synod at Melfi, in Apulia, for the purpose of providing measures for the reformation of the Church. Its decrees were published in the following year at Bari.

In the year 1090, the illustrious St. Bruno, at the request of the Pope, quitted his solitude among the mountains of Grenoble, to assist, by his learning, wisdom, and experience, his former disciple in governing the Church.

After exhorting, through his legates, all the princes of Christendom to unite in defence of the oppressed Church, Urban set out for Rome. But being unable, owing to the power of Henry and the antipope Clement III., in Upper and Central Italy, to make his solemn entrance into the city, he took up his residence on the island in the Tiber, and so destitute was he of resources from legitimate channels, that he was forced to depend on the charity of the faithful for subsistence. *Mathilda* alone remained loyal to the Pope and the Church. Urban hoped to strengthen his power by an alliance which he brought about between this princess and *Guelf II.*, the second son of the Duke of Bavaria; but in this he was unsuccessful. *Guelf*, learning that *Mathilda* had, for the good of her soul, long since willed her extensive possessions to the Holy See, at once separated from her.*

* The deed of donation, after the vita *Mathildis* a Donizone scripta (in *Baron.* ad a. 1102. nr. 20; *Muratori*, Scriptt., T. V., p. 384): In nomine st. et individue Trinitatis—ego *Mathildis*, Dei gratia comitissa, pro remediis anime mee et parentum meorum dedi et obtuli ecclesie sancti Petri per interventum Domini Gregor. VII. omnia bona mea, jure proprietario, tam que tunc habueram, quam ea, que in antea acquisitura eram, sive jure successionis—omnia, sicut dictum est, per manum Domini Greg. VII. Romanę ecclesie dedi et tradidi, et chartulam inde fieri rogavi. Sed quia chartula nusquam apparet et timeo, ne donatio et oblatio mea in dubium revocetur: ideo ego, que supra, Comitissa *Mathildis*, iterum a presenti die dono et offero eidem Rom. ecclesie per manum Bernardi Cardinalis et Legati ejusd. Rom. eccl. sicut in illo tempore dedi per manum Dom. Greg. omnia bona mea, etc. The recently published appendix ad Ph. L. Dionysii opus de Vaticanis cryptis—auctoribus in Rom. Archigymn. professoribus *Sarti* et *Setteleis*, Rom., 1844—proves, by *monumental documents*, the authenticity of this deed of gift.

While religious and civil wars were spreading devastation everywhere in Germany, men of all conditions, sickened with the sight of so much bloodshed, fled from the angry strife of the world and sought quiet and peace of soul in the solitude of the cloister. While devoting their lives and their fortunes to the service of the religious orders, and living according to monastic rule, they still retained their secular dress. Urban II. approved this quasi-religious life as "laudable and worthy of encouragement, and as having its exemplar and sanction in the manner of life of the early Christians."¹

In order the better to establish the legitimate authority of the papacy in Germany, Urban II. sent thither, as his legates, *Altman*, Bishop of Passau, and *Gebhard*, Bishop of Constance.² He further prescribed three degrees of censure, which should be incurred by King Henry and Guibert according to the degree of their guilt, and by those who gave them evil counsel, by simoniacal ecclesiastics, and by all who should influence well-disposed persons against the Church.

Scarcely had reconciliation between Henry and Herman been brought about by the latter's resignation of his pretensions to the crown, than Henry led his armies, for a third time, across the Alps (A. D. 1090), and fought with varying fortune against the forces of Mathilda; and Guibert, who but a short time before had been expelled the city by the inhabitants, again gained possession of Rome. But Henry's star was now on the decline, and he soon forfeited whatever of personal respect the people still entertained for him. His eldest son, *Conrad*, a worthy, pious, and generally esteemed prince, who had been crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1087, now deserted the cause of his licentious father, and was crowned King of Italy, at Monza, by Anselm, Archbishop of Milan, lately a partisan of Henry's, but who had now gone over to the party of the Pope.

Henry was shortly after deserted by his second wife, *Praxedes*, a Russian princess. This lady confessed, publicly, at the synods of *Constance* (Holy Week, A. D. 1094) and of *Piacenza* (A. D. 1095), the shameful excesses of her degraded husband and the cruelties to which he subjected her.³ The latter of these synods, though held in the stronghold of Guibert's party, was attended by four hundred ecclesiastics and thirty thousand laymen, and enacted rigorous decrees against incontinent and simoniacal priests. The *Council of Clermont* (November, A. D. 1095), at which there were present two hundred and eighteen bishops and abbots and a vast multitude of laymen of every

¹ *Bernold* of Constance illustrates this by what he says of two Suabian monasteries: *Eo tempore duo Teutonicorum monasteria cum suis cellulis regularibus disciplinis instituta egregia pollebant, quippe cœnobium St. Blasii in nigra silva et St. Aurelii, quod Hirsaugia dicitur. Ad quæ monasteria mirabilis multitudo nobilium et prudentium virorum hac tempestate in brevi confugit, et depositis armis evangelicam perfectionem sub regulari disciplina exsequi proposuit, tanto inquam numero, ut ipsa monasteriorum ædificia necessario ampliarent, eo quod non aliter in eis locum commanendi haberent. Cf. ad a. 1091 (Usseermann, T. II., p. 148).*

² Cf. + *Zell*, Gebhard of Zähringen, Bishop of Constance (Freiburg Diocesan Archives, Vol. I., pp. 305-404).

³ *Bernold. Constantiensis*, ad an. 1095

rank and condition, protested in the most energetic terms against bishops taking the *homagium*, or oath of fealty, to either king or feudal lord. It was argued that the *homagium* was dangerous to the liberties of the Church, inasmuch as the bishops were placed by it in a condition of *absolute* dependence on the feudal lord, and bound to render him service under all circumstances. If they objected to the performance of these feudal duties from even *religious* motives, their refusal would be regarded as a violation of the *homagium*, and viewed in the light of a felony. Hence both bishops and priests were forbidden to take the *feudal oath of fidelity* to either king or other layman."¹

It was the object of the council to sunder relations in every sense prejudicial to the Church, and to establish between bishops and secular princes, instead of the special bond of vassalage which had heretofore subsisted, the general duties and obligations of subjects and rulers. Indeed, this one idea was at the bottom of Pope Gregory's policy. His every act was directed towards this end. To enable the bishops to wrench off the yoke of *feudal servitude*, to regain the liberty of the Church, and to secure the freedom of ecclesiastical elections and the full exercise of ecclesiastical functions, seemed to be the one great mission of his life.

In the meantime a great movement was in birth among the nations of the West, and one, too, which of its very nature tended to increase the authority and exalt the dignity of the Pope. This movement, being religious in its origin and religious in its aim, called forth the noblest and most disinterested efforts of Christian nations, and bound them together, by the bond of faith, in a great struggle against the enemies of their race and religion. The eyes of all Christendom were instinctively turned to the Pope as the natural leader in such an undertaking, and as the proper person to take the initiative in suggesting and carrying out any general plan of action.

Pope Urban proclaimed the first crusade. All the nations of Europe staked their wealth and their very lives upon its success. The Pope, who had been carrying on a struggle against the violence of kings, a barbarous civilisation, and a corrupt clergy, solely to achieve the triumph of principle, had all to gain and nothing to lose in this new conflict between civilisation and barbarity, between intellectual aspirations and gross sensuality. Hence he was perfectly secure in his authority, even in the very heart of France, when he excommunicated Philip I., who, in the year 1092, had put aside his legitimate wife, Bertha, and was at this time living in adultery with Bertrada, who had also left her lawful husband, the Count of Anjou. *Yves*, the holy *Bishop of Chartres*, who had all along done his best to hold the impetu-

¹ Synod. Clarom., can. 17: Ne episcopus vel sacerdos regi vel alicui laico in manibus ligium fidelitatis faciat. (*Mansi*, T. XX., p. 817; *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II.) The same thing was said already by Gregory. Cf. *de Marca*, De Concord. Sacerdot., lib. I. Like ordinances were passed in that Council of Clermont, can. 15, 16, 18.

ous passions of the king in check, on one occasion wrote to him in the following energetic language:¹ "The king may deal with me as he sees fit, and may do whatever God permits him to do against me. Whether he cast me into prison or put me beyond the protection of the law, in any event I am determined to endure all things in defence of the law of God, and no consideration will bring me to share the guilt of those from whose chastisement I should shrink."

Urban's journey through Italy and his return to Rome was *now* in every sense a triumph.

It has been claimed that the Pope, desirous of giving some token of grateful recognition of the services rendered by *Roger I.*, Count of Normandy, in freeing Sicily from the Saracen yoke,² created him *Perpetual Legate* of the Apostolic See, in that country,³ by a bull, bearing the date of 1098. Notwithstanding that the authenticity of this bull has been questioned by a number of authors, those who ruled over Sicily towards the close of the Middle Ages, and particularly after the time of Ferdinand I., the Catholic, persistently claimed the privileges which were supposed to be attached to that office. These were so extensive and abnormal, that they placed in the hands of the sovereign of the country, not only plenary jurisdiction in the administration of purely spiritual matters, but powers so ample as to supersede the primatial authority of the Pope himself. This assumed power went on increasing, and trenching on the spiritual domain, till it became so completely independent in its workings, that in the sixteenth century the title "*Monarchia Siciliæ Ecclesiastica*" was introduced to adequately express its scope. At length Pope *Clement XI.*, by a bull, dated February 20, 1714, and beginning "*Romanus Pontifex*," protested against the assumption of this extravagant and much abused legatine power, declared the tribunal abolished, and ordered that all ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the country should be regulated by the ordinances of the Council of Trent. During the reigns of *Philip V.* of Spain and the Emperor *Charles VI.*, to whom Sicily had reverted, this decisive action gave rise to so violent a contest, that *Benedict XIII.* thought it better to yield a little, and by the bull "*Fidei*," of August 30, 1728, permitted that the so-called "*Judge of the Monarchy*" should enjoy a definite and limited jurisdiction, and that the sovereign of the country should for the present have the right of appointing this officer.

But, even according to this arrangement, it was assumed that the judge delegate enjoyed his jurisdiction, not by Papal concession, but in virtue of the pretended legatine power, abolished by *Clement XI.*, and of certain political ordinances. The repeated efforts of subsequent pontiffs to induce the civil authority to accept a code of legislation which would regulate ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the basis of the Church's constitution, remained wholly unsuccessful amid the varying changes of the ruling dynasty. It made little difference in this respect whether Francis II., Garibaldi, or King Victor Emmanuel ruled the island—each, in his turn, stubbornly maintained that the legates nominated by him should, no matter how extravagant and unwarranted their assumptions, be recognised as Papal legates.

But when the "*Judge of the Sicilian Monarchy*" arrogantly assumed in the spiritual order powers as much beyond his legitimate authority as those violently seized by the new King of Italy in the temporal, thereby rendering the administration of ecclesiastical affairs impossible, Pope Pius IX. resolved to make short work of both the so-called Apostolic Legation, or Sicilian Monarchy, and the refractory Legate, or Judge of the Monarchy, which he did, by excommunicating the latter and abolishing the former, in a bull, dated January 28, 1864, and published October 10, 1867.

§ 216. *The Crusades.*

Willhelm Tyrinus († after 1188), *Hist. belli sacri*, lib. XXIII. (*Bongars*, T. I.); Germ. transl. by *Kausler*, Stuttg., 1843. *Anonymi belli sacri Historia*, in *Maillon*, Museum, T.

¹ Ivo Carnotens, *opp.* 15 and 20.

² See p. 237.

³ Cf. *Mansi*, T. XX., p. 659. *Gaufréd. Malaterra*, in his *Hist. Sicula*, Panormi, 1723, lib. IV., c. 29 (*Murat.*, T. V., p. 601 sq.). Cf. the exhaustive Monograph, by †*Sentis*, "*Monarchia Sicula*," being a historico-canonical inquiry, together with the respective documents, Freiburg, 1869.

I., Pt. II., p. 130; epitomized in *Jac. Bongars, Gesta Dei per Francos*, etc., Hann., 1611, 2 T., f. *Michaud*, *Bibl. des Croisades*, Par., 1830, 4 T. *Wilken*, *Hist. of the Crusades*, according to Eastern and Western documents, 1807-1832, 7 vols. *Michaud*, *Hist. des Croisades* (Paris, 1811-1822), 5 vols., 4th ed.: Paris, 1825 sq., 7 vols.; new ed., 1854, 4 vols., 8vo; Paris, 1854, Engl. transl., by *W. Robson*, 3 vols., London, 1852 (Tr.); Germ. transl., by *Ungewitter*, Quedlinburg, 1828 sq., 7 vols.; *von Sybel*, *Hist. of the Crusades*, Dusseldorf, 1841. *Sporschil*, *Hist. of the Crusades*, Lps., 1843. *Raumer*, *Hist. of the Hohenstaufens*, Vol. I., pp. 37-231. *Ludwig*, *Manual of Univ. Hist.*, Vol. II., pp. 107-141. *Kampschulte*, *Character and Progress of the Crusades* (Austr. Quart. of Cath. Theol., Year the Second, 1863, pp. 193-212). *Ratisbonne*, *Vie de Saint Bernard*.

The Crusades were the second general movement in the history of the Germanic nations of Europe. These were now brought together, for the *first time* by religious motives, to make a combined effort to achieve a distinctively Christian triumph. The Crusades, with their numerous influences for good and their many evil consequences, perfectly characterize this period of the world's history, and on that account deserve particular attention.

They are a marvellous instance of the influence exercised by the Church over the German people, even in the midst of the most trying circumstances. She had succeeded in inspiring men of every rank and walk of life with a truly Christian spirit. She had taught them to set a higher value on the unseen blessing of heaven than on the fleeting possessions of earth, and, in the performance of their duty, to act from the dictates of an upright conscience, and not by compulsion or restraint. And so faithful were they to her lessons, and so enthusiastic in carrying out her teachings, that at her bidding princes and people, seizing arms, rushed as one man to the conquest of that land hallowed by the presence of our Saviour and the consummation of the work of Redemption. Viewed in this light, the Crusades constitute one of the most glorious triumphs of Christianity. The descendants of those barbarous nations who, but a few short centuries before, deserted the frozen and desolate regions of the North in search of more genial and fruitful climes, now go forth to fresh conquests. But how different their motive and the spirit that animates them from the influence which guided their ancestors! Now they give up everything; their goods, their lands, their possessions, their home and country—in short, all that man prizes and holds dear on earth, and endure all manner of privations, toil, and suffering; and this in order to insure the realisation and triumph of a great Christian idea.

The same divine spirit which, in the course of the migration of nations, inspired princes to enter the Church and to induce their subjects to follow their example, for the security of the throne on the one hand, and of public order on the other, now enters into the hearts of the people themselves, and they, recognizing the voice of God in that of His Church, are docile to her exhortations, and, following the lead of their princes, arm for the common cause.¹

A long series of events, reaching back through centuries, and

¹ Cf. *Willelm. Tyrius*, *Hist. belli sacri*, lib. I. (*Bongars*, T. I., p. 640.)

closely related to each other, combined to prepare the minds of men for this splendid contest, in which the holy enthusiasm of the Christians came face to face with the religious fanaticism of the Saracens. In every age since the day when the redemption of man was consummated on Calvary, ceaseless streams of pilgrims have gone up to Jerusalem.¹ The example of *Helena*, the mother of Constantine the Great, did much to encourage the practice. No shrine in the Catholic world has been so numerously frequented by pilgrims as the church built upon the site of the Holy Sepulchre. In the tenth century vast multitudes of Christians set out to the Holy Land in anticipation of the approaching end of the world; and multitudes not less numerous, animated by the spirit of piety, and anxious to escape for a time the disorders which the contest on investitures had given rise to in both Church and State, went thither in the century following.

As early as the year 999, *Sylvester II.* had already made a call upon Christendom² in the name of suffering Jerusalem; and, in 1074, *Gregory VII.*, on learning the trials and hardships to which pilgrims journeying to the Holy Land were subjected—beholding himself, as it were, in spirit, at the head of an army marching to deliver the Holy Sepulchre—wrote as follows:³ “As our fathers have time and again journeyed to that sacred land, to strengthen, by their example, the faith of Christians, so shall we also, sustained by the prayers of Christendom and under the guidance of Christ, who will open to us the way—for it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps, but the ordering of his way is of the Lord—go thither, for the sake of the same faith, and to defend our Christian brothers.”

The grievances, the hardships, and the fears of the Emperor *Alexius*, and his prayers for aid, were laid before the council of Piacenza, in the year 1095, by his ambassadors. But the representations and the appeals of the Greeks were cold and spiritless, compared with the fiery enthusiasm, the calm confidence, and the inspiring eloquence of *Peter the Hermit*.⁴ Persuaded that he had a call from heaven to avenge the insults heaped upon Christians and the Christian faith by the Saracens, he went through the West, describing, with the terrible energy of his sweeping eloquence, the sufferings of his brethren in the Holy Land and the profanation of holy places and holy things, and calling upon Europe to rise and go forth to deliver the Holy Sepul-

¹ See p. 225.

² † *Junkmann*, *De Expeditionibus et peregrinationibus sacris ante synodum Claromontanam*, Vratisl., 1859. The same author has announced “Supplements to the Hist. of the Crusades.”

³ *Gregor.*, Epp., lib. II., ep. 31. A second letter, concerning the same affair, ad omnes Christianos, lib. I., ep. 49, and a third one to the Count of Burgundy, lib. I., ep. 46. Concerning Victor III. (1086), it is said in the *Chron. Casin.*, lib. III., c. 71: *De omnibus fere Italiae populis Christianorum. exercitum congregans atque vexillum b. Petri Apost. illis contradens, sub remissione omnium peccatorum contra Saracenos in Africa commorantes direxit.*

⁴ His influence in preparing the masses for undertaking the first crusade, however, is ascribed only by later authorities.

chre. Peter the Hermit and Pope *Urban II.* met at the council of Clermont. The Pope, moved to tears by the recital of Peter, made a stirring and eloquent appeal to the assembled multitude.¹ "That land," said he, "in which the light of truth first shone; where the Son of God, in human guise, deigned to walk as man among men; where the Lord taught and suffered, died, and rose again; where the work of man's redemption was consummated—this land, consecrated by so many holy memories, has passed into the hands of the impious. The temple of God has been profaned, His saints slain, and their bodies cast out upon the plains for the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field to feed upon. The blood of Christians flows like water in and about Jerusalem, and there is none to do the poor service of giving burial to their remains. Strong in our trust in the Divine Mercy, and by virtue of the authority of SS. Peter and Paul, of whose fullness we are the depository, we hereby grant full remission of any *canonical penalties*² whatever to all the faithful of Christ who *from motives of earnest and sincere devotion* shall take up arms against the infidel. Should anyone die while engaged in this holy pilgrimage, let him be assured that, *if he be truly penitent, he shall have his sins fully remitted to him*, and pass to the joys of life eternal."

At the close of Urban's address, the multitude rose to their feet, and in one voice cried out: "*It is the will of God! It is the will of God!*"

The Pope then showing them the sign of their redemption, said: "Wear it upon your shoulders and upon your breasts; let it shine upon your arms and upon your standards; it will be to you the surety of victory or the palm of martyrdom; it will unceasingly remind you that Christ died for you, and that it is your duty to die for Him."

Many immediately marked their right shoulders with the sign of the Cross,³ which became, from that hour, the special distinction of those engaged in the expedition, and indicated that those who bore it were ready to become soldiers of Christ, to take up their cross and follow Him. This sign, constantly before the eyes of the Crusaders, reminded them that the sentiments and aspirations of each should be the sentiments and aspirations of all; that in this holy warfare feelings of enmity should be put aside; and that, under the lead of the gallant knights, they should march as friends and brothers to the deliverance of the Holy Land. As Christ was the Great Leader of all,

¹ The discourse in *Willelm. Tyr.*, Hist. belli sacri, lib. I., c. 14 (*Bongars*, T. I., p. 640). Another recension of this discourse in *Baron.* ad an. 1095, nros. 35 sq. See *Hefele*, Hist. of Coun., Vol. V., p. 205 sq.

² Can. 2: Quicumque pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniæ adeptione ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni pœnitentia reputetur. (*Mansi*, T. XX., p. 816; *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., p. 1718.) In *Urban's* discourse, given in *Willelm. Tyr.*, it is said besides: Nos autem de misericordia Domini et beat. Petri et Pauli apostolorum auctoritate confisi, fidelibus Christianis, qui contra eos arma susceperint, et onus sibi hujus peregrinationis assumerint, injunctas sibi pro suis delictis pœnitentias relaxamus. Qui autem ibi in vera pœnitentia decesserint, et peccatorum indulgentiam et fructum æternæ mercedis se non dubitent habituros. (*Bongars*, T. I., p. 640.)

³ Cf. the account of the eye-witness, *Balderici*, Hist. Jerosolymitana (*Bongars*.. T. I., p. 88).

each knight sang with joyous enthusiasm the triumphant strains of the anthem: "*Media vīta in morte sumus*;" "*Quem quærimus adiutorem nisi Te Domine*," etc., "*Kyrie eleison*."¹

Such was the great idea, such the inspiring motives of the Crusades. It is, of course, not pretended that human passion and worldly ambition may not have had a share in the motives of some; but when this is conceded, it must, on the other hand, be admitted that nothing short of a heavenly influence could have sustained and energised the nations of Europe in the conduct of this war during the lapse of two centuries. "Never since the creation of the world," says the monk Robert, "never since the consummation of the mystery of the Cross, has any expedition at all comparable to this been set on foot; and for this reason, because it was the work of God and not of man."

These popular expeditions were as profitable to the faith as they were creditable to the honour of Christians. They rebuked the rising rationalism of that age, and proclaimed the victory of faith. As, in the early days of the Church, *the foolishness of the Cross* was the confusion of the wisdom of Paganism, so now the same faith triumphed over *Christian rationalism*.

The warlike but undisciplined host that set out in the first expedition for the Holy Land, under the leadership of Peter the Hermit, had melted to half their original number before they reached Bulgaria, where the Turks completely annihilated the remainder. A second army of gallant knights, also under the lead of Peter the Hermit, but superior in organisation and discipline to the first, crossed over to Constantinople and Antioch, and, after having endured countless hardships and faced dangers the most appalling, finally triumphed over the Saracens and took Jerusalem, July 15, A. D. 1099. They proclaimed *Godfrey de Bouillon* its first king; but the pious Christian hero, refusing to wear the crown of royalty where the Son of God had worn a crown of thorns, styled himself simply protector of the Holy Sepulchre. The patriarchate of Jerusalem was again restored. *Baldwin*, the brother of Godfrey, remained in the county of *Edessa*, established in 1098, to defend Jerusalem from the East, while *Bohemund*, the prudent prince of Tarentum, was stationed at Antioch.

The dissensions of the Crusaders prevented the capture of the strong garrison of *Ascalon*, which, had it been taken, would have formed a most important defence on the side of Egypt.

Urban II., who had been chiefly instrumental in setting this crusade on foot and insuring its success, did not live to hear of the triumph of the Christian arms and the capture of Jerusalem. Before the tidings of their successes reached the West he had passed to his reward, July 29, A. D. 1099.

¹ See above, p. 303.

§ 217. *Paschal II.* (A. D. 1099-1118)—*Gelasius II.* (A. D. 1119)—*Calixtus II.* (A. D. 1119-1124).

Paschal, Vita et Epp. (Mansi, T. XX., p. 977 sq.; *Hurduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., p. 1763 sq.) *Udalrici*, Cod. Epistol., in *Muratori*, T. III., Pt. I. *Gelasii et Calixti II.*, Vita et Epp. (Mansi, T. XXI., in *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., p. 1941 sq.) *Watterich*, T. II., pp. 1-153 (from *Paschal II.* to *Calixtus II.*) *Gervais*, Political Hist. of Germ. under Henry V., Lps., 1841. *Giesebrecht*, L. c., Vol. III., Pt. 3.

While the people of the Western world were pushing on to the East, and seemed wholly taken up with the prosecution of the enterprise, the contest on investitures went on all the same. The discussion was no longer confined to the transference of the *symbols* used in the ceremony of investiture. It was now chiefly devoted to securing the *freedom of canonical elections*, which were impossible under the system of lay investiture; to the abrogation of the *homagium*, or oath made by ecclesiastics to their feudal lords; and, finally, to removing the disgraceful vice of *simony*, which was essentially connected with the practice of lay investiture.

After the death of the antipope, Clement III. (A. D. 1100), his partisans continued to appoint successors to him. There were three of them within a short interval. Cardinal *Rainer*, formerly a monk of Clugny, but drawn from his retirement by Gregory VII., who saw in him the promise of distinction, was elected successor to Urban, but made a long resistance before he could be prevailed upon to accept the office. He took the name of *Paschal II.*

The new Pope pursued the same policy as Gregory VII., and was equally as energetic as his illustrious predecessor, but did not possess the same firmness of character or knowledge of the world. He was accustomed to say, that "when one wished to raise a fallen man, he should do so by reaching down for him as far as he could safely, without falling himself."

In a Lateran synod of the year 1101, he again renewed, in the most emphatic language, the prohibition of *lay investiture*; but in his relations to *Philip*, King of *France*, who had already been twice excommunicated for his licentious excesses, and whom, on his sworn promise to give up his connection with *Bertrada*, *Paschal* had freed from ecclesiastical censure (A. D. 1104), were not characterised by a similar display of energy. *Philip* disregarded his oath, and the Pope allowed the perjury to pass without rebuke.

Anselm of Canterbury was at this time also engaged in a violent contest, in the Pope's name, against *Henry I.*, King of England, the object of which was to secure the canonical freedom of episcopal elections, and to abolish the practice of lay investiture, by the transference of the ring and crosier. The king granted *freedom of election*

¹ *Conc. Rom.* a. 1101, in *Mansi*, T. XX., p. 1135; the same repeated at the Synod. *Guastalens.* (1106), *Trecens.* (1107), *Benevent.* (1108), *Lateran.* 1110). Cf. *Mansi*, T. XX., pp. 1209-1231; T. XXI., p. 7.

in the case of bishops and abbots, and gave up all claim to investiture; *but* required, contrary to the prohibition of Urban¹, that bishops and abbots-elect should take the usual *oath of fidelity to the king previously to their consecration*.¹ This brought the controversy to a close for the time being.

The censures of the Church against Henry IV. had been again renewed. After the death of his son, *Conrad*, in battle (A. D. 1101), Henry had the mortification of seeing his younger son, Henry V., whom he had but a short time before appointed his successor, rise in arms against him (1104). Pope Paschal, being assured by an embassy from the young king that their master was earnestly desirous of a reconciliation, and ready to give every assurance and pledge of his future obedience to the Church, commissioned Gebhard, Bishop of Constance, to free him from the ecclesiastical censures incurred by his participation in schism, and to crown him King of Germany (A. D. 1106).

Henry IV., after many fruitless efforts to maintain himself, was finally obliged, at the diet of Ingelheim, to resign his kingdom in favour of his son. He managed to make his escape from confinement, and, finding a numerous and powerful following along the Rhine and in Belgium, was again about to fan into a fresh flame the smouldering embers of civil war, when he died suddenly at Liège, in August, 1106, without having effected his reconciliation to the Church.

Such was the death of the unworthy son of the great Henry III., after a reign of half a century, during which time, according to the testimony of his contemporaries, he wasted his splendid natural gifts in bringing about his own ruin, desolating his kingdom, impoverishing his subjects, and in carrying on a vain and disastrous struggle against the Church of God.²

The conduct of Henry V. was anything but straightforward and honest. He continued uninterruptedly to invest bishops and abbots by staff and ring, and to violate the decrees of councils on many other counts. The ambassadors of Henry had invited Paschal to come into Germany, and adjust ecclesiastical matters; but the Pope prudently declined, and, instead, made a journey to France, where he called upon Philip and his son to lend their aid against Henry and the enemies of the Church. The ambassadors of Henry came up with the Pope at Châlons, and demanded that he should restore the practice of lay investiture. Paschal replied, through the Bishop of Piacenza, that "the Church, which had been redeemed and made free through the blood of Christ, should not be reduced to the condition of a servant; but that if her bishops were to *depend for their appointment on the pleasure of the king*, to be invested by him with the symbols of their

¹ Cf. on this quarrel, *Möhler*, Anselm of Canterbury (Complete Works, T. I., pp. 97-121); *Hasse*, Anselm of Canterbury, Lps., 1843, Pt. I., pp. 293-454; *Remusat*, Anselm de Canterbury, Paris, 1854. *Hefele*, Hist. of the Couns., Vol. V., p. 248 sq.

² *Döllinger*, Ch. H., Vol. III., p. 334. (Tr.) Cf. *Du Chesne*, T. IV., p. 289. *Bouquet*, T. XII., p. 20.

spiritual authority, and to be forced (in taking the *homagium*) to place their consecrated hands within the blood-stained hands of a layman, then indeed would she be in a condition of unseemly and degrading servitude." The ambassadors took their leave of the Pope with the significant remark, that the sword would decide the contest in Rome. Henry was daily growing more aggressive. He not only invested bishops, but now proclaimed his purpose of appointing them also. He sent a message to this effect to Paschal, who was then engaged in enacting decrees, at the synod of Troyes (A. D. 1107), relative to the freedom of ecclesiastical elections. The Pope then summoned Henry to appear at Rome within a twelvemonth, and submit the whole matter to the decision of an œcumenical council.

Henry, accompanied by a number of learned men, and at the head of a powerful army, crossed the Alps, in 1110, with the intention of deciding the contest by an appeal to arms. King Henry sent a deputation to Sutri, where the Pope, who was by no means skilled in the art of diplomacy, yielding to his threats, and, more or less influenced by his early monastic education, signed a treaty which he thought would help him out of his difficulties, but which he shortly learned complicated matters more than ever. The plenipotentiaries of King Henry and Pope Paschal met at Sutri in 1111, and agreed to the following articles of a treaty.¹ *The king, on his part, should relinquish the right of investiture, leave the Church in the possession and enjoyment of all goods not held by feudal tenure, and of all offerings made by the faithful, and should declare the oaths which he had obliged his subjects to take against the bishops not binding. The Pope, on his part, agreed to surrender to the king all fiefs belonging to the empire; to command the bishops to resign to the king such fiefs as had belonged to the empire at any time since the reign of Charles the Bald, and to forbid the bishops, under penalty of excommunication, from assuming the rights of the empire, or from taking possession of cities, countships, or such other dignities as had attached to them regal rights and prerogatives.*

Paschal had been trained according to the severe discipline of Clugny, and believed that it was far preferable to have the clergy poor, and in the enjoyment of their liberty, than enslaved and

¹ Henry's account of the transaction in the ep. ad Parmenses, in Udalrici Cod. epp., nro. 261, with the documents, nros. 262, 263, which must be filled up from the Vita Paschalis II., by Card. Aragon. (*Muratori*, Scriptor., T. III., Pt. I., p. 360), and *Baron.*, ad an. 1111, nro. 2 sq. Complete account in the Chron. Casin., lib. IV., c. 35 sq. (*Pertz*, T. IX., p. 778); more abridged in the *Annalista Saxo* ad an. 1111 (*Eccard.*, T. I., p. 626). This strange idea of Paschal had, however, already occupied many minds. Urban II., at the council of Melfi, in the year 1090, in the 11th can., demanded: "Negravamen aliquod sancta patiatur ecclesia, nullum jus laicis in clericos esse volumus et censemus. Unde cavendum est, ne servilis conditionis aut curialium officiorum obnoxii ab episcopis promoveantur in clerum.—Quod si forte clericorum aliquis cujuslibet laici possessionibus usus fuerit, aut vicarium qui debitum reddet inveniatur, aut possessione careat, ne gravamen ecclesie inferatur." (*Mansi*, T. XX., p. 723; *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., p. 1686.) *Paschal*, Ep. 22 ad Henr. V. imperat. (*Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., p. 1790; *Mansi*, T. XX., p. 1007): "Ministri vero altaris ministri curie facti sunt, etc.—Oportet enim episcopos curis sæcularibus expeditos curam suorum agere populorum, nec ecclesiis suis abesse diutius."

abounding in wealth; and, as he said in his letter to the king, he had rather have his priests serve the *altar* than the *curia*.

The king, who well knew that no such sudden and complete separation of things spiritual and things temporal was possible in the then existing state of affairs in Germany, and that, if it were even practicable, the German prelates would not consent to it, agreed to accept the articles of the treaty, on condition that they should be ratified by the bishops. Accordingly, when the Pope and King Henry met at Rome, later on in the same year, and published the articles of the treaty, the German bishops refused to give up the regalia, or rights and prerogatives held of the crown; and there were many who asserted that an instrument which would deprive the Church of what belonged to her by centuries of actual possession was nothing short of *sacrilegious* in its character. The Pope, deterred by such opposition, declined to carry out the articles of the treaty, and at the same time refused to withdraw his prohibition of lay investiture. On the other hand, Henry, while refusing to give up the right of investiture, claimed that, as the Pope had refused to carry out his part of the treaty, there was no reason why he himself should be refused imperial coronation; and, growing irritated at the determined opposition made by Paschal to his pretensions, threw him and a number of his cardinals into prison. Here King Henry plied the Pope with all manner of promises and threats, in the hope of bringing him to accede to his wishes. For a long time Paschal resisted every appeal, repulsed every threat; but fearing that, if he held out longer, a fresh schism might be the consequence, and wishing to alleviate the sufferings of the Romans, and to secure the liberty of a number of laymen and ecclesiastics imprisoned by order of the king, after giving utterance to the following protest, "*Cogor pro ecclesiæ liberatione*," signed a treaty (A. D. 1111), by which Henry was to enjoy the right of investing, by ring and *crozier*, before consecration, all bishops who had been freely elected, and of deciding between claimants in contested elections. It was further stipulated that any whom the Emperor would refuse to invest should not be consecrated.¹ The Pope also promised, on oath, never to avenge on King Henry, or on any of his subjects, the outrages to which he and his cardinals had been subjected, and never to interfere with either the king, or anyone else in his kingdom, on account of the practice of investiture.

The Pope, after having accepted these conditions, placed the imperial crown upon the head of Henry. The current of public opinion now turned against the Emperor. He was regarded as a tyrant, and the papal grant, or "*Privilegium*," was condemned in unqualified terms, as having been extorted from the Vicar of Christ by laying violent hands on his august person.

¹ Chronic. Casin., lib. IV., c. 40. The acts in Udalrici Cod. epp., nr. 264, 265, and in Vita Paschalis, by Cardin. Aragon. (*Muratori*, T. III., Pt. I., p. 362.) Extracts in *Baron.* ad a. 1111, nr. 18 sq.

The conduct of the Pope on this occasion was the subject of much controversy among men of different views—some censuring it severely, and others excusing it in part; but all condemning the practice of lay investiture, as subversive of the vital interests of the Church, and destructive of the *freedom of canonical elections*. Gerhoh, the distinguished provost of Reichersberg,¹ was among the ablest and most energetic advocates of the freedom of ecclesiastical elections. This was precisely the point on which Henry IV. and Henry V. had most strenuously insisted, well aware that if they could succeed in destroying the freedom of canonical elections, they might set over bishoprics and monasteries persons *entirely devoted* to the interests of the crown. Moreover, royal sycophants and servile courtiers flattered them with the preposterous notion, that, *in virtue of a spiritual power which they received when anointed kings*, they might dispose, according to their pleasure, of the bishoprics and monasteries within their realm. Others again appealed to the "*Privilegium*," which, it was pretended, Pope Hadrian had granted to Charlemagne and his successors, *investing them with power to appoint to bishoprics within the Frankish Empire*;² and cited instances, in which the appointments made by secular princes in times past had been tolerated. Still others held, that as the churches of the kingdom were the property of the king, and as he and his predecessors had *made them* what they were, they were unquestionably at his service, should be governed only by such persons as he should set over them, and consequently that he was perfectly free to dispose of them to whom he would. Such were the representations made by Adelbert of Bremen and servile courtiers to young King Henry.

Gregory and the Church party, on the other hand, rejected the claim of lay investiture basing their action on a canon of the *Eighth Ecumenical Council*,³ which positively forbade all interference of the secular power in episcopal appointments, or any attempt whatever to impede the fullest freedom in canonical elections. They insisted that *this had always been the rule and practice of the Church*, and that unless it could be again restored, it would be impossible to eradicate the detestable vice of simony.⁴ The advocates of the Church further remarked, that in the ceremony of investiture no distinction was made between the secular grant and spiritual jurisdiction. The formula did not run, "*Receive the lands belonging to this Church*," but "*Receive this Church*." The temporalities, therefore, as had already been pointed out by St. Peter Damian, could not be separated from the grant of spiritual jurisdiction. The two were necessarily connected, and should be conferred by the same person or authority. Moreover, the *crozier* and *ring*, which were the symbols used in the ceremony of investiture, were the recognized symbols of jurisdiction in the spiritual ministry and of pastoral authority. Hence, *as the spiritual and temporal in the Church stand related to each other as soul and body in man, to separate them, or rend them asunder, is impossible, without destroying the constituent body of which they are the components*.

Again, lay investiture, as then practised, was subversive both of freedom of canonical elections and of the undoubted rights of the Church. The bishop could not come into possession of the goods of the Church, except through appointment by a secular prince; and in appointing him, the prince conveyed to another that over which he had no manner of right. Such an act could be justified only on the supposition that the secular prince

¹ Gerhohus, De statu ecclesiæ, c. 22: "Spretis electionibus is apud eum dignior cæteris episcopatus honore habitus est, qui ei vel familiarior exstitisset, vel plus obsequii aut pecuniæ obtulisset." The same author remarks on the freedom of ecclesiastical elections: "Hæc sunt pia de spiritu pietatis provenientia spectacula, cujus operationi et hoc assignamus, quod in diebus istis magna est libertas canonicis electionibus episcoporum, abbatum, etc., provehendorum in dignitatibus, quas per multos annos pæne a temporibus Ottonis I. imperatoris usque ad imperatorem Henricum IV. vendere solebant ipsi reges vel imperatores regnante ubique Simonia" (Expos. in Ps. xxxix.) Cf. *Bach, Gerhoh I., Provost of Reichersberg, a German Reformer of the twelfth century (Austr. Quart. of Cath. Theol., Year IV., 1865, n. 1). and Ratisbonne, Life of St. Bernard (Germ. transl., p. LX.) For a new ed. of the works of Gerhoh, see Rump's Literary Guide, Münster, 1874, n. 164.

² See above, p. 220.

³ Conc. Constantinop. IV., can. 12: Perlatum est ad nos, non posse sine principum presentia concilium agi. Atqui usquam sacri canones sanciunt, ut ad synodos sæculares principes cogantur, sed soli duntaxat episcopi. Quare nec alias reperimus eos aliis, nisi æcumenicis conciliis, interfuisse. Neque enim fas est, ut sæculares principes rerum, quæ Dei sacerdotibus contingunt, spectatores fiant. (Harduin, T. V., p. 1103.)

⁴ Döllinger, Ch. II., pp. 158-165: Cox's transl., Vol. III., pp. 318-345. Neander, Ch. H., Vol. V., Pt. I., pp. 170-183; Torrey's transl., Vol. IV., pp. 132-143. (Tr.)

enjoyed a vested right over the goods of the Church; but as *they had been devoted irrevocably and for ever to the Church as such*, and not to the king, or personally to successive bishops, it was plain he had no possible claim to dispose of them. He might dispose of revocable feudal rights, but not of Church property.

This consisted of donations and allodial inheritances, and it required nothing short of an act of usurpation to subject it to the ordinary conditions of investiture. It was admitted that princes should have a voice in the appointment of bishops, but as *sons, and not as superiors of the Church*. On the other hand, bishops and abbots should render obedience to princes, and be subject to them *in matters of civil allegiance in so far as such were lawful*, and in the same sense as others, not in a condition of vassalage, were subject to them.

The conduct of Pope Paschal was severely reprehended; and Godfrey, the zealous abbot of *Vendôme*, in commenting upon it, contrasted it with the heroic resolution of the martyrs of old, and particularly with the example of SS. Peter and Paul, the founders of the Roman Church.

"If," said Godfrey, in a letter to Paschal, "if the successor of the Apostles has disregarded their example, he should hasten, if he would not forfeit their glorious crown, to undo and repair what he has done, and, like a second Peter, expiate his fault with tears of repentance." Lay investiture, he added, whereby power was granted to laymen to convey possessions, and therewith a grant of jurisdiction in spiritual matters, was equivalent to a denial of faith, destructive of the liberty of the Church, and an out-and-out heresy. He stated plainly to Paschal, that whereas a vicious Pope might be borne with, anyone loyal to his faith had a duty to openly protest against one stained with the guilt of heresy.

Hildebert, Bishop of Mans (Cenomanensis), and Yves, Bishop of Chartres (Carnotensis), although strenuous advocates of the principles of Gregory VII. and Urban II., and regarding lay investiture as entirely indefensible, judged more moderately of the conduct of Paschal. "The Pope," said the former, "has exposed his life in the cause of the Church, and his yielding was only for a moment, to put an end to the shedding of blood and other miseries." The latter, in a letter to John, Archbishop of Lyons, excused the Pope, by saying that "God had permitted the holiest of men . . . to give way to such weaknesses, that they might in this way gain a more intimate knowledge of their own hearts, learn to ascribe their faults to themselves, and be brought to humbly acknowledge that whatever of good was in them was entirely due to the grace of God." He said that while he opposed lay investiture, he could not accept the extreme views of those who went the length of calling it a heresy. "For," said he, "heresy has reference to faith and faith has its seat within; but investiture is something external. . . . Should one claim, in connection with investiture, the power of conferring a sacrament, or a *rem sacramenti*, such one would be a heretic, not by reason of the investiture itself, but of the implied usurpation." To which Archbishop John replied, that "Heresies have indeed their seat in the heart; but since works are the witnesses of a believer's faith, so are they also of a heretic's; . . . and, although the outward act of investiture is of itself not heretical, still one who maintains and defends it necessarily bases his argument on *heretical principles*."

But perhaps no writer of that age has set forth the views of the two parties with greater clearness, accuracy, and fairness, than Placidus, Prior of Nonantula, in a work which he wrote in defence of the Church. To those who objected that the Church was essentially spiritual in its constitution, and, as such, could lay claim to no earthly possessions, he replied: "The Church is indeed a spiritual society, a community of believers, adorned with the gifts of the Holy Ghost. But her consecrated earthly gifts should also contribute to her honour, and to wrest from her what has once been given to her, is sacrilegious. And as the heart, while adoring God in spirit and in truth, requires some outward expression of this act of adoration, it is a necessity to erect visible temples to His honour. . . . As the soul cannot subsist in the present life without the body, so neither can the spiritual without the corporeal. The latter is sanctified by its connection with the former. If the Church is possessed of abundance to-day, it belongs to her by the same title as her comparative poverty in times past. She has the same title to both—their consecration to God. The same Supreme Being, who of old constituted her in poverty, bestowed wealth at a later day as a means of adding to her earthly glory. . . . Princes should by no means be denied a voice in episcopal elections, but they should speak as members of the community, as *sons*, not as lords of the Church. . . . The emperor is anointed, not to rule the Church, but to faithfully govern the empire."

And concerning the treaty entered into by the Pope and the Emperor, he says: "The

Pope is not bound by the compact. . . . An oath requiring one to do a wicked thing, is not binding. On the contrary, whosoever has laid himself under such obligations, should do penance for having taken the name of God in vain, inasmuch as he may not do what he has promised, even if he had never taken an oath."

As there were many bishops in Italy and France who condemned the *Privilegium*, as the treaty between Pope Paschal and Henry was called, maintaining that it compromised the rights of the Church, the Pope, in order to escape the complications in which he was involved resigned the papacy and retired to the island of Ponza, near Terracina, but was again persuaded, by the prayers of the cardinals and the Roman people, to resume his office and submit his case to the decision of a council to be held at the Lateran (A. D. 1112). The Pope here put aside the insignia of the pontificate, but, at the request of the fathers, consented to again receive them. He then stated the circumstances of his difficulty—how, owing to his oath, he could not proceed against the Emperor¹—but went on to say that, his sanction of lay investiture being illegal, he would retract what he had done. As he had been suspected of heresy, he next read a profession of faith, and declared that he accepted, without qualification, the decrees of his predecessors, Gregory and Urban. The council then examined the *Privilegium*, and pronounced it to be contrary to ecclesiastical and divine law, but, out of regard for the Pope's oath, abstained from passing any censure on Henry.

The synod of Vienne (September 16, A. D. 1112), composed of French and Burgundian bishops, and convoked by Archbishop Caido, the papal legate, was not so considerate in its treatment of the German Emperor. Investitures were condemned as "*heretical*." It may be well to state here that, in those times, not only formal errors of faith, but also abuses referable to a principle or formulated into a law, were called *heresies*.² The synod also pronounced sentence of excommunication against Henry for having laid violent hands on the Head of the Church.³ In the synods of Beauvais and Rheims, the papal legate, *Cuno*, Bishop of Praeneste, excommunicated the Emperor, and the sentence was confirmed by a council held (A. D. 1115) in the great city of Cologne, on German territory.

A large majority of the bishops professed their adherence to the decrees of the Church, and were reconciled to the Holy See; a few only remained obstinate and continued to support the Emperor.

When affairs were in this condition, Henry, accompanied by five bishops, crossed the Alps a second time, for the purpose of seizing

¹ Cf. Annalista Saxo ad a. 1112; from this source, extracts in Chronic. Ursperg. and Vita Paschal. ex Cardin. Aragon. (*Muratori*, T. III, Pt. I., p. 363.) According to the latter, Paschal says: "Quamvis conditio juramenti præposita ab ipso et suis minus observata sit;—ego tamen eum nunquam anathematizabo et nunquam de investituris inquietabo.—Habet judicem Deum." The acts of the council ex variis auctorib., collecta in *Mansi*, T. XXI., pp. 49-70; *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., pp. 1899-1914. Here is found even a profession of faith made by the Pope. Cf. *Planck*, Acta inter Henr. V. et Paschalem II., Götting., 1785. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils., Vol. V., p. 284 sq.

² *Döllinger* (Eng. trans.), Vol. III., p. 340. (Tr.)

³ *Conc. Viennens.*, in *Mansi*, T. XXI., p. 73 sq. *Hefele*, L. c. p. 286 sq.

upon the possessions which the margravine, Mathilda, had repeatedly conveyed to the Roman Church. In 1117, Henry went to Rome, under pretence of bringing about an accommodation with the Pope, who, divining his real intention, fled to Beneventum. He wished to have himself crowned at Rome with the imperial diadem; but, as none of the cardinals would consent to perform the ceremony, he had it done by *Burdinus*, Archbishop of Braga, but this being an invasion of the papal right, drew upon the obsequious prelate the sentence of excommunication.

After the Emperor's departure, Paschal again returned to Rome, but died after being back a few days (January 21, A. D. 1118), before the termination of the contest.

To escape foreign interference, the cardinals proceeded at once to elect a successor, and their choice fell upon Cardinal John of Gaeta, chancellor of the Roman Church, who took the name of *Gelasius II.* The election was barely over, when Cencio Frangipani, a relative of the Pope-elect, but a partisan of Henry's, seized Gelasius and cast him into prison. Having been liberated by the indignant populace, he was obliged to seek refuge in Gaeta from the anger of Henry and his army of Germans. Here, in the presence of a large number of cardinals, bishops, and princes of Southern Italy, Gelasius was solemnly consecrated.

The Emperor next sent an embassy to the new Pope, requiring him, under menace of proceeding to extremities in case of refusal to confirm the Privilegium of Paschal. Gelasius replied that he would submit the matter to the decision of a synod; but Henry, apprehensive of the issue, and under the flimsy pretext of not having been consulted in the election of Gelasius, set up as antipope the deposed and excommunicated archbishop *Burdinus*, who took the name of *Gregory VIII.*

Gelasius published, from Capua, sentence of excommunication against both the Emperor and the antipope; but, being forced to take flight to escape imperial persecution, he sought refuge in the monastery of Clugny, where he died (January, A. D. 1119).

A new election was at once proceeded with at Clugny, and at the instance of Cardinal Cuno, whom Gelasius had recommended for the office, the cardinals gave their suffrages to *Guido*, Archbishop of Vienne. Being descended from the royal house of Burgundy, and related to the Emperor and to the kings of France, England, and Denmark, Guido had at his command the influence and material resources so necessary to the protection of the pontifical office, and dignity in those times.¹ He took the name of *Calixtus II.*, and was universally acknowledged as the lawful Head of the Church (1119-1124.) The antipope, *Gregory VIII.*,² being supported only by the small party of the Emperor, was unable to hold out against the

¹ *Döllinger*, L. c., p. 343. (Tr.)

² Vita Burdini (*Baluz.*, Miscell., Paris. 1680, T. III., p. 471 sq.)

Normans and the Roman people, and died miserably in prison. After the conflict had continued for some time longer, and Germany and Italy had been overrun and laid waste, both countries demanded that Church and State should come to an understanding with each other and establish peace. This was the more acceptable to Henry, as his situation was daily becoming more critical.

The disputes concerning lay investitures between the archbishops of Canterbury and the Norman princes of England were the occasion of a work, written by the monk *Hugo*, of the monastery of *Fleury*, in which, avoiding the excesses of either party, he advocates a middle course, and endeavours to reconcile Church and State, royalty and the priesthood. In opposition to those who depreciated the dignity of civil power, he appeals to the authority of St. Paul in proof of the *divine institution of kings*; while, on the other hand, he maintains that kings should in no wise interfere with the *freedom of canonical elections*, should approve the choice when made, and give up the practice of investing with staff and ring.¹

The abbot, *Godfrey of Vendôme*, who, as we have stated above, severely censured Pope Paschal for yielding to the demands and threats of Henry, now also assumed the office of mediator between Church and State.² He drew a distinction between the investiture by which a bishop, as such, was installed in his office, and that by which provision was made for his support; the former, he said, was of divine, the latter of human right.

Following up this distinction, he condemned the practice of lay investiture in spiritual matters, and with the symbols of staff and ring, as a heresy; while admitting, on the other hand, that, after a free canonical election and episcopal consecration, *princes might, without trenching on the spiritual domain, convey secular possessions to the bishop by royal investiture*, employing in the ceremony whatever instruments in their judgment would best symbolise the conveyance. It was, he argued, the intention of Christ that the civil authority should be in accord, and not at variance, with the spiritual, and that both should co-operate in defence of the Church. An antagonism between them gives rise to schism and strife, and is harmful to body and soul alike. Church and State are both equally in danger when they run counter to each other. The Church, while defending her liberties, should be careful to guard against extremes. When persons, who might have been conciliated and won over by moderation, are driven to madness and acts of rashness by unseemly severity, those who so deal with them are not inspired from above.

These irenical investigations prepared the way for the solution of this long and painful difficulty, and furnished a basis for an accommodation between the Pope and the Emperor. As a preliminary step, the Papal legates presented themselves to Henry, at Strasburg, and assured him that the restoration of peace was conditional on his renunciation of the claim to investiture. Henry then agreed, as he said, out of love to God, His Holy Church, and to Pope Calixtus, to give up the practice, and at Mouson swore to observe the promises he had made to the Papal legates at Strasburg.

Calixtus II. was at this time attending a great synod at Rheims (A. D. 1119), at which were present four hundred and twenty-seven bishops and abbots, representing every country of the West; but, when informed of the convention entered into between Henry and his legates, he set out at once to Mouson, where the Emperor then was, to ratify its articles. It soon became evident, from the shifts to

¹ *Hugo*, Floriacens., lib. II., de regia potestate et de sacerdotali dignitate ad Henr. I. (*Baluz.*, Miscellan., T. IV., Par., 1683).

² *Godofred.*, Vindonic., opusc. III., de Simonia et investitura laicor. ad Calixt. II. and Tractatus de ordinatione episcoporum. et de investitura laicor. ad Petr. Leon. Cardinal. (Max. Bibl., T. XXI.)

which Henry had recourse in treating with the Papal legates, that he had no intention of keeping his word, and in consequence the Pope, who came unattended, avoided him altogether, and hastily returned to Rheims, where, with the consent of the Fathers, he excommunicated both him and the antipope, and absolved the subjects of the former from their oath of allegiance until such time as a change should have come over the sentiment of the German Emperor.

In the meantime affairs in Germany wore a serious aspect. The people grew restless, and indications of an outbreak startled Henry, and warned him not to bring upon himself the fate of his father. Calixtus, in a letter dated February 19, 1122, spoke to him in the spirit of a father and a prudent friend, admonishing him, solemnly and for the last time, that "the Church had not the least intention of trenching upon his rights." "We do not aspire," Calixtus went on to say, "to kingly or imperial splendour. Let the Church have what is Christ's, and let the Emperor retain what is his. If the Emperor take heed of our words, he shall not only rise to a height of dignity becoming his kingly and imperial rank, but he shall also secure for himself the crown of life eternal."

After some preliminary diplomacy, Henry accepted the articles of the *Concordat of Worms* (September 23, 1122), by which an end was put to the *contest on investitures*, after it had lasted through fifty years. In order to secure the permanency of the alliance between the Papacy and the empire, Calixtus II., now enjoying the fullest liberty of action, convoked the First Council of Lateran, or the

NINTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL (A. D. 1123).

There were present at this council close upon three hundred bishops and six hundred abbots, from every quarter of the Catholic world. It confirmed the Concordat of Worms, the articles of which were substantially as follows: The Emperor shall resign to God, to Saints Peter and Paul, and to the Catholic Church, the practice of investiture with ring and crozier; he shall permit all the churches of the empire to exercise the fullest freedom in the election and consecration of bishops, as the laws of the Church require; the election of German bishops (i. e. exclusive of Italian and Burgundian) shall take place in presence of the Emperor; bishops shall receive investiture of their fiefs, and the royal privileges and prerogatives attached to them by the *imperial sceptre*, if Germans *before*, and if Italians *after* consecration, but, in any case, after the expiration of six months.¹ In return for these grants, bishops shall promise fidelity to the Emperor; in case an election be contested, the claims of the contestants shall be decided by a provincial synod, by whose judgment the Emperor shall abide; and, finally, the Emperor shall restore to the Roman Church all the possessions and regalia of St. Peter.

The Council also renewed the grant of indulgences made to the *Crusaders* by Urban II., and passed twenty-three canons, providing for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline. These were chiefly directed against incontinent and simoniacal ecclesiastics; contumacious adherents of the late antipope; incestuous marriages; unauthorised absolution from censures; violation of the Truce of God; laymen who forcibly seized the offerings made to churches, and against forgers of ecclesiastical documents. The limits of parochial

¹ The Emperor, enjoying by this clause a wider latitude in German than Italian or Burgundian territory, might indefinitely prevent a German bishop elect, who was offensive to him, from entering upon his office, but could place no such obstacle in either Italy or Burgundy. Cf. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. V., p. 336.

jurisdiction were also prescribed, and the rights of the ordinary over priests, whether secular or regular, having the care of souls, defined and sustained.¹

When these conciliar acts had been gone through, the Fathers solemnly canonized *Conrad*, Bishop of Constance, who died A. D. 976.

The *Concordat* put an end to the traffic by laymen in ecclesiastical dignities, and opened a sort of *via media* to the moderate men of both parties. Hitherto, emperors, wholly ignoring the *ecclesiastical* character of the episcopal office, had conferred investiture with the *symbols of spiritual jurisdiction and authority*, apparently implying that such jurisdiction and authority were the legitimate outgrowth of secular power, and entirely dependent upon it. The bishops, on the other hand, and notably after the time of Gregory VII., forgetting or overlooking the fact that the episcopal office was in a sense *political*, not unfrequently attempted to entirely exclude secular princes from a voice in the election of bishops. The Concordat therefore established a *via media*, marked out a middle course, satisfied both parties. It gave to Church and State what rightfully belonged to each, and refused to either what was not justly its due. But, in doing so much, it did more: it sowed the seeds of mutual distrust between Church and State, and eventually brought about their estrangement. But these consequences were remote, and in no proper sense appreciated, if at all foreseen, at the time. Universal joy was expressed upon the publication of the peace, and many documents, bearing the date of 1122, hailed the auspicious event as the dawn of a new and glorious era.

Concerning the *Homagium*, against which Urban II. and Pascal II. had so strenuously contended, the Concordat was silent, and seemed, from this fact, to countenance its continuance. There can be no doubt that Calixtus II. was quite as keenly alive as his predecessors had been to the impropriety of a bishop taking such an oath, and knew fully as well as they that the practice would jeopardise the liberty of the Church; but, on the other hand, he well knew, also, that if he would insist upon its absolute and immediate discontinuance, he might again give occasion to a terrible war, and thus, without at all benefiting, bring innumerable evils upon the Church. The usual formula of the *Homagium* ran as follows: "I will from this day forward, according to the best of my knowledge and power, be faithful to the Emperor; take no part in any plot against his life or limb, his empire, or his lawfully constituted authority; within the limits of his empire, I will support him to the best of my ability and power, against anyone who may attempt to rob him of his imperial rights."

¹ *Mansi*, T. XXI., pp. 274-287; *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., pp. 1109-1118; see also *Muratori*, T. III., Pt. I., p. 421. *Walter*, *Fontes juris eccles.*, pp. 75-76. Supplements taken by the Tr. from *Palma*, Vol. II., p. 196 sq.—Only some stiff zealots were not satisfied with this treaty, as the Archbp. Conrad of Salzburg, whose life see in *Pez*, *Thesaurus anecdot.*, T. II., Pt. III., p. 227. Cf. *Hefele*, *Hist. of Councils*, Vol. V., pp. 333-344. *Bernheim*, *Lothaire and the Concordat of Worms*, Strasburg, 1874.

It was useless for the emperors to attempt to influence papal elections. All such attempts were quietly frustrated by the secrecy and despatch with which the elections were conducted.

B.—FROM HONORIUS TO THE DEATH OF EUGENE III. (A. D. 1153.)

ITALIAN REPUBLICANISM—ARNOLD OF BRESCIA—SECOND CRUSADE—ST. BERNARD AND HIS WORK, “DE CONSIDERATIONE.”

Mansi, T. XXI., p. 319 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., p. 1117; vita, epp. Romanor. Pontificum et acta Concilior. *Watterich*, T. II., pp. 157-322, for Honorius II.—Eugenius III.—*Neander*, St. Bernard and His Age, Berlin (1813), 1848. †*Ratisbonne*, Histoire de St. Bernard, ed. II., Paris, 1843, 2 T.; German, by *Reiching*, Tüb., 1843; Eng. transl., New York, 1855. *Neander*, Ch. H., Eng. transl., Vol. V., pp. 189-211. *Katerkamp*, Ch. H., Vol. V., pp. 355-470. *Jansen*, Wilibald of Stablo, etc.

§ 218. *Honorius II.* (A. D. 1124-1130)—*Innocent II.* (A. D. 1130-1143)—*Lucius II.* (A. D. 1144-1145)—*Eugenius III.* (A. D. 1145-1153).

Upon the death of Calixtus II. (December 13, A. D. 1124), the suffrages of the electoral college were given to Cardinal Teobaldo; but, as many favoured Lambert, Bishop of Ostia, who had been set up as an opponent by the powerful Robert Frangipani, Teobaldo resigned his claims, and Lambert after having been formally elected, was universally recognised, and ascended the Papal throne under the name of *Honorius II.* Henry V., the last of the emperors of the *Franconian*¹ line, died May 23, 1125. The election of his successor, *Lothaire II.*, Duke of Saxony, was chiefly due to the influence of Cardinal *Gerhard*, the Papal legate. Lest the election of bishops might not be perfectly free, if conducted in his presence, the newly-elected Emperor abolished the practice; and further ordained that bishops, instead of the *Homage*, should take simply an oath of fidelity, not before, but after consecration.²

The election of a successor to *Honorius II.* († A. D. 1130) was the occasion of a fresh schism. Among the Cardinals was one *Pier Leone*, of a powerful Roman family, wealthy and ambitious, who aspired to

¹ Not of the *Saxon*, as Abbé Darras incorrectly states (Vol. III., p. 201); neither did this dynasty rule for two hundred and seven years, but only for one hundred and one (A. D. 1024-1125). Abbé Darras labours apparently under the impression that the Saxon and Franconian are one and the same line. (Tr.)

² *Anonymi*, Narratio de elect. Lotharii (*Eckhard*., Quaternio vett. Monumentor., p. 46). Cf. in *Pistorius-Struve*, T. I., p. 671: “Concordantibus itaque in electione regis universis regni principibus, quid juris regie dignitatis imperium, quid libertatis regine cœlestis, i. e. ecclesiæ sacerdotium habere deberet, stabili ratione præscribitur.—Habeat ecclesia liberam in spiritualibus electionem, nec regio metu extortam, nec præsentia principis ut antea coarctatam, vel ulla petitione restrictam; habeat Imperatoria dignitas electum libere, consecratum canonice, regalibus per sceptrum, sine pretio tamen, investire solemniter, et in fidei suæ ad justis favoris obsequium (salvo quidem ordinis sui proposito) sacramentis obligare stabiliter.” Against any misrepresentations of this Emperor’s character. Cf. *Gervais*, Polit. Hist. of Germany, Vol. II., Lps., 1842. *Jaffé*, Hist. of the German Empire under Lothaire II., Berlin, 1843, and †*Jansen*, Wilibald of Stablo and Corvey, the abbot, statesman, and scholar (mediator between State and Church, under Lothaire II., Conrad III., and Frederic I., Münster, 1854.

the high dignity of the papacy. Hence those of the College of Cardinals who were solicitous for the Church's good and sensitive to her honour, knowing the designs of Pier Leone, hastened the election of Cardinal Gregory Papareschi, who took the name of *Innocent II.* Pier Leone, relying upon the influence of his family, the number and daring of the adherents who had been gained over to his side by a lavish distribution of money, had himself elected under the name of *Anacleto II.*¹

As nearly all Rome favoured Anacleto, Innocent withdrew from the city and retired into France. The schism was closed, after it had lasted eight years, by the exertions of the *Venerable Peter of Clugny and St. Bernard of Clairvaux.* They induced Philip VI. of France and the powerful and stubborn William of Aquitaine to recognize Innocent as lawful Pope.

St. Bernard crossed the Alps in the cause of Innocent, was his great support at the synod of Pisa (A. D. 1134), and finally succeeded in bringing all the Lombard cities under his obedience.

In 1136, Lothaire II. conducted Innocent in triumph to Rome, and in 1138 the antipope Anacleto died. His party elected a successor, who took the name of *Victor IV.* But the new antipope was easily persuaded by St. Bernard to submit to Pope Innocent, and this closed the schism. Lothaire II., who was called another Constantine, and who, during the schism, had gone twice to Rome to defend the cause of Innocent against Roger, whom the antipope had created King of Sicily, received as a *vassal* of the Pope all the allodial possessions given by the margravine Mathilda to the Holy See. The harmonious relations thus established between the papacy and the empire were frequently represented by writers as *analogous to those of Christian matrimony.*

In nearly every bishopric of Northern Italy there were at this time two incumbents of antagonistic principles on ecclesiastical and civil polity. While the one strenuously upheld the papal, the other was equally earnest in his advocacy of the imperial claims.

Moreover, there were here and there clusters of the population whose ancestors had lived under the old Roman government, and who had in consequence inherited its venerable traditions. They had, in spite of the Lombard conquest, retained possession of their territories and were still in the enjoyment of their ancient *municipal rights.*² Living in towns and cities, they formed a kind of *third class*, equally opposed to both clergy and nobility, and began to form themselves into powerful *republics.* The bishops, being elected without inter-

¹ *Arnulphi*, Sagiens. Archidiac. Tract. de Schism. Petr. Leon. (*Muratori*, T. III., Pt. I.; *d'Achéry*, Spicileg., T. I.) *Anacleti*, Epp. (Recueil des historiens des Gaules, T. XV., p. 360.)—*Reimbaldi*, Ep. de Schism. (*ibid.*, p. 326). *Innoc. II.*, Epp. ad Germ. in Cod. Udalrici (*Eccard.*, T. II.)

² *Savigny*, Hist. of Civil Law during the Middle Ages, Vol. I., p. 409; Vol. III., p. 103 sq. *Bethmann-Hollweg*, Origin of the Lombard municipal rights, Bonn, 1846, *Hegel*, Hist. of the constitutions of Italian cities, Lps. 1847, 2 vols. Cf. Hist. Polit. Papers, Vol. 45, p. 988 sq.

ference from civil authority, relinquished, on their part, rights formerly exercised by them over these cities, which grew little by little in wealth and importance, and eventually became very flourishing. Their example was followed by Rome, where the ceaseless contests on papal elections favoured the movement.

The *ancient senate* was restored under Innocent,¹ and under *Lucius II.* a *patrician* was elected to represent the ancient consular authority. The tide of republicanism set in with unusual violence, uprisings followed, and Pope Lucius, in endeavouring, during this popular ferment, to get possession of the Capitol, was mortally wounded by the blow of a stone. This republican spirit had been, if not enkindled, certainly fanned into flame by *Arnold of Brescia*,² a young clergyman of irreproachable moral character, gifted with a fervid and impetuous eloquence, and who was at this time a lector in one of the churches of Brescia, and had been formerly a disciple of Abelard's. He sought to awaken in the breasts of the people the glorious memories of ancient Rome; held up the Church of the apostolic age as the pattern for all time; and appealed to the poverty of those days when condemning the wealthy clergy of his own. He called upon the people to overturn the established order of things, and dazzled their imaginations with glowing visions of reforms never to be carried out, and of utopian systems impossible to realize. In the midst of all this republican glow and fever, Innocent II. convoked the Second Lateran, or

TENTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL (A. D. 1139).

This council confirmed whatever had been done to secure the peace of the Church. It was attended by nearly one thousand patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, representing the various countries of Christendom. Roger was excommunicated for abetting schism and protecting the antipope, *Anaclete II.* All those who had been raised to ecclesiastical dignities by antipopes were deposed. *Peter of Bruis* and *Arnold of Brescia* were condemned; and simony, clerical incontinency, and other crying evils of the times, were summed up in thirty canons, and prohibited under the severest censure.³ Arnold of Brescia was, in consequence of this conciliar condemnation, driven successively from Italy, France, and Switzerland, but he returned after the death of Innocent.

The wild republican dreams of a universal dominion, which should rival the glories of ancient Rome, spread rapidly among the people. The Pope, according to the new programme, was to content himself with the tithes and the voluntary offerings of the people. "The Senate and Roman People" sent a pompous letter to Conrad III., inviting him to take up his residence in Rome, "whence, like Constantine and Justinian of old, he might give laws to the whole world."⁴ They said that, following the precept of Christ, they would render

¹ *Otto Frising.*, Chron., lib. VII., c. 27. *Muratori*, Hist. of Italy, Vol. VII., p. 84.

² *Otto Frising.*, De Reb. gest. Frider., l. II., c. 20. *St. Bernard.*, Ep. 195 ad Episc. Constant. a. 1140: Arnoldum loquor de Brixia, qui utinam tam sanæ esset doctrinæ, quam districtæ est vitæ. Et si vultis scire, homo est neque manducans neque bibens, solo cum diabolo esuriens et sitiens sanguinem animarum. Cf. *Franke*, Arnold of Brescia and his Age, Zurich, 1825. *Raumer*, Vol. VI., pp. 34-38.

³ Cf. *Mansi*, T. XXI., pp. 523-546. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., pp. 1207-1218. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. V., p. 388 sq.

⁴ *Jaffé*, Hist. of the German Empire under Conrad III., Hanover, 1845.

unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto the priest the things that are the priest's.¹ They invited Arnold of Brescia to return and help in restoring the republic and reforming the Church. In vain did Pope *Eugene III.*, formerly a monk of the monastery of Clairvaux, and afterwards abbot of St. Anastasius, near Rome, and St. Bernard labour to induce the Romans to submit. The Pope was obliged to transfer his residence to *Viterbo*, where he learned the sad news of the capture of Edessa by the Turks (A. D. 1144). He at once communicated the intelligence to *Louis VII.*, King of France, and commissioned St. Bernard to preach a new crusade. It required but little persuasion to make Louis take the red cross of the Crusaders. He was already under obligation to do so by his brother's vow, but the stimulus of a guilty conscience furnished a still stronger motive. In a war with Theobald, Count of Champagne, he had set fire to a church in which thirteen hundred men, women, and children had taken refuge, and the sight of the burned bodies filled his mind with such grief and despair that he determined to do what he could towards atoning for his crime by leading an army to the Holy Land. His remorse was quickened by the sweeping eloquence of St. Bernard, whose voice stirred to the depths the hearts of young and old of both sexes. It was determined that a *second crusade* should be at once set on foot (A. D. 1147).

Conrad III., Emperor of Germany, did not yield so readily to the influence of the monk of Cîteaux. Bernard met him in the imperial diet at Spire,² during Christmastide, and endeavoured to impress upon him the vital importance of a fresh crusade. The Emperor promised to take the cross at Ratisbon, some time later.

Adam, abbot of Eberbach, completed the work which Bernard had begun, by prevailing on Conrad to take the cross and embark in the enterprise. The French and German army got together on this occasion was incontestably better equipped, better disciplined, and in every way superior to that which went on the first crusade; but it was on this very account over-confident, and put but little trust in Him who is the God of battles, and who weighs kings and people in His balance. What with the perfidy of the Greeks, the jealousies of the European captains, and the inclemency of the season, the expedition turned out a disastrous failure; and when the poor remnants of the once magnificent army that had set out from Europe were brought back from the East, a cry of reproach and indignation rose from all sides against St. Bernard, who had contributed so much towards the organisation of the crusade by his enthusiasm, his personal magnetism,

¹ On this occasion the pretended donation of Constantine the Great to Sylvester was rejected as false: "Mendacium vero illud et fabula hæretica, in qua refertur, Constantinum Sylvestro imperialia simoniace concessisse in Urbe, ita detecta est, ut etiam mercenarii et mulierculæ quoslibet etiam doctissimos super hoc concludant et dictus apostolicus cum suis cardinalibus in civitate præ pudore apparere non audeant." (*Martène et Durand, Collect. ampliss.*, T. II., ep. 384, p. 556.)

² Cf. Dr. *Kästle*, St. Bernard of Clairvaux's Journey to and Sojourn in the Diocese of Constance (Freiburg Diocesan Archives, year 1868, Vol. III., pp. 273-315).

and his glowing eloquence. But the faith of the great saint could not be shaken by the disastrous issue of the expedition. He protested that he acted on the authority of a heavenly commission; and, in writing to Pope Eugene on the subject, said that the counsels and ways of God are incomprehensible; and, referring to Moses, reminded the Pope that, although the work of the great lawgiver was, beyond all question, one bearing on its very face the divine sanction, still it was never given to him to enter the Land of Promise, because of the misconduct of the Jews. And then, appealing to the authorisation of the Pope for what he had done, and to his miracles, of which Eugene had been himself a witness, he went on to say: "The testimony of my conscience is my vindication. If I must make a choice between murmurs directed against myself personally and those directed against my God, I much prefer the former to the latter. I had rather have whatever there is of blame laid to *my* charge than to hear God's holy name profaned." He closes by boldly declaring that the crusaders had none to blame but themselves for the disastrous issue of the expedition. They were unworthy of their high mission and of the holy promise to which it led. They were foolhardy and presumptuous, had given rein to their passions, and filled their camps with debauchery and shameful disorders.

In the meantime, Eugene III., aided by the people of Tivoli, re-entered Rome, whence he was again obliged to withdraw to escape the extravagant demands of the populace. He retired to France, to the monastery of St. Bernard, his master in the spiritual life, with whom he proposed to take counsel in devising measures for the restoration of peace to the Church. But the jealousy of the cardinals, who charged him with being a dependent of a French abbot, determined him to return to Rome (A. D. 1149), where he was sustained, in spite of the party of Arnold, by Roger, King of the Sicilies. Here he received from St. Bernard the celebrated work "*On Meditation*" (*De Consideratione*),¹ in four books, each of which was sent separately.

In this work, St. Bernard lays aside all thoughts of the pontifical dignity, and addresses Eugene with the freedom and frankness of a father speaking to a son, which, it must be admitted, is a liberty rarely taken with the great of this world, and an indubitable proof of the sincerity of the friendship which subsisted between these two great men. Bernard warns Eugene not to allow the multiplicity of external affairs, consequent upon his office, to interfere with his regular habits of meditation, or to cool his love of divine things. He next draws the Pope's attention to his high position among Christian nations; tells him that it is his duty to arbitrate their quarrels, and establish peace; and then goes on to sketch in outline the exalted

¹ *De Consideratione*, libb. IV., in *Bernardi*, Opp. ed. Venet., T. II., p. 413 sq., in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 182-185; separate ed. by *Krabinger*, Landshut, 1845, and by *Schneider*, Berlin, 1850. Here also belongs *Gerhohi* (Rector of the Cathedral-school and Canon of Augsburg), *Expositio in Psalm lxxiv.*, sive liber de corrupto ecclesiæ statu ad Eugen. III. (*Galland.*, Bibl., T. XIV., p. 549 sq.; *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 193.)

duties of the successor of St. Peter, which, he says, are a heavy burden to be borne by poor weak human nature. In this work, and in many private letters to Eugene, Bernard is equally frank in speaking of the abuses to which, in that age, those who wielded the power of the papacy were liable. He instances the tendency to centralize ecclesiastical government; the numerous and unnecessary appeals to Rome, which were frequently prompted by dishonest motives; the increasing tendency of abbots to put themselves above or beyond the jurisdiction of bishops; the unwarrantable assumptions of papal legates; the insatiable greed of the Italians, and their extortions of money under false pretences; the scandalous conduct of the Roman clergy, and the arrogance and lawlessness of the Roman people. While speaking of the tendency to centralize Church government, he administers this reproof: "Perhaps the next step will be to subject the Holy Angels to thy rule."¹ And again: "Episcopal jurisdiction may as well be abolished, since no bishop has it now in his power to punish offences against God; he is no longer competent to give an independent judgment in his own diocese."² Once more: "Remember that the Holy Roman Church, over which thou presidest by the grace of God, is the Mother, and not the mistress, of all other churches; that thou art likewise, not the Lord of the bishops, *but one of their number*."³ We should not, however, lose sight of the fact, that Bernard's habit of censuring his own age, and passing over what was good in it, not unfrequently led him to mistake the true bearing of *certain phenomena inseparable from those times*; hence, in his later works, he often corrects former statements, and admits that it was the duty of the Pope to take upon himself the administration of many things not strictly belonging to his office, but the neglect of which would be detrimental to his dignity.⁴ His earnest desire and the yearning of his soul is expressed to the Pope in the following language: "*Would that I might have the happiness of seeing, before I die, the restoration of that glorious age of the Church when the Apostles cast out their nets, not in search of silver and gold, but to take hauls of precious souls.*"⁵

Both Eugene and Bernard died (A. D. 1153) shortly after the completion of the work "*On Meditation*"—the former July 8th, and the latter August 20th, without seeing the end of the extravagant dreams of republicanism in Rome.

C.—THE HUNDRED YEARS' STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE POPES AND THE HOHENSTAUFENS—FREDERIC I., HENRY VI., FREDERIC II., CONRAD IV., AND CONRADIN († A. D. 1268).

Mansi, T. XXI., p. 785 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., p. 1333 sq.; *Vita*, epp. Rom Pontificum et acta Conciliar. *Watterich*, T. II., pp. 323-748, on Hadrian IV., Alexander

¹ Ep. 231.

² Ep. 178.

³ Lib. IV., c. 7. Cf. Vol. I, p. 473, and Vol. II., p. 29.

⁴ Lib. IV., c. 2, 3.

⁵ *Quis mihi det, antequam moriar, videre ecclesiam Dei sicut in diebus antiquis?* Ep 238; ad Eugen. III., ep. I., nro. 6. (*Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 182, p. 430.)

III., etc., to Celestine III. *Raumer*, Hist. of the Hohenstaufens, Lps. (1823), 1841, sq., 6 vols. *Zimmermann*, The Hohenstaufens; or, The Struggle of the Monarchy against the Pope and Republican liberty, Stuttg., 1838, 2 pts. *John von Müller*, Journeys of Popes, nros. 6 and 7. **Reuter*, Pope Alexander III. and the Church of his Age, 2nd ed., Lps., 1860, sq., 3 vols. *Hefele*, Hist. of Coun., Vol. V., p. 469 sq.

§ 219. *Hadrian IV.* (A.D. 1155-1159)—*Alexander III.* (A.D. 1159-1181)—*Frederic I. and Henry II., King of England—Thomas à Becket.*

Hadrian IV. succeeded in suppressing the spirit of demagogism in Rome. The Pope, whose family name was *Richard Breakspeare*, was a native of England, and the only one of that nation that ever sat upon the Papal throne.

Driven from home by the harsh treatment of his father who did menial service in the monastery of St. Alban's, he wandered up and down the country for some time, after which he passed over to France, and entered the monastery of St. Rufus, near Arles. As a monk, he was distinguished by close application to study, regularity of life, a noble and generous disposition, and eminent talents. These qualities soon raised him to the abbacy; but the monks shortly grew tired of him, and falsely accused him to Pope Eugene III., who, divining the real motives of Breakspeare's enemies, called him to Rome and created him cardinal-bishop of Albano. He was next sent as Papal legate to the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and while in this embassy showed such capacity for public business, and acquired so great a reputation as a diplomate, that on his return to Rome, whither an account of his labours had preceded him, he was unanimously called to the Papal throne. Arnold of Brescia was at this time in Rome, devising plans for the revival of Pagan principles and the restoration of a Republican form of government. To enter a contest, with any hope of success, against popular passion, on the one hand, and royal encroachments, on the other, was a task of no ordinary difficulty; but the poor English exile, who had been so providentially led, step by step, to the most exalted dignity in Christendom, was quite equal to it, and, as the event proved, capable of maintaining the glorious traditions of the See of St. Peter.

He at once employed the most vigorous measures for the restoration of order; and, by laying Rome under *interdict*, struck an effective blow at those who were disturbing the peace of the city. The senators, yielding to the representations and appeals of both clergy and people, broke off their connection with Arnold of Brescia, and made their submission to the Pope.

Arnold found refuge and protection with some Italian nobles; but *Frederic Barbarossa*, who had lately come into Italy, and who, being imbued with the old ideas of absolute imperialism, detested the wild Republican dreams of the Romans, demanded the surrender of Arnold, and, having got possession of him, handed him over to the Papal authorities.¹ The *Prefect* of Rome sentenced him to be hung, after which he was burned, and his ashes flung into the Tiber (A.D. 1155).

¹ Cf. the just appreciation of Arnold by *Raumer*, in his Hist. of the Hohenstaufens, Vol. II., p. 31.

With *Frederic* commences the struggle between the Papacy and the house of Hohenstaufen, which continued for a whole century. The expedition against Rome, which Conrad III. had contemplated for the restoration of imperial rights and prerogatives now almost forgotten, was warmly taken up by *Frederic*, who had already led an army into Italy, and systematically prosecuted until a final adjustment was reached. After having been crowned King of Lombardy, at Pavia, *Frederic* proceeded on his way to Rome; but the Pope, suspicious of his ulterior intentions, sent an embassy to meet him. They shortly returned, with assurances from *Frederic* that the Pope's person would be respected and his property protected. *Hadrian* immediately set out to meet him, and coming up with him at Sutri, a difficulty was raised concerning a question of etiquette. According to a custom, sanctioned by the usage of former emperors and kings, and prescribed by *German* law,¹ the King should have held the Pope's stirrup, as a mark of respect to his dignity. This *Frederic* indignantly refused to do, and the Pope in consequence denied him the usual courtesy of the kiss of peace.

After a short discussion on the matter, the King yielded, but would not listen to the extravagant pretensions of the Roman nobles, who wished him to receive the imperial dignity at *their* hands.

Frederic was now crowned Emperor by the Pope. His professions were fair enough, but his ambitious designs did not escape the more penetrating of those who came in contact with him. It was evident that he intended to use the Pope to further his own projects, and to avail himself of the venerable prestige which attached to the Holy See, to establish a *universal political monarchy*.

When King *William II.*, on the death of Roger (A. D. 1154), seized upon the kingdom of Sicily without consulting the Holy See, of which it was a fief, *Hadrian* wrote him a letter of remonstrance, in which he addressed *William* as "Lord." The latter, taking offence at this manner of title, invaded the Papal States, shut the Pope up in Benevento, and compelled him to conclude an ignominious peace (A. D. 1156). By this treaty, the Pope absolved *William* from sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced against him at the opening of the war, invested him with Sicily and Apulia, and acknowledged him as the lawful lord of all the provinces and cities that had fallen into his hands since the death of Roger. *William*, on his part, promised to remain at peace with the Holy See, and to *pay tribute for all provinces held in fief*; but he forbade anyone to appeal to Rome without having first obtained the royal permission, and claimed the right of *confirming all bishops canonically elected*.²

¹ *Helmoldii*, Chronicon Slavor. lib. I., c. 80. *Otto Frising.*, II. 21.—*Baron.*, Ad an. 1155, nro. 4. Cf. *Raumer*, Vol. II., p. 39 sq. We read in the *Suabian Mirror*: "The Pope receives both swords from God; the spiritual he retains, and the temporal he hands over to the Emperor. When he mounts his white charger, the Emperor shall hold his stirrup." Articles 9 and 10 of the preface. The *Saxon Mirror* also says: "The Pope will also, on certain occasions, ride on a white horse, when the Emperor shall hold his stirrup, that the saddle may not turn over."

² See document in *Baron.*, Ad an. 1156, n. 4 sq.

Frederic I. had contemplated subduing William, and was indignant that the Pope should have come to terms with him. A number of discontented cardinals seized the occasion to still further exasperate him against the Holy See, and, while in this frame of mind, he forbade his clergy to accept any benefice from the Pope, and, in direct violation of the Concordat of Worms, disposed of several bishoprics according to his pleasure, and bestowed investiture on the Bishop of Verdun. Having, during a visit to Constantinople, in the company of his uncle, Conrad III.,¹ gained a knowledge of the relations of the Greek emperors to the Church, he seemed to greatly prefer their despotic rule to the more enlightened policy of such emperors as Charlemagne, the Othos, and Henry II.

In 1158, the Pope wrote Frederic a letter, which was carried by the Papal envoys *Roland* and *Bernard*, complaining of these encroachments on the rights of the Holy See, and of the Emperor's conduct in the case of *Es skyl*, Archbishop of *Lund*, in Sweden, who, while returning from a pilgrimage to Rome, had been robbed and taken captive by a body of German knights, near Thionville. The Emperor had not alone allowed the offence to go unpunished, but had also omitted to do anything towards releasing the prisoner. In this letter, the Pope called to his mind the many obligations he was under to the Holy See, and mentioned, among other things, that he had *received from it the imperial crown*. He went on to say that it would have given him great pleasure, had he been able, to grant him other favours (beneficia) besides imperial coronation.²

This letter, which was read in the diet of Besançon, called forth indignant expressions of surprise. The most offensive interpretation was put upon the word "*beneficium*," which, according to the linguistic usage of that age, might signify a fief—a meaning which the context and grammatical construction would by no means bear out. But the papal legates, who were the bearers of this letter, were little fitted, by their tact or temper of mind, to correct any misapprehension that might arise from ambiguity of language, or to appease the angry passions of the assembly. One of them, Cardinal Roland

¹ *John of Salisbury* says, ep. 59: Scio quid Teutonicus molitur. Eram enim Romæ præsidente b. Eugenio, quando, prima legatione missa in regni sui initio tanti ausi impudentiam tumor intolerabilis lingua incauta detexit. Promittebat enim, se totius orbis reformaturum imperium, urbi subjiendum orbem, eventumque facili omnia subacturum, si ei ad hoc solius Romani pontificis favor adesset. Id enim agebat, ut in quemcumque demutatis inimicitis materialem gladium imperator, in eundem Romanus pontifex spirituales gladium exerceret. If Frederic did not at once carry out such views, with the device, "Quod principi placet, legis habet vigorem," he was certainly only prevented by *Wibald* of *Stablo*, a man of great merit, who died in the year 1158. Cf. *Jansen*, *Wibald*, etc., p. 176 sq., and †*Ficker*, *Rainald* of *Dassel*, *Cologne*. 1850, p. 14.

² Cf. *Radevicus*, *De gest*, *Frider.*, lib. I., c. 8-10 (*Urstisius*, T. I., p. 480), in *Mansi*, T. XXI., p. 790: "Debes enim, gloriosissime fili, ante oculos mentis reducere, quam gratanter et quam jucunde alio anno mater tua St. Rom. ecclesia te suscepit,—quantam tibi et dignitatis plenitudinem contulerit et honoris, et qualiter imperialis insigne coronæ libertissime conferens, benignissimo gremio suo tuæ sublimitatis apicem studuerit confovere.—Neque tamen pœnitet nos, desideria tuæ voluntatis in omnibus implevisse, sed si majora beneficia excellentia tua de manu nostra suscepisset, si fieri posset, considerantes quanta ecclesiæ et nobis per te incrementa possint et commoda provenire, non immerito gauderemus." In *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., p. 1335. *Hefele*, L. c., Vol. V., p. 482 sq.

of Siena, was imprudent enough to ask, when exception was taken to the language of the Pope's letter: "From whom then, if not from the Pope, did the Emperor receive his dignity?" The question was nearly costing the legate his life. The embassy was at once disgracefully dismissed, and commanded to return directly to Rome. Inter-course between the bishops of the Empire and the Holy See was as far as possible interrupted, appeals were restricted, and pilgrimages prohibited. Frederic published a circular letter in justification of his conduct, in which he gave a statement of what had been done, and explained his reasons for so acting.¹ "Whereas," says he, "our right to govern comes from God alone, through the choice of the princes; and whereas our Lord, at His passion, committed the government of the world to two swords;² and whereas *Peter* the Apostle gave to the world the precept, 'Fear God, honour the King,' it is evident that whoever claims 'we have received the imperial crown as a *beneficium* from the Pope,' runs counter to the divine order of things, contradicts the doctrine of Peter, and is a liar." The Emperor at the same time sent a pompous letter to the Pope, in which he said: "God made use of the Empire to exalt the Church in the capital of the world, and now, in that same capital, the Church—not, as we think, with the approval of God—seeks to bring ruin upon the Empire. We had rather lay down our crown, than suffer it and ourselves to be so degraded."

The Pope at once wrote a second letter to the Emperor, in which the offensive expression was satisfactorily explained to mean deeds of kindness, or benevolent disposition (*bonum factum*), and here this difficulty came to an end.³

It was no easy matter for any Pope to remain at peace with Frederic, unless he were willing to make a complete surrender of his rights.

In 1158, the Emperor crossed the Alps a second time, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and after humbling Milan, the proud head of the republican confederation of the Lombard cities, called an assembly on the plain of *Roncaglia*,⁴ and had four juricons-

¹ Cf. *Neander* (Engl. trans. by *Torrey*), Vol. IV., p. 164 et sq. (Tr.)

² Luke, xxii. 38.

³ Hadrian replied to the Emperor: *Licet hoc nomen, quod est, beneficium, apud quosdam in alia significatione, quam ex impositione habeat, assumatur; tunc tamen in ea significatione accipiendum fuerat, quam nos ipsi posuimus, et quam ex institutione sua noscitur retinere. Hoc enim nomen ex bono et facto est editum, et dicitur beneficium apud nos non feudum, sed bonum factum.—Per hoc vocabulum "contulimus," nihil aliud intelleximus, nisi quod superius dictum est, imposuimus.* (*Mansi*, T. XXI., p. 793; *Harduin*, L. c., 1336 sq.)

⁴ These were *Bulgarus*, *Martinus Gosia*, *Jacobus* (de Porta Ravennate), and *Hugo* (de Alberico, also de Porta Ravennate). For an account of each, and their relations to each other, cf. *Savigny*, L. c., Vol. IV., pp. 69-171; their decision in favour of Frederic, at p. 151 sq. "This violent change in the political condition of Northern and Central Italy, made under pretence of restoring things to what they had been in ancient times, invested the emperor with rights and prerogatives which did not at all belong to him. Bishops, princes, and cities were obliged to give up their sovereign rights and special privileges. These were indeed, in some cases, restored, but only when a title to them could be proved by early documents authorising their exercise." *Hegel*, Hist. of Municipal Constitutions, Vol. II., pp. 231-233. *Reuter*, Alexander III., Vol. I., p. 37.

sults, of eminent names, from Bologna, to declare that, according to Roman law, he had a right to exercise the despotic power of the *ancient Roman emperors* (November 11). In virtue of this decision, which was entirely contrary to German tradition and usage, he coined money, levied tolls and imposts, and declared everything of any importance a royal prerogative, and, as a consequence, to be restored to the Emperor.

These restrictions upon the privileges of cities, bishoprics, and cloisters excited a general feeling of discontent. New grievances were soon added, and of all the injured parties none had a juster right to complain than the Pope. Notwithstanding the Emperor's solemn promise to secure to the Holy See all its rights and possessions, he granted to Duke Guelf the entire inheritance of Mathilda, which had been confirmed to the Pope in the most precise terms by the Emperor Lothaire. He also laid a tax upon the possessions of the Roman Church; demanded the *homagium* from the prelates; and, in direct and open violation of the Concordat of Worms, intruded into the archiepiscopal see of Cologne, *Rainald of Dassel*, his own chancellor, and associate in every deed of wickedness, and the Pope's personal enemy; and into that of Ravenna, Guido, son of Count Blandrate, who, however, being a subdeacon of the Roman Church, could not pass to another without having first obtained permission, and this Hadrian refused to give. Frederic did not seem to be at all disquieted as to the view the Pope might take of his conduct. Instead of adopting a conciliatory policy, he seemed to seize every opportunity, even the most trivial, of taking exception to Hadrian's acts. His complaints sometimes resembled those of a pettish schoolboy rather than a dignified emperor. He took it ill that the Pope's name should have been placed before his own in public documents and letters emanating from the Holy See; that he had been addressed in the singular number; and that the bearer of a letter from the Pope to himself was a person unknown to every one at his court, and had retired immediately after delivering it. The Pope, weary of these continual annoyances, sent an embassy, consisting of five cardinals, to demand from the emperor that he should never send his ambassadors to Rome with authority *to exercise any sovereign right or prerogative*, without having first informed the Holy See of such intention; that he should make no *levies upon the goods of the Roman Church*, except on the occasion of his coronation; that the bishops of Italy should take, instead of the *homagium*, the oath of fidelity; and, finally, that the revenues derived from the various provinces of the See of Rome, which had been seized and wrongly appropriated, should be restored. The Emperor, on the other hand, complained that peace had been made with the King of Sicily without his consent; that papal legates neglected to ask his permission to travel through his dominions, had taken up their residences in episcopal palaces, and oppressed the churches; and, finally, that unjust appeals had been taken to Rome.

It was not at all likely that Frederic, in his present temper of mind, would consent to an amicable settlement of the many difficulties between himself and the Pope,¹ and the latter, knowing such to be his disposition, openly told him that the rights, the possessions, and the liberties of the Roman Church would be maintained at any cost.² Hadrian—whose life, according to his own expression, had been passed between the anvil and the hammer—was preparing to excommunicate Frederic for apprehending and imprisoning two cardinals, when he died (September 7, A. D. 1159).³

¹ Döllinger, Ch. Hist. (Cox's transl.), Vol. IV., p. 11 sq. (Tr.)

² Hadriani, Ep. ad Frideric. and the answer in Baron. ad an. 1159, nros. 5 and 6. Also in Urstisius, T. I., p. 562. Their authenticity is, without sufficient reason, denied by Muratori, Annal., T. VI., p. 536. Frederic's views concerning his position as emperor and his relation to the Church, are fully set forth by Gottfried of Viterbo (Secretary and chaplain to the emperors Conrad III., Frederic I., and Henry VI., in his Pantheon, Pt. XVI. (Muratori, Scriptt., T. VI., p. 360).

³ So much has been said recently of the donation of Ireland to England by the bull of Hadrian IV., and such fictitious importance has been attached to that instrument, that it has been thought well to give it here entire, with the reasons for its authenticity. The chief purpose of this bull, as will be seen from the context, was to restore religion to a better condition in Ireland, where it was at this time on the decline. The bull, as found in the Codex Vaticanus, and given in Baronius, Annales ad an. 1159, runs as follows:

"Hadrianus Episcopus servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio illustri Anglorum Regi, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem :

"Laudabiliter et fructuose de glorioso nomine propagando in terris, et æternæ felicitatis præmio cumulando in cælis, tua magnificentia cogitat, dum ad dilatandos Ecclesiæ terminos, ac declarandam indoctis et rudibus populis Christianæ Fidei veritatem, et vitiorum plantaria de agro Dominico extirpanda, sicut Catholicus Princeps, intendis, et ad id convenientius exequendum, consilium Apostolicæ Sedis exigit et favorem. In quo facto, quanto altiori consilio et maiori discretionem procedis, tanto in eo feliciter progressum te, præstante Dno., confidimus habiturum, eo quod ad bonum exitum semper et finem soleant attingere, quæ de ardore Fidei et religionis amore principium acceperunt. Sane Hiberniam, et omnes Insulas, quibus sol Iustitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta Fidei Christianæ ceperunt, ad jus beati Petri, et sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ (quod tua et nobilitas recognoscit) non est dubium pertinere. Unde tanto in eis libentius plantationem fidelem, et germen gratum Deo inserimus, quantum id a nobis interno examine districtius prospiciamus exigendum. Significasti siquidem nobis, fili in Christo charissime, te Hiberniæ insulam, ad subdendum illum populum legibus, et vitiorum plantaria inde extirpanda, velle intrare, et de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii beato Petro velle solvere pensionem, et jura ecclesiarum illius terræ illibata et integra conservare."

"Nos itaque pium et laudabile desiderium tuum cum favore congruo prosequentes, et petitioni tuæ benignum impendentes assensum, gratum et acceptum habemus, pro dilatandis Ecclesiæ terminis, pro vitiorum restringendo decursu, pro corrigendis moribus, et virtutibus inserendis, pro Christianæ religionis augmento, insulam illam ingrediari, et quod ad honorem Dei, et salutem illius terræ spectaverit, exequaris; et illius terræ populus honorifice te recipiat, et sicut dominum veneretur; jure nimirum ecclesiastico illibato, et integro permanente, et salva beato Petro, et sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ de singulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione. Si ergo quod concepisti animo, effectu duxeris complendum, stude gentem illam bonis moribus informare, et agas tam per te, quam per illos quos adhibes, quos fide, verbo, et vita idoneos esse perspexeris, ut decoretur ibi Ecclesia, plantetur et crescat Fidei Christianæ religio, et quæ ad honorem Dei, et salutem pertinent animarum, per te taliter ordinentur, ut a Deo sempiternæ mercedis cumulum consequi merearis, et in terris gloriosum nomen valeas in sæculis obtinere." [Hucusque codice Vaticano.]

Annales Ecclesiastici, auctore Cæsare Baronio Sorano Antuerpiæ, M.DC.XXIX. (Ad an. 1159.)

The chief objection to the authenticity of this bull is based upon the absence of a date. Francis Pagi, speaking on this subject in his Breviarium Gestorum Pontificum Romanorum, says that, while Baronius leaves the date of Hadrian's bull undetermined, Radulphus de Dicelo (who also gives the text of the bull in his Imagines Historiarum, p. 529), and,

Notwithstanding the critical condition of the Church and the necessity of union among the cardinals, they could not agree upon the choice of a new pope. The party devoted to the imperial inte-

still later, *Rymer* (in his great work, "*Conventiones et acta publica inter reges Angliæ*," T. I., p. 5), refer it, but incorrectly, to the year 1154. This date is evidently incorrect, for Henry was crowned King of England on December 19, 1154, and consequently could not have received the bull before the expiration of the year. Hence, concludes *Pagi*, *Matthew of Paris* is right in referring it to the year 1155.

In treating of the pontificate of Alexander III., the same writer says (l. c., n. lxxviii.): "Because Henry, though having received the bull in 1155, did not undertake his expedition to Ireland until 1171, *Alford* (*Annals of England*) doubts the authenticity of the document."

Giraldus Cambrensis, a contemporary writer, after giving the diploma entire in his work "*On the Conquest of Ireland*," again does the same in his later work "*On His own Exploits*" (Book II., chap. 11). "Hence," says *Pagi*, "*that document is genuine in every particular, and by no means supposititious.*" On its authority he goes on to say, Henry invaded Ireland in 1171, as many contemporary authors relate, and, among them, *Gervase* (in his *Chron.*) and *Roger Hoveden* (in his *Annals*), who says, ad an. 1171, that Henry crossed over to Ireland in this year for the purpose of subjugating the island, and, after having received the voluntary submission of its people, claimed it as his own. The same writer says also, that, in a national council, consisting of four archbishops and twenty-eight bishops (i. e. all the prelates of the island), the king and his heirs were recognised as the lords of the country for ever. The instrument containing this recognition was sent by the king to Pope Alexander III., who *confirmed*, by his apostolic authority, the kingdom of Ireland to Henry and his heirs, in the same sense and form that it had been granted by the charter of the archbishops and bishops. It is said that the papal bull was accompanied with a *gold ring*, set with a costly *emerald*, intended to serve as a mark of investiture.

The authenticity of this bull is still further established by a letter of Donald O'Neil and some of the nobles of Ireland to Pope John XXII., complaining of the injustice done them by Hadrian's bull. The following are the most important passages: . . . "Et cum tanto tempore dicti reges (Hibernici) concessam a Deo sibi, hæreditatem . . . defendissent . . . tandem Adrianus Papa prædecessor vester, non tantum origine, quantum affectione et conditione, Anglicus, A. D. MCLXX., ad falsam, and plenam iniquitate, suggestionem Henrici Regis Angliæ . . . dominum regni nostri, sub quadam certa verborum forma, eidem . . . contulit indebite . . . sicque nos privans honore regio, nostri absque culpa et sine rationabili causa, crudelioribus omnium bestiarum dentibus tradidit lacerandos." Another proof arises from the Pope's letter in reply, addressed to the King of England: . . . "Cum fel. rec. Adrianus papa prædecessor noster, sub certis modo et forma distinctis apertius Apost. literis, inde factis claræ memoriæ Henrico Regi Angliæ, Progenitori tuo Dominium Hiberniæ concessisset, ipse Rex ac successores ipsius Reges Angliæ usque ad hæc tempora, modum et formam hujusmodi non servantes, quinimo transgredientes, indebite afflictionibus et gravaminibus inauditis importabilium servitutum ipsos diutius oppresserunt. . . . Ut autem de prædictis gravaminibus et querelis . . . tuis sensibus innotescat ad plenum, antedictas literas . . . cum forma literarum, quas prædictus Adrianus Prædecessor noster eidem Henrico Regi Angliæ de terra Hiberniæ concessit, tuæ Magnitudini mittimus præsentibus inclusas. Datum," etc.—From *MacGeoghegan's Hist. P. T. Carcw*, Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, Philadelphia, 1838, pp. 404-412.

Abbé MacGeoghegan (*Hist of Ireland, Preliminary Discourse*) and some modern authors deny the authenticity of this diploma; and it must be admitted that the absence of the date, no matter what cause may be assigned for it, is a very serious, if not fatal, objection against the genuineness of any public document.

The *real motives*, by which all parties concerned in this affair were actuated, may be best learned from a cursory glance at their transactions.

"The proximity of Ireland to England," writes *Lingard* (Vol. II., ch. 5, A. D. 1154, of his *Hist. of England*), "and the inferiority of the natives in the art of war, had suggested the idea of conquest to both William the Conqueror and the first Henry. The task was seriously taken up by Henry II. The civilisation of the Irish people and the reform of their clergy was the specious pretext for invading a free and unoffending people. John of Salisbury, a learned monk, and afterwards bishop

rests elected Cardinal Octavian, who had some time previously deserted the cause of Hadrian, and declared himself an adherent of the Emperor. Octavian, who had received the votes of only *three* car-

of Chartres, was despatched to solicit the approbation of Pope Hadrian; 'for,' said he, 'as every Christian island is the property of the Holy See, the king did not presume to make the attempt without the advice and consent of the successor of Peter.' The Pope acquiesced in the project, and signified his willingness that Henry should enter Ireland, and be acknowledged as their lord by the natives. But a strong opposition was made by the Empress Mathilda, Henry's mother, and the barons. Mathilda opposed the project, because, as she argued, if the Pope had such plenary powers in the case of Ireland, there was no reason why he should not possess powers equally extensive over England; and to undertake this expedition on his authority, would be to recognise his suzerainty over both countries. As other projects offered themselves to Henry's ambition, the Pope's letter was consigned to the archives of the castle of Winchester, and for the time forgotten."

Fourteen years after this singular negotiation, a few Welsh adventurers landed in Ireland, at the solicitation of one of their native princes. When these Welsh adventurers, under the leadership of *Strongbow*, first sailed to the aid of *Dermot*, Henry viewed the enterprise with contempt, but their subsequent success awakened his jealousy. He commanded the invaders to return, under penalty of forfeiture. Strongbow was alarmed; he satisfied the king by paying him homage, and taking the conquered territory as a fief at his hands. Next month (October 17, 1171), the king landed at Waterford, and received, during a hasty progress, the homage of the neighbouring princes. It was his wish rather to allure than to compel submission. But while so many others crowded to Dublin, the pride of O'Connor, the chief king, refused to meet a superior. He condescended, however, to see the royal messengers on the banks of the Shannon, and to make in their presence a *nominal submission*. The princes of Ulster alone obstinately preserved their independence.

The Irish bishops, after the arrival of Henry (November 6), held a *synod at Cashel*, under the presidency of the papal legate, the bishop of Lisnore; signed a *formal recognition* of the king's sovereignty, and framed several canons for the reform of their church.

The king's *nominal sovereignty* was, indeed, over four out of five provinces, but his real authority was confined to the cantreds in the vicinity of his garrisons; there the feudal customs and services were introduced and enforced. In the rest of the island, the national laws prevailed, and the Irish princes felt no other change in their situation, than that they had promised to a distant prince the obedience which they had previously paid to the King of Connaught.

During the war, which afterwards ensued between King Henry and his sons, his authority in Ireland was nearly annihilated, and it was during this period of distress that Henry bethought him of the letter which he had formerly procured from Pope Hadrian. It had been forgotten during almost twenty years; now it was drawn from obscurity, was entrusted to William Fitz-Aldhelm, and Nicholas, prior of Walsingham, and was read by them with much solemnity to a synod of Irish bishops, A. D. 1174.

Henry also procured at this time a papal confirmation of Hadrian's grant. "*Concessionem ejusdem Adriani super Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto ratam habemus, et confirmamus: quatenus, eliminatis terre illius spureiis, barbara natio, quæ Christiano consuetur nomine, vestra indulgentia morum induat venustatem.*" *Usser*, Syl., epist. III. The next year (1175), O'Connor sent the archbishop of Tuam to Windsor, and a treaty of "*final concord*" was concluded by the ministers of the two princes.

But this papal act, which has been, if not the cause, certainly the occasion of seven centuries of unparalleled misfortunes to Ireland, and which was consummated by the concurrent action of an *English* king, an *English* bishop, and an *English* pope, must stand alone on its own merits, be judged by the circumstances of the times, by the principles of public law which then obtained, and by the standards of morality and justice then in vogue. The transfer was entirely a *personal* matter, and whatever of wrong or injustice there was in the act should be laid to the charge of those who gave their sanction to it, on the one hand, and those who executed it, on the other. Popes, being neither prophets nor the sons of prophets, could not peer away into the future, and foresee the stupendous and wide consequences of that one step. But to charge the Roman Church, as such, with arrogance and aggression, because of the Pope's conduct on this occasion, is unfair; and

dinals,¹ at once assumed the dress proper to one holding the papal dignity, and called himself *Victor IV.*

On the 4th of September, the great majority of the College of Cardinals gave their votes in favour of Cardinal *Orlando* of Siena,² one of the most learned men of his age, formerly a professor of theology at Bologna, and, at the time of his election, Chancellor of the Roman Church. He at first refused to accept the dignity, but finally consented, and was consecrated on the twentieth of the same month, under the name of *Alexander III.* *Victor IV.* was also consecrated, in the monastery of Farfa, the 4th of October following.

The Emperor convoked a synod, to meet at Pavia (February, A. D. 1160), the purpose of which, he stated, was to decide on the merits of the two claimants of the papacy. The real sentiments of the Emperor were evident, from the manner of address applied to the Pope and the Antipope respectively. Alexander, in the invitation sent to him to attend the synod, was styled "Cardinal Orlando," and Octavian, "Victor, Bishop of Rome." Pope Alexander and his friends, who well understood the real difficulties of their position, refused to submit their cause to the judgment of an assembly completely under the control of the Emperor, and resolved to brave every peril in defence of the liberties of the Church.³ Conscious that he alone was endowed with the fulness of Apostolic authority, Alexander made use of the following language: "We recognize the Emperor as the protector of the Roman Church, and honour him before all other princes; but a still higher honour is due to the King of kings. Bearing, as we do, a sincere and loyal love to the Emperor, we are not a little surprised that he should refuse a becoming respect to ourselves, to St. Peter, and to the Holy Roman Church. He has written to us and to our brethren that he called to his court, at Pavia, the bishops of the Empire, to provide against a schism in the Church. To convoke a council, and command us to appear before it, is an act unwarranted, either by the usage of his predecessors, or the scope of his authority. The Roman Church, which is above the authority of man, has received from the Lord a commission to try and pass judgment on the affairs of all other churches. . . . Hence, the authority of the canons and

to appeal to the donation of Ireland by Hadrian as an argument against Papal infallibility, is at once a confession of ignorance and the wildest absurdity.

Abbé Darras (Church Hist., Vol. III., p. 260) says that John of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres, was commissioned by King Henry to ask the Pope's commission for his royal master to enter and hold Ireland with a view to the restoration of the Christian religion, which was in danger of being extinguished by the influence of "*native idolatry.*" There seems to be a very serious mistake here. No such charge was brought against the Irish. The word "*idolatry,*" that greatest of all sins, does not even occur in Hadrian's bull. (Tr.)

¹ *Meyer*, The election of Alexander III. and Victor IV., etc., Götting., 1871.

² *Stülz*, Gerhohus of Reichersberg, de investigatione Antichristi et schismate, Archives of sources of Austrian history, Vol. 20, Vienna, 1858. *Tourtial* (Bohemia's share in the struggles of Frederic I. in Italy): I. The Milan war, Götting., 1865; II. The Schism between Alexander III. and Octavian, Münster, 1866.

³ *Döllinger*, Ch. Hist. (Cox's transl.), Vol. IV., p. 12 sq.

the tradition of the Fathers alike forbid us to appear before the imperial court. The most inconsiderable of churches is not so shamefully treated by princes as is the Roman Church at the present time by the Emperor."

In the year 1162, Alexander, to escape the tyranny of the Emperor, sought an asylum in France, and, chiefly through the influence of the Carthusian and Cistercian orders,¹ was generally recognized by the whole Catholic world. King Louis, who took offence at the extravagant demands of Frederic, also declared in his favour, and showed him every mark of respect and reverence.

After the death of Victor, in 1164, Alexander quit France, and returned, by way of Sicily, to Rome.

Frederic, who lost no occasion to persecute the adherents of Alexander, and who used every possible means to secure the recognition of his antipope, attempted to compel the bishops and abbots assembled at the diet of princes, at Würzburg (A. D. 1165), to declare for *Paschal III.*, the newly-elected antipope (A. D. 1164), and against Alexander. In order to increase his own popularity and that of the contest in which he was engaged, the Emperor had Paschal to commission Archbishop Rainald of Dassel to perform the ceremony of Charlemagne's canonisation (December 29, A. D. 1165). But these acts, instead of strengthening, weakened his party, and added to the number of Alexander's adherents. The latter, taking advantage of the growing discontent of the Lombards, and their hatred of *Frederic and his scheme of universal monarchy*, concluded an alliance² with them, for the purpose of withstanding the imperial pretensions.

The Emperor again marched into Italy, at the head of an army, laid siege to Ancona, which he reduced, after spending twelve months under its walls, by starving the inhabitants, and then marched straight upon Rome, where he proposed that both claimants should resign, and a third be chosen, over whose election he would exercise no influence. Alexander replied to this demand, by again pronouncing sentence of excommunication against him as a persecutor of the Church, and then fled to Benevento (A. D. 1167). Paschal, on the contrary, remained in Rome, and crowned Frederic and his consort Beatrice.

But the day of retribution was drawing near, when he, who had set at naught all rights, human and divine, would be forced to bow before the chastisements of heaven. A pestilential disease broke out in his camp, and in a few days carried off thousands of his army and

¹ In *Bolland.*, *Acta SS.*, mens. Junii, T. V., c. III., p. 232, it is related: "Quum universa pæne aneops ecclesia vacillaret," the order of Carthusians had first given the weight of its influence in favour of Alexander: "Præcedentibus itaque *Cartusiensibus* et *Cisterciensibus* Alexander Papa ecclesiarum in partibus Galliæ, Britanniæ atque Hispaniæ cito meruit obedientiam habere." The well disposed recognized in Alexander the champion of the cause of God—in Victor, the creature of imperial power. Cf. *Thomas à Becket*, ep. 48.

² *Voigt*, *History of the Lombard League and its Struggle with Frederic I.*, Königsberg, 1818.

followers, among whom were the Dukes Guelf and Frederic, Rainald (Archbishop of Cologne), and the Bishops of Liège, Verdun, Spire, and Ratisbon. At Pavia, whither the poor remains of the plague-stricken army had been led back, Frederic published the ban of the Empire against the confederated cities. On the 1st of December the cities of the march of Verona—viz., Venice, Piacenza, Parma, Modena, and Bologna—joined the Lombard league; and in March, 1168, Frederic, in an unsuccessful attempt against the Milanese, lost the greater portion of his army, hastened across the Alps, and appeared as a fugitive on the confines of Germany.

Paschal died at the Vatican, in September, 1168, and his adherents at once proceeded to an election of a successor. As there was no schismatical cardinal then alive, they selected Abbot John of Strum, in Hungary, who took the name of Calixtus III., and was immediately acknowledged by Frederic.

The Greek emperor, Emmanuel, who was ambitious of having the title of Roman Emperor, sent an embassy to Pope Alexander, who was then at Benevento, with an offer of a large sum of money, and a proposal to reunite the two Churches, if he would confer it upon him. The Pope, after some hesitation, sent back the gold, and refused the request.

The alliance between the Pope and the Lombards grew daily more close and permanent. Between Asti and Pavia, and at the confluence of the Tanaro and the Bormida, the Lombards built a strong fortress, which was intended to serve as a defence against the German emperor, and, out of gratitude to the Pope, named it *Alessandria* (A. D. 1168). In 1170, their consuls transferred this fortress and its lands as tributaries to the Pope and Roman Church. Frederic exerted himself to the utmost, but in vain, to sever this alliance.¹

He could but ill brook his disgrace, and in the autumn of 1174 led an army into Italy for the fifth time, and sat down before *Alessandria*. He was compelled to raise the siege by the approach of the allied armies, and at his request negotiations were opened; but as he stubbornly adhered to the articles of the diet of Roncaglia, they were shortly broken off. In May, 1176, he was completely defeated, and his army almost annihilated, by the Lombards, at the battle of *Legnano*. This terrible disaster brought Frederic to his senses, and by the advice of the Bishop of Clermont and the Abbot of Bonneville, he consented, in the *Peace of Venice*² (June 24, A. D. 1177), to acknowledge Alexander III. as the true and lawful Pope.

¹ *Döllinger*, Ch. Hist. (Cox's transl.), Vol. IV., p. 18. (Tr.)

² The acts are found in *Baron.*, Ad a. 1177, nr. 13 sq. More complete in *vita Alex. III.*, by Cardin. Arragon. (*Muratori*, T. III., Pt. I., p. 467, and Romuald. Chron. (*Murat.*, T. VII., p. 217 sq.) Cf. *Alex. III.* epp. in *Baron.*, L. c., n. 24-26; *Mansi*, T. XXII., p. 178 sq.; *Muratori*, Antiqq., T. IV., p. 275 sq. Anonymous account "De Pace Veneta relatio," in *Pertz*, T. XIX. *Alex. III.* opp. in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 200. Cf. "Alexander III. and Frederic I. at Venice" (Historical and Political Papers, Vol. I., pp. 48-56).

* *Hefele*, Hist. of Counc., Vol. V., pp. 617-629.

Entering the church of St. Mark's, at Venice, Frederic's heart was touched by the influence of divine grace, and recognizing in his last misfortune the hand of God, he laid aside his imperial robes, and bowing down, prostrated himself at the feet of the Pope. But Alexander, bending forward, raised him up, and gave him the kiss of peace, after which he celebrated Mass. On the following day the Pontiff celebrated again, and, when the Emperor entered the church, met him at the door, conducted him to the altar, and gave him Holy Communion. The Emperor then held the stirrup while the Pope mounted his white horse, and, seizing the bridle, conducted him to the palace of the Doges, amid the joyful acclamations of the multitude and the triumphant strains of the *Te Deum*. Peace was solemnly declared on the 11th of August. By the articles of the Treaty of Venice, the Emperor was to enjoy the revenues of the estates of Matilda for fifteen years, after which a court of arbitrators was to decide to whom they rightfully belonged; an armistice of fifteen years was concluded with William, King of Sicily, and one of six years with the Lombard cities; and, finally, those who had been placed in episcopal sees during the schism of Frederic were permitted to retain them.

A delegation from Rome requested Alexander to again take up his residence in that city. The assembly of senators at Anagni took the oath of fidelity to him, and made a solemn promise to restore to him all the rights and prerogatives belonging to the Holy See. Calixtus III., the antipope, submitted to the authority of Alexander, and was by him made governor of Benevento.

During the reigns of Henry's predecessors, the clergy of England had, by long custom and ecclesiastical right, become tolerably independent of the State. This was not to Henry's liking, and on the death of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England, he forced his chancellor and personal friend, *Thomas à Becket*,¹ to accept the office. His purpose in this appointment was soon revealed. He at once proposed that all clerics convicted of crime should be deprived of orders, and handed over to the civil tribunals. Henry had mistaken his man. From the moment Thomas became primate, his whole mode of life was entirely changed; he passed from luxury to asceticism, and among the people bore the reputation of a saint. To him ecclesiastical immunities were part of the sacred heritage of the Church, and he never ceased to be their most unyielding champion. But he could not stand alone against the violence and tyranny of Henry, when the Pope advised concession, and the bishops fell from his side. In 1164, he agreed to accept the constitutions, or the concordat between Church and State, which Henry submitted to a council of the orders, lay and spiritual, at *Clarendon*. According to

¹ The biography by four of his admirers. *Quadrilogus de vita S. Thomæ et Episcopi Thomæ Cantuar.*, ed. *Chr. Lupus*, Bruxelles, 1682, 4to.—*Lingard*, Hist. of England, T. II. †*Buss*, St. Thomas, Archbp. of Canterb., and his Struggle for the Freedom of the Church, Mentz, 1856. *Stolberg-Brischar*, Vol. III. (of the complete work, Vol. XLVIII).

these constitutions,¹ the election of a bishop was to take place before royal officers, in the King's chapel, and with the King's assent; the prelate-elect was bound to do homage for his lands before consecration, and to hold his lands as a barony from the King, subject to all feudal burdens of taxation, and attendance in the King's court; no bishop might leave the realm without the royal permission; no tenant-in-chief, or royal servant, should be excommunicated, or their land placed under interdict, but by the King's assent; it pertained to the King's court to decide whether a suit between a clerk and a layman, whose nature was disputed, belonged to the Church's courts or the King's; a royal officer was to be present in all ecclesiastical proceedings, in order to confine the bishop's court within its due limits, and a clerk once convicted there passed under the civil jurisdiction; an appeal was left from the archbishop's court to the King's for defect of justice; the privilege of sanctuary in churches and churchyards was repealed, so far as property, and not persons, was concerned; and, finally, the son of a serf could not be admitted to orders without his lord's permission.²

After a most determined resistance, Thomas à Becket finally consented to set his seal to these constitutions; but quickly repenting of his act, and having obtained the Pope's permission to do so, he retracted his assent. Henry now turned upon him with feelings of the most savage resentment. Vexatious and unfounded charges were brought against him in the King's court, and his life being in danger, he was advised to submit. But no danger could daunt him, and, seizing his archiepiscopal cross, he entered the royal court, and appealed from its decision to the Holy See. Shouts of "*Traitor! traitor!*" caught his ear as he retired, and, turning fiercely upon his enemies, he said: "Were I a knight, my sword should answer that foul taunt." At nightfall, he fled in disguise, and made his way through Flanders to France, where he found protection with Louis VII., and a hospitable and honourable reception in the Cistercian monastery of Pontigny, in Burgundy. The Pope constantly gave him evidences of affection and friendship, in spite of the efforts of Henry and a host of enemies to misrepresent him; but entertaining hopes that the quarrel might be amicably settled, he counselled moderation, and instructed the primate not to proceed at once to extreme measures against Henry and his partisans. But when Henry II., in order to carry on his quarrel more successfully, entered into an alliance with the Emperor of Germany, Pope Alexander gave leave to Becket (New Year's, A. D. 1166) to proceed with more rigour against those who were "plundering" the churches of his diocese, and at Easter of the same year made him Apostolic Legate for England.

¹ A short Hist. of the Eng. People by J. R. Greene, M.A., London, 1875, pp. 103-104. (Tr.)

² The Acts of the Assembly and the Sixteen Ordinances, in Mansi, T. XXI., p. 1187 et sq. *Hefele*, Vol. V., p. 553 et sq. For an appreciation of them, see Dr. Pauli's *Gesch. v. Engl.*

About Pentecost of this year, Becket published from *Vezelay* a document, threatening with the censures of the Church all who sustained the *Consuetudines regie*, and adhered to the Constitutions of Clarendon. Many of those against whom this threat was directed were afterwards excommunicated.

By a system of terrorism, Henry endeavoured, in the meantime, to force his subjects to submit to his anti-ecclesiastical legislation, and by fraudulent misrepresentation had led the Pope to adopt a temporizing policy, and to inhibit to Thomas à Becket the exercise of his primatial jurisdiction. But he was at length compelled to yield to the demands of the Pope and the primate, after which the latter, against the advice of his friends, returned to England (A. D. 1170). When he entered Canterbury, the men of Kent flocked around him, and gave him a most enthusiastic welcome.

Becket, after his return, pursued the policy he had always advocated, and carried out his principles with rigorous consistency. Contrary to the general expectation, he at once excommunicated and suspended those bishops who had adhered to Henry, notwithstanding that the Pope had instructed him not to have recourse to this measure, except in extreme cases, and then only with the consent of the King of France.

Henry, who was at this time residing in Normandy, in an outburst of violent passion, was so imprudent as to let fall the following words against Thomas à Becket: "What cowards have I fed? Is there no one who will rid me of this turbulent priest?" Four knights who were present—viz., William Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, Richard Brito, and Reginald Fitzurse—interpreting the King's language as equivalent to a royal licence to murder the archbishop, crossed the channel, and having made their way to Canterbury, burst, with loud shouts into the choir of the cathedral, whither Becket had retired, and murdered him at the foot of the altar (December 29, A. D. 1170).¹

This atrocious murder raised a cry of horror throughout all Europe, and the guilt of the crime was laid to the charge of the

¹ Mr. J. R. Greene, in his admirable *History of the English People*, pp. 104-105, gives the following description of the scene: "After a stormy parley with him in his chamber, they withdrew to arm, and Thomas was hurried by his clerks into the cathedral. As he reached the steps leading from the transept to the choir, his pursuers burst in, shouting from the cloisters. 'Where,' cried Reginald Fitzurse, in the dusk of the dimly lighted minster, 'where is the traitor, Thomas Becket?' The primate turned resolutely back, 'Here am I—no traitor, but a priest of God,' he replied, and again descending the steps, he placed himself with his back against a pillar, and fronted his foes. All the bravery, the violence of his old knightly life, seemed to revive in Thomas, as he tossed back the threats and demands of his assailants. 'You are our prisoner,' shouted Fitzurse, and the four knights seized him, to drag him from the church. 'Do not touch me, Reginald,' shouted the primate; 'pander that you are, you owe me fealty;' and, availing himself of his personal strength, he shook him roughly off. 'Strike, strike,' retorted Fitzurse, and blow after blow struck Thomas to the ground. A retainer of Ranulf de Broc, with the point of his sword, scattered the primate's brains on the ground. 'Let us be off,' he cried, triumphantly. 'This traitor will never rise again.' (Tr.)

English king. During the solemnities of the following Holy Thursday, the Pope excommunicated, in general terms, the primate's assassins, their advisers, abettors, and protectors; and, in 1173, the murdered archbishop was canonized as one who, as a martyr in the cause of God, had been honoured by the people as a *saint* before his remains had been consigned to their last resting-place. Crowds flocked to his tomb. The wonderful cures wrought by his intercession spread the fame of his sanctity through the whole country, and men of every rank and condition bore testimony to their truth.

The Archbishop, instead of requiring the authority of the Pope to bear testimony to his sanctity, was himself a most potent witness, by his many miracles, to the justice of the Pope's cause. A most uncompromising advocate and defender of ecclesiastical immunities, Thomas à Becket was also a most zealous adherent of the Pope; and now that his miracles bore testimony to the truth of his principles, they were equally effective as an argument in favour of the Holy See.

Henry, who was deeply affected by the primate's death, sought to justify himself before the Pope, and obtain absolution.¹ This was not granted till he had done penance, withdrawn the Constitutions of Clarendon, and agreed to furnish one hundred knights to fight against the infidels. His absolution was pronounced (A. D. 1172) in the cathedral of Avranches.²

Thus, while Frederic I. was waging war, and daily augmenting the number of his enemies, Henry II. was making a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas, and conciliating the affections of many who had regarded him with horror.

About this time, Alexander raised *Portugal* to the rank of a kingdom, and conferred the new dignity upon Duke *Alfonso*.

Finally, to prevent a recurrence of the disorders produced by the late antipopes, Alexander convoked the *Third Lateran*, or

ELEVENTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL (MARCH, A. D. 1179).

There were present at this council, besides a large number of abbots, three hundred and two bishops, from every country of Europe and from Syria. Twenty-seven canons were passed during its sitting, of which the following is a summary: 1. *A two-thirds vote of the cardinals shall be requisite for the valid election of a Pope*, and if any person presume to assume the office without having obtained the requisite number of suffrages, he and his electors shall be for ever cut off from the communion of the Church. This canon was called for by the events of the election of Alexander III. and the antipope Victor. 2. Those ordained by the antipopes Victor IV., Paschal III. and Calixtus III. were declared forever incapable of exercising priestly functions, and titulars appointed by them were deprived of their dignities. 3. One to be eligible to a bishopric must have reached the age of thirty-three years. 4. This canon provides for the payment of expenses incurred in episcopal visitations. 5. Those about to take orders, must be either provided with a benefice, or have a patrimony sufficient for their decent support. 6. As a rule

¹ Cf. *Neander*, Ch. Hist. (Torrey's transl.), Vol. IV., p. 171; also *John of Salisbury*, eps. 286 and 287. (Tr.)

² *Gervasi Cantuar.*, Chron., and *Roger de Hoveden*, Ad an., 1172, Charta absolutionis regis Henrici. *Hefele*, V., 611.

canonical admonition must precede suspension and excommunication. A specified time must be fixed for the prosecution of appeals, which, if vexatious, are altogether forbidden. 7. All extortions for the administration of the sacraments, sepulture, and installation of persons into new dignities, if of the nature of simony, are condemned. 8. Promises of ecclesiastical benefices not yet vacant (*expectative*) are forbidden. 9. Religious are commanded to pay a proper respect to episcopal authority. 10. No charge is to be exacted of persons entering religion. 11. Clerical incontinency is forbidden, and strangers are prohibited entering female convents. 12. Ecclesiastical causes are not to be brought before secular tribunals. 13. A plurality of benefices may not be held by one person; and personal residence is enjoined. 14. Investiture of ecclesiastical benefices by laymen is prohibited. 15. Persons having ecclesiastical benefices are permitted to dispose of the personal property, in their possession at the time of election, as they may see fit, but not of that accruing from their benefices, which, on their death, reverted to the Church. 16. Decrees of chapters to be valid, if a two-third vote cannot be secured, must have the sanction either of the majority of the collegiate body, or, this failing, the approval of those most distinguished by prudence and virtue. 17. To receive the nomination to a benefice, one must be distinguished by superior merit, and receive a majority of the collegiate vote. 18. This canon requires that masters be provided for the cloister and cathedral schools. 19. This forbids the taxation of Church property. 20. Tournaments endangering the life of the participants are interdicted. 21. This canon forbids any violation of the *Truce of God*. 22. This prescribes that the *Truce of God* be kept with priests, clerics, and monks. 23. Lepers shall have their own church, burial-ground, and priest. 24. Renegades from the faith, who furnish the Saracens with arms, serve as captains under them, or become pirates, are declared excommunicate. 25. Usurers are to be refused Holy Communion, denied Christian sepulture, and their offerings to be refused. 26. Jews and Saracens are forbidden to keep Christian slaves. In courts of justice, Christians are to be preferred to Jews as witnesses. Converted Jews are to be protected in their rights and property. 27. This canon reads as follows: "*The Church, says St. Leo the Great, 'while deprecating bloody executions, has a right to call upon temporal princes to vindicate the honour of her laws; and the fear of corporal chastisement has often induced a recourse to spiritual remedies.*" Under the name of Cathari and Patarini, the heretics have secured so firm a foothold in Gascony, and in the territory of Albi and Toulouse, that they now rise up in open revolt; while the heretics in Brabant, Aragon, Navarre, and Biscay, the Cotelieri, and Triaverdini, respect neither churches nor monasteries, spare neither age nor sex, neither orphans nor widows. They renew all the excesses of the heathens and barbarians. We declare them solemnly excommunicated. We enjoin all the faithful to resist their ravages, and to defend the Christians against their inroads. We grant the usual indulgences, and the forgiveness of their sins, to all who arm for this holy crusade."

§ 220. *Lucius III.* (A. D. 1181-1185)—*Urban III.* (A. D. 1185-1187)—*Gregory VIII.* (A. D. † 1187)—*Clement III.* (A. D. 1187-1191)—*Celestine III.* (A. D. 1191-1198)—*Frederic I.*—*Henry VI.*

With the death of Alexander, a season promising fresh troubles seemed to be opening upon the Papacy. Frederic, indeed, had been forced to sign the *Treaty of Constance* (1183),² which, based upon the Concordat of Worms, granted concessions considerably more ample than those contained in the articles of the *Peace of Venice*. He, moreover, abrogated the enactments of the diet of Roncaglia, and placed the Lombard cities, which he recognised as republics, on an equality with the great vassals of the crown. Always desirous of

¹ The acts of this great council in full in *Mansi*, T. XXII., pp. 209-467. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., pp. 1673-1775. Cf. *Natal. Alex.*, H. E. sæc. XII., diss. XI. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, V., 631 sq.—The exposition of canons 2-26 is according to *Palma*, H. E., Vol. II., pp. 226-231; of canon 27, according to *Darras*, Vol. III., p. 289. (Tr.)

² In the Appendix to the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, and in *Muratori*, Antiq., T. IV., p. 307.

augmenting the influence of his family by powerful alliances, he had his son Henry VI., married to the princess *Constance*,¹ who, on the death of William II., without issue, became the sole heiress to the Two Sicilies. By this union, the Pope lost his strongest and most faithful ally, and the house of Hohenstaufen, now in possession of Southern Italy, would, if the imperial and the Italian crowns were worn by one person, become predominant over the whole peninsula.² In Germany, the Emperor took up the hereditary feuds of his house with the Guelfs, upon whom he wreaked a most signal vengeance. It was unfortunate that Alexander's successors were not sufficiently powerful to interpose their authority, and put a stop to these unseemly acts of violence. Nor was this all. The Emperor exercised an undue influence in many episcopal elections, and took forcible possession of the inheritance of Mathilda, and the efforts of the Popes Lucius and Urban III., the Milanese, were utterly powerless to prevent him doing either. The old conflict between the Papacy and the Empire had again broken out, and was raging in all its former fierceness, when the pacific Gregory VIII. was called to the papal throne, and all Europe was started by the intelligence that Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of *Saladin*³ (October 3, 1187).

In the days of *Baldwin I.*, the brother and successor of Godfrey de Bouillon, suspicion and party feuds had already produced their natural results in the kingdom of Jerusalem; and that king's authority did not extend even over the whole of the countries of Palestine and Syria, which had been among the original conquests of the first Crusaders. While, on the one hand, the relations between the *principalities* of *Antioch*, *Tripolis*, *Tiberias*, and *Edessa*, and the kingdom of Jerusalem, were far from being close or satisfactory; on the other, the efforts of the Latins against the common enemy were paralysed by the internal divisions of the Christian sects, which the Crusaders had met in Asia. The capture of *Ascalon*, in 1153, under Baldwin III., was the most important conquest since the first crusade. This city was regarded by many as indispensably necessary to the defence of Jerusalem from the side of Egypt, but the victory was not followed up with the necessary energy to produce any permanent and solid results. Everything seemed to favour the Mohammedans, who were daily growing more bold and aggressive, and to hasten the fall of Jerusalem, which the gallant Templars and the Knights of St. John laboured in vain to avert. *Saladin*, who was already master of Syria and Egypt, was resolved that the Crescent should displace the Cross on the mosque of Omar. Fifty thousand horsemen and a vast army on foot gathered about his standard. He encountered and defeated the

¹ She was a professed nun, but obtained a Papal dispensation to get married. See *Platina's Life of Celestine III.*; cf. *Billuart*, Dissert. IV., de Voto, art. IX.: "Utrum in votis solemnibus Eccl. s. summus pont. possit dispensare," obj. 4, Paris ed., 1857, Vol. VII., p. 298. (Tr.)

² Cf. *Döllinger*, Ch. H., Vol. IV., p. 22. (Tr.)

³ i. e., "Splendour of justice," or "religion." (Tr.)

Christians at Tiberias (A. D. 1187); entered Berytus, Acre, Cæsarea, and Jaffa as a conqueror; pursued his way to Ascalon, which accepted terms of peace, and laid siege to Jerusalem, which, after holding out fourteen days, came to terms, and capitulated.

When the news of the fall of Jerusalem reached the West, Europe was stirred to its depths, and the fiery enthusiasm which but a few short years before had seized upon the people, and thronged every road leading to the East with crusaders, broke out afresh, and for the moment absorbed every other interest, and united all parties in the one great scheme of rescuing the Holy City. The Pope and the Emperor were the first to set the example. The appeals of Gregory VIII., and his successor, *Clement III.*, calling for a new crusade,¹ met with a hearty response from every quarter. "Feud and strife," it was said, "must now cease among Christians." The days of Peter the Hermit seemed to have returned. Again every tongue repeated, "It is the will of God; it is the will of God." Whole populations demanded the Cross, and those who were unable to take the field, paid the tax, called the *Saladin tithe*. Even *Frederic*,² though far advanced in years, seemed to forget his age and infirmities amid the glow of generous and holy enthusiasm, and, placing himself at the head of a well-disciplined and formidable army, advanced, by way of Ratisbon, through Hungary, and, entering the empire of the Greeks, chastised and humbled their perfidious emperor. But, unfortunately, the leader, who promised so much, was soon to pass away. *Frederic* was drowned, June 10, 1190—according to some, while crossing; according to others, while bathing—in the river Calycadnus, or Saleph, in Cilicia. *Frederic*, Duke of Suabia, his son, upon whom the command of the army now devolved, was carried away by pestilence, together with nearly all his followers, at the Siege of Acre, or Ptolemais.

Richard Cœur de Leon, King of England, and *Philip Augustus*, King of France, had gone by sea to Palestine, during the summer of 1190.³ Owing to the jealousies and the quarrels of the leaders, the combined forces of the Christians were able to effect no more than the *reduction of Acre* (July 13, 1191). *Philip* returned to France immediately after the capture of the city; and the English king was also shortly obliged to quit Palestine, but not, however, until he had concluded with *Saladin* an armistice (A. D. 1192) of three years, which secured to the Christians, besides Antioch and Tripolis, the possession

¹ Ad omnes fideles de clade Hierosolymitana. *Mansi*, T. XXII., p. 527 sq. *Harduin*, T. VI., Pt. II., p. 1889 sq.

² *Tageno* (Decan. eccl. Patav., who was engaged in the Second Crusade), *Descript. expedit. Asiatic. Friderici* (*Freher-Struwe*, T. I., p. 405). *Ansberti*, *Hist. de expedit. Frider.*, ed. Dobrowsky, Prag., 1827. *Rietzler*, *The Crusade of Frederic I.* 1870.

³ *Galfridi de Vino Salvo* († after 1245), *Itinerarium Richard. in terram sanctam*. (*Bongars.*, T. I., and *Gale*, *Scriptt. hist. Angl.*, T. II.) *Rigordius Gothus*, *De Gest. Phil. Aug.* (*Du Chesne*, T. V.; *Bouquet*, T. XVII.) Cf. *Schlosser-Kriegk*, *Univ. Hist.*, Vol. VII., p. 81 sq. *Raumer*, Vol. II., p. 319 sq.

of the tract of country lying between Tyre and Jaffa, and obtained for pilgrims the right of entering Jerusalem untaxed and unmolested.

On his way home, Richard was made prisoner by Leopold, Duke of Austria,¹ who delivered him into the hands of *Henry VI.* of Germany. The Pope endeavoured in vain to secure the freedom of the gallant crusader, which was obtained only after the payment of a heavy ransom.²

In 1189, when Henry VI. was on his way to Italy to take possession of the two Sicilies, which became the heritage of his wife Constance, on the death of her uncle, William II., he received the tidings of his father's death. The Sicilians, dreading the rule of a stranger, chose as their king Tancred, Count of Lecce, the natural son of Roger the Elder, who at once received investiture from Pope *Clement III.* He died in 1194, and the two Sicilies submitted to Henry. The whole policy of this cruel and vindictive king, now in the full vigour of manhood and at the height of his power, seemed to augur ill for the peace of the octogenarian and pacific pontiff, Celestine (A. D. 1191-1198).

The assassination of the Bishop of Liège, and Henry's shameless sale of that bishopric; his disgraceful veniality in the case of Richard Cœur de Leon; his prohibition of the clergy and laity of Italy to carry appeals to Rome, and other deeds equally tyrannous and cruel,³ foreboded a season of unusual danger and trial, when events, beyond human foresight and control, changed the whole aspect of affairs. Henry had scarcely secured the succession of the Germanic crown to his son *Frederic II.*, then only three years of age, but as yet unbaptized, when, in the midst of preparations for a new crusade, he died suddenly, at Messina (A. D. 1197).

Just at this time, one of the greatest men that ever sat upon the papal throne was elected Pope.

§ 221. *Innocent III.—His Relations to the Princes of Europe.*

Innoc. III., Epp., libb. XIX., ed. Baluz., Par., 2 T., f. (lib. 1, 2, 5, 10-16), in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 214-217. *Breigny et de la Porte du Theil*, Diplomata, chartæ, epp. et alia docum. ad res. Franc. spectantia, Par., 1791, 2 T. (lib. 3 and 5-10.) *Registrum Innoc. III.* super negotia Rom. Imp. (Baluz., T. I., p. 687.) *Gesta Innoc. III.*, by a contempo-

¹ As the haughty bearing of Richard had caused the hasty return of Philip Augustus after the fall of Acre, so also had it given a most unpardonable affront to Leopold on the same occasion. Leopold had been in the very thick of the fight, and so desperately did the battle rage about him, that, when it was over, he found his coat of mail completely covered with blood, except where protected by a girdle encircling his loins. Hence, the Austrian escutcheon bears the proud arms of a red ground and white fesse. Leopold naturally enough thought he had a right to place the standard of Austria on the battlements of the captured city, which, when Richard beheld it, he ordered to be torn down, and dragged in the mire, and refused to give any satisfaction for the affront. It was now Leopold's turn to dictate. *Tschischka*, Hist. of Vienna, p. 71. (Tr.)

² *Baron.*, Ad an. 1193, nro. 2 sq. *Matthæus Paris.*, Ad an. 1195. See *Schmidt*, Hist. of the Germans, Pt. II., p. 604 sq.

³ *Jäger*, Hist. of Emperor Henry VI.—*Raumer*, Vol. II. *Hefele*, V., 673.

rary (ibid. and Brequigny, T. I.) Richardi de St. Germano, Reg. Sicil. notarii, chron from 1189-1243 (Muratori, T. VII.)

*Hurter, History of Pope Innocent III. and his Contemporaries, Hamburg, 1834-42, 4 vols.: French transl., by Saint-Cheron., Paris, 1838, 3 vols.; same work, transl. by Abbé Jager and Théod. Vial., Paris, Vaton Gaume, 1838-40, 2 vols. in 8vo.—Gregorovius, Hist. of the City of Rome during the Middle Ages, Vol. V. Von Reumont, Hist. of Rome, Vol. II., p. 466 sq. Stolberg-Brischar, Vol. 50. *Hefele, Hist. of Councils, V. 697-810.

Innocent was sprung from the illustrious Italian family of the Conti, and had diligently cultivated his eminent gifts and talents, by the study of theology and law, at the schools of Paris, Rome, and Bologna.

He had been created cardinal-deacon, in 1190, by his uncle Clement III., and intrusted with the management of most important affairs; but when Celestine became Pope, he was deprived of these dignities, probably on account of some family feud, and in his retirement composed an ascetical and a liturgical work of merit, which are still much esteemed. These are entitled, respectively, "*On the Contempt of the World*" (*De Contemptu Mundi*) and "*On the Sacrifice of the Mass*" (*De Sacrificio Missæ*). His title as cardinal was Lothario of Anagni, and at the time of his election (A. D. 1198) he was only thirty-seven years of age. His extreme youth caused the German poet, Walter von der Vogelweide, to cry out, "Woe to us! we have a stripling for a Pope. O Lord! have mercy on Christendom."¹

His first thoughts were directed to *the reformation of the papal court; the restoration of the Pope's temporal power; the deliverance of Italy from the rule of the stranger; the separation of the Two Sicilies from Germany, which he regarded as an essential condition to the independence of the Church; and to making the influence of the Head of the Church, whose authority, as he said, is related to that of princes as the sun to the moon, felt throughout the length and breadth of Christendom.*² "The papacy," said he, writing to Otho, "has a pre-eminence over royalty. The authority of the latter is exercised on earth and over the bodies of men; that of the former in Heaven, and affects their souls. Kings rule over particular countries, provinces, and lords; but Peter is superior to them all in power, and enjoys the fulness of authority, inasmuch as he is the Vicar of Him who has the supreme dominion of the world." No one, however, appreciated more keenly or fully than Innocent the blessings of a sincere

¹ "O we der babst ist ze junc, hilf Herre diner Kristenheit." P. 9, in Lachman's ed., V. 35. (Tr.)

² This idea, which had already been expressed by Gregory VII. (lib. VII., ep. 25 ad Gulielmum regem Angliæ, A. D. 1085), was still more emphatically reaffirmed by Innocent (lib. I., ep. 401 ad Acervum). Cf. supra, p. 423, note 1. Although Innocent spoke energetically in this instance, he was nevertheless careful never to overstep the limits of his authority. Relative to his office of mediator between the French and English kings, he spoke as follows, following the teaching laid down in Matt. xviii. 15-17, Ad prælatos Franciæ (Decretalium Greg. IX., lib. II., tit. I., c. 13): "Non enim intendimus judicare de feudo—sed decernere de peccato, cujus ad nos pertinet sine dubitatione censura, quam in quemlibet exercere possumus et debemus," etc. Then he appeals to Emperor Valentinian.

and enduring union between Church and State. "For," said he, "through this union is the faith propagated, heresy extirpated, virtue made to flourish, vices rooted out, justice preserved, iniquity held in check, peace secured, persecution abolished, and pagan barbarity subdued. It insures the prosperity of the Empire and the liberty of the Church, is an earnest of bodily security and the salvation of the soul, and guarantees the rights of the clergy and those of the State.

At the opening of his reign, Innocent restored the papal supremacy in Rome, by obliging the imperial prefect, upon whom he himself conferred investiture, to take the oath of fidelity. He also re-established the office of senator; took the Lombard league under his protection; concluded an alliance with the Tuscan cities, which he formed into a league subordinated to papal authority, and thus provided at once for their own freedom, and the defence of the Church against the aggressions of the Emperor. In this way, he regained the possessions which had been wrested from the Church by Henry VI.

Constance, before her death, which occurred November 27, A. D. 1198, shortly after that of her husband Henry VI., sent an embassy to the Pope, and obtained from him the feudal grant of Sicily, Apulia, and Capua, for her young son Frederic II. Innocent, who had learned from the history of his predecessors the evil effect of permitting the kings of Sicily to enjoy extensive ecclesiastical power, wisely insisted, as a condition of this grant, on a surrender of the privileges wrung from Hadrian IV. These were the prerogatives of what was styled the *Sicilian Monarchy*, and were numerous and important, embracing legatine powers, the right of the king to appoint to bishoprics, to receive appeals, and to grant or refuse, at his pleasure, permission to bishops to attend councils. The high regard entertained for the Pope by Constance, and the great confidence she reposed in him, induced her, when dying, to make him guardian of her young son, and to place the regency of Sicily in his hands. The ability displayed by Innocent in the administration of the government of Sicily during the minority of Frederic, and the pains he was at to give the young prince an education suited to his high destiny, fully justified the trust placed in him by Constance.¹

Frederic II. had been recognised as emperor while yet a child, and even before he was baptized; but to govern Germany at that time required a man possessed of energy and ability. Moreover, both the Pope and the German nobles were averse to see so many crowns united on the one head, and a new election was in consequence determined upon. This gave occasion to the revival of the fierce hereditary feuds of the Guelfs and Ghibellines,² as each party was desirous to secure

¹ Cf. *Döllinger*, Ch. Hist. (Cox's transl.), Vol. IV., p. 27. (Tr.)

² The names Welfs (Guelfs) and Waiblingers (Ghibellines) were used for the first time at the battle of Weinsberg, in Suabia (A. D. 1140). The knights on either side, dashing forward to the attack, cried out: "*Strike for the Welfs!*" "*Strike for the Waiblingers!*" These battle-cries were appropriated and retained for centuries in Italy by the papal and the imperial parties—Guelfs being the designation of the party representing the Pope and the free cities, and Ghibellines that of the Emperor. (Tr.)

the success of its own candidate. The Guelfs elected *Otho IV.*, son of Henry the Lion, and the Ghibellines *Philip of Suabia*, the uncle of young Frederic. Otho was crowned, in 1198, at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the Archbishop of Cologne, and declared emperor, in 1201, by Pope Innocent. But the party of Philip was daily on the increase, and in 1207 his authority was so generally recognised throughout Germany, that Innocent, out of regard for the popular wish, thought of reversing his former judgment, and had in fact made preparations to do so, when, in 1208, Philip was murdered by the count-palatine, Otho of Wittlesbach, to whom he had given personal affront. The Pope and all Germany expressed the utmost indignation at the foul deed.

Otho, being now without a rival, married Beatrice, the daughter of Philip, and was crowned emperor, at Rome, in 1209. Before receiving the crown, he promised to grant freedom of ecclesiastical elections, to recognize the right of appeal to Rome, and to secure the Roman Church in all her possessions. But the crown was barely settled on his head, when he laid claim to all sorts of fictitious rights in Italy, and set at defiance a threat of excommunication with which the Pope menaced him, and which he was finally obliged to carry into effect (A. D. 1211).

At a diet of princes, held in Nuremberg, Otho was said to have forfeited the throne, and Innocent now declared in favour of young Frederic II. (A. D. 1212), requiring the usual conditions, however—viz., that he should resign the crown of Sicily as soon after obtaining the imperial crown as a son should be born to him, and that he should organise a crusade before the expiration of three years. He was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1215.

When the ban of the Church fell upon Otho IV., he was deserted by his former adherents, and his authority and possessions were restricted to his hereditary duchy of Brunswick.

The authority of Innocent was at this time respected in every other country of Europe, as well as Germany. He laid *France* under interdict; suspending the administration of the sacraments, except extreme unction, baptism of children, and the confession of those in danger of death, and thus forced Philip Augustus to take back Ingelberga (Ingeburgis), his lawful wife and queen, whom he had repudiated.

In Spain, he compelled *Alphonso IX.*, King of Leon, to break off the marriage he had contracted with his niece, and summoned *Peter II. of Aragon* to Rome, to whom he gave the crown, only after the payment of annual tribute had been promised.

He made *Sancho I.*, King of Portugal, who had neglected to pay the annual tribute, promised by his father Alphonso to Pope Lucius II., and who had ill-treated the Bishop of Porto, place his kingdom under the protection of the Holy See.

In *Poland*, he defended the claims of Leszek the White against Ladislaus Laskonogi, citing, in defence of his position, the law of succession promulgated by Duke Boleslaus III. (*Krzywousty*). He also

did much to regenerate the clergy, many of whom were living as married men, and to sustain the efforts of the severe and good archbishop, *Henry of Gnesen*, in the same direction. This holy man, having incurred the displeasure of *Ladislaus*, who was constantly trenching upon ecclesiastical rights, fled to Rome, where he was kindly received by the Pope, who having threatened the duke with excommunication, appointed the archbishop papal legate, and sent him back again to his own country.¹

In *Hungary*, he acted as arbitrator between the two brothers *Emmeric* and *Andrew*, whose difficulties he adjusted. He received the submission of *Vulcan*, prince of *Dalmatia*; and both the prince of the Bulgarians and Wallachians, and *Primislas*, Duke of *Bohemia*, received their crowns at his hands.

In *Norway*, where *Philip*, a representative of the ancient royal line, and *Inge* were contending for the crown, being appealed to by the latter to give judgment between him and his rival, *Innocent* suspended his decision until he could receive fuller information, for which he applied to the Archbishop of *Drontheim*.

In *England*, King *John* desired to raise money to prosecute a French war, for the recovery of his lost dominions. He had assembled an army at *Portsmouth*, in the summer of 1205; but his plans were suddenly frustrated by the resolute opposition of the Primate and Earl *Mareschal*. The death of the primate, *Hubert Walter*, a few days later, seemed to open to King *John* a way out of the difficulty. He determined to place in the see of *Canterbury*, *John de Gray*, Bishop of *Norwich*, a man entirely devoted to his interests, and accordingly ordered the monks to elect him, and had him enthroned in his presence. But as the junior part of the monks of *Christ Church* had already elected *Reginald*, their sub-prior, archbishop, there were now two claimants to the see. Both sent embassies to Rome to plead their respective causes before *Innocent III.*, by whom the respective claims of both were set aside. This decision had been foreseen; and as King *John* desired by all means to have the Bishop of *Norwich* elevated to the primatial see of *Canterbury*, he had taken the precaution to send a messenger with an offer to the Pope of three thousand marks, if he would yield to the royal wish. *Innocent* indignantly rejected the bribe, and refused to change what he had done. He ordered the canons of both parties, then in Rome, to proceed at once to an election, and recommended to their choice *Stephen Langton*, an Englishman of eminence, then residing in the city, who had taught, with applause, in the schools of *Paris*, and been successively made chancellor of the University and cardinal of the

¹ Cf. *Hurter*, L. c., Vol. II., p. 136-142. For the History of the Church in Poland during this epoch is important: *Starovolscii*, *Historia conciliorum tam generalium quam provincialium præcipuorum in Polonia*, lib. XXVI., Romæ, 1653. The council, held in 1181, under *Alexander III.*, is here given as the first of Poland. *Mansi's* account is taken from the same source. *Mansi*, T. XXII., p. 581. *Conc. Lanciciense*, A. D. 1188, and further on, p. 589. *Conc. Cracoviense*, A. D. 1199.

Church. The monks gave him their suffrages, and, after waiting a decent length of time, but to no purpose, for the royal approbation, the Pope himself consecrated the new archbishop at Viterbo, July 17th. The king obstinately refused to recognise Langton, and, in reply to the Pope's threats of interdict if the archbishop were longer excluded from his see, said that if the interdict were fulminated, he would banish the clergy, and mutilate every Italian he could seize in the realm. He would never allow Langton to set his foot in England as primate. But Innocent was not a man to be deterred when duty was in question, and in 1208 he issued the interdict. The Pope allowed two years more to elapse before formally cutting John off from the communion of the Church; but the king met the sentence as defiantly as of old. His pretensions to superiority over the king of the Scots, and his triumphs in Ireland, shed a temporary lustre about his waning cause.

John, notwithstanding his defiant attitude, grew uneasy. He knew the practical effect of excommunication was to release his subjects from their oaths of fealty, and that if his deposition were proposed, his old enemy, Philip Augustus of France, would be only too glad to have an opportunity of carrying it into effect. In 1212, Innocent formally absolved John's subjects from their oaths, and called upon Christian princes and barons to depose him, and elect another in his stead. John made ample and vigorous preparations to repel the invaders. "He might," says the historian, "have defied all the powers of Europe with his powerful army had his men been animated with love for their sovereign;" but throughout the whole of his reign he had done everything to irritate, and little to conciliate, his subjects. His arrogance, his tyranny, and his insolence had alienated the hearts of all, and it was this fear of danger and disaffection at home, more than any demonstrations on the other side of the channel, that brought him to terms with the Pope. While John was under the influence of these fears, he was visited by Pandulf, the confidential agent of the Pope, and was by him persuaded to put his signature to an instrument which but a short time before he had indignantly rejected. By this he agreed to admit the Archbishop of Canterbury to his see, to recall all exiles, and to liberate all prisoners on whom sentence had been passed by reason of their adherence to the Pope, and to fully compensate the clergy for their losses. Nor was this all. He solemnly resigned his crown and his realms into the hands of the papal legate; received them back again, to be held by fealty and homage as a vassal of the Pope, and agreed to pay to the Holy See an annual rental of one thousand marks. This transaction has covered the memory of John with disgrace, and attached to his name the most opprobrious epithets, and among them that of *Lackland*. The act can certainly not be commended; but when it is considered, on the one hand, that John was solicitous for his crown, and, on the other, that the barons consented to it from a wish to humble the king's insolence and pride, we shall understand that he

was not so much to blame, and that they had made a profitable conquest. From this time forward they stubbornly insisted on their rights and liberties. The Roman Pontiff, who had all along supported the cause of the Primate and the barons, now threw the weight of his influence in favour of the king. The interdict was removed in December, 1213.

The battle of *Bouvines*, between Lille and Tournay, fought July 27, 1214, was fatal to the prospects of John, and flattering to the vanity of Philip. John returned humiliated, from an inglorious contest in France, to one still more inglorious in England. Seeing that the barons were all leagued against him, he sought to conciliate the good-will of the clergy by granting freedom of canonical election (February 2, 1215), and taking the cross.

The contest between the king and the barons for the liberties of England, as is generally supposed, was now fairly opened. Both parties appealed to the Pope as their feudal superior. Innocent, in his reply, counselled moderation. The barons persisted in their demands. The king proposed to settle matters by arbitration; his proposal was rejected. Their leader was Stephen Langton the Primate, whom Innocent had appointed to the see of Canterbury. "From the moment he landed in England," says Mr. Greene, "he assumed the constitutional position of the Primate as champion of the old English customs and law against the personal despotism of the kings." The barons, under the lead of Fitz-Walter, formed themselves into an organisation, which they called "the army of God and of Holy Church," levied war against the king, took Bedford, and surprised London. On the 15th of July, a meeting took place on an island of the Thames, between Staines and Windsor, between the delegates of the king and those of the barons. The latter, acting under counsel of the primate, Stephen Langton, extorted the *Great Charter* (*Magna Charta Libertatum*) from King John, which was "discussed, agreed to, and signed in a single day."¹ The charter was far from being an entirely new instrument; it did no more than correct the feudal abuses introduced by the Normans, and secure the ancient liberties of the people. It restored to the *clergy* the full exercise of their liberties—freedom of election, exemption from secular jurisdiction, and the right of appeal to the Holy See in all ecclesiastical matters. But for all this, Innocent annulled the Great Charter, because the barons, in wresting it from the king, had violated their oaths of fealty and his right of suzerainty. He commanded them to yield obedience to their king, promised to redress their grievances and their wrongs, and held a menace of excommunication over such as would not submit.

Finally, even *Constantinople* recognised, or was forced to feel, the weight of Innocent's authority. But here it was rather detrimental

¹ Cf. *Lingard*, Hist. of Eng., Vol. III., pp. 14-50, London and New York, 1848; also *J. R. Greene*, Short Hist. of the Eng. People, pp. 118-127, London, 1875. The text of the charter is given in *Cantab. Univ. Hist.*, Vol. VII., pp. 587-604. (Tr.)

than favourable to the project, always dear to his heart, of liberating the holy places.¹ The crusade which the great preacher, *Fulco, Curate of Neuilly*, had set on foot, was diverted from its legitimate aim by the dishonourable conduct of *Henry Dandolo*, Doge of Venice. This shrewd old man, already white with the honourable crown of age, physically blind, but gifted with a marvellous clearness of mental vision, learning that the crusaders were unable to pay for the outfit of a fleet and their transportation, and, taking advantage of their embarrassments, prevailed upon them, in spite of the menaces of the Pope, to undertake the conquest of the city of Zara, in Dalmatia, which, being constantly in rebellion, was a source of no little solicitude to Venice. These crusaders also allowed themselves to be drawn by the fugitive emperor, *Alexius*, into the court-quarrels of the Greek Empire. After encountering innumerable difficulties, they entered Constantinople, April 12, 1203, and founded the Latin Empire, with *Baldwin*, Count of Flanders, as its first emperor. It lasted from 1203 to 1261.² Innocent complained that the crusaders, instead of directing their efforts against the infidel, spent their energies in dethroning Christian princes. He pronounced sentence of excommunication against them, but withdrew it again, and granted them absolution, in consideration of the exceptional difficulties of their position, and in the hope of deriving profit to the Church from his moderation. He was invited to come to Constantinople, but declined.

Such was the energy, the activity, and the influence of Innocent, that he was always prepared to come to the relief of the oppressed, and was always present, when needed, in any quarter of Christendom, either personally or by his legates. But, in the midst of affairs so numerous and distracting, Innocent never lost sight of the one great object he had in view. He convoked the Fourth Lateran, or

TWELFTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL (A. D. 1215).

This was beyond all comparison the most imposing council yet held in the Church. Both East and West were represented. There were present seventy-one primates and archbishops, four hundred and twelve bishops, and eight hundred priors and abbots. The patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch sent their representatives, and those of Jerusalem and Constantinople came in person. There was a host of deputies from collegiate churches and chapters, and ambassadors representing, besides the emperors of Germany and Con-

¹ *Hefele*, *The Crusade under Innocent III.* (Supplements to *Ch. H.*, Vol. I., p. 316 sq.)

² Cf. *Balduini ep. ad Ottonem imp.*, in *Arnoldi*, *Chronic. Slav.*, lib. VI., c. 19, and *Balduini ep. ad omnes fideles*, in *Arnold*, *L. c.*, cap. 20, in another sense, ad *Innoc.* (*Innoc.*, lib. VII., epist. 152, and in *Raynaldi*, *Annal. ad a.* 1204, nr. 6-18.) *Geoffroy de Ville-Hardouin*, *De la Conquete de Constantinople*, from the year 1198-1207 (*l'histoire de l'empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs Franc.*, par. *C. du Fresne*, Ven., 1729, f.) publiée par *Natalis De Wailly*, Par., 1872. *Nicetas Acominatus*, *Hist.* by *Joan. Comnen.* *Imperat.* to *Bald. Flander.*, 1117-1206, ed. *Fabroti*, Paris, 1647, f. Cf. *Damberger*, Vol. IX., pp. 489-513. *Schlosser-Kriegk*, *Univ. Hist.*, Vol. VII., p. 169 sq. *Raumer*, Vol. XII., pp. 198-236.

³ The Acts in *Mansi*, T. XXII., pp. 953 sq. *Harduin*, T. VII., pp. 1-86. *Hurter*, Vol. II., p. 633 sq. *Hefele*, *Hist. of Councils*, Vol. V., p. 777 sq.

Constantinople, every prince in Christendom. It would seem that all the culture, the science, and the learning of the civilized world had their representatives assembled there, under the presidency of the ablest and the wisest of Roman Pontiffs.

The council held *three* sessions, in which the chief subject of discussion was the project of organising a new crusade. The Pope, when informed of the singular phenomenon, known as the *Children's Crusade*, cried out, with a groan: "These children put us to shame; while we are buried in sleep, they are courageously flying to the defence of the Holy Land."¹ To insure the success of the new crusade, it was enacted that the *Peace of God* should be kept among Christian princes for an interval of five years, and bishops were instructed to reconcile contending parties. A project of *union* with the *Greek Church* was submitted and discussed;² the *purity and integrity* of the faith were provided for; and the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, which Berengarius had attacked, was accurately defined. In the exposition of the doctrine, as given by the council, we find the word *transubstantiation* (*transsubstantiatio*)³ used for the first time. The dangerous errors propagated by the abbot *Joachim*, by *Amalric* of Bena, and by the *Albigenses*, and others equally detestable, if not so well known, were condemned. The council put an end to the contest for the German crown, by deciding in favour of Frederic. Finally, it enacted seventy canons concerning clerical life and ecclesiastical discipline, which unfortunately were not generally observed.

By the *third* canon of this council, all heretics cut off from the communion of the Church were made amenable to civil tribunals, and liable to the punishment prescribed by state for the guilt of heresy; but if ecclesiastics, they must be first degraded from their orders.

By the *fifth*, the order of precedence was assigned to the various patriarchates. After Rome came Constantinople, next Alexandria, next Antioch, and finally Jerusalem. It was further enacted that the patriarch should have attached to his pallium the right of erecting crosses in monasteries, thus subjecting them to his jurisdiction, and of receiving appeals.

By the *sixth*, it was prescribed that provincial councils should be held yearly.

The *twenty-first* condemned those sectaries who contemned the *Sacraments of the Church*, and commanded, under penalty of being cut off from the fellowship of the Church, the faithful of both sexes to receive the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist at least once in the year, and the latter sacrament at Easter.⁴

The numerous labours of Innocent called for so much of his time and attention, that he frequently complained of being unable, from press of business, to give himself up to the consideration of heavenly things. But for all this, he did not neglect the spiritual affairs of his office. He preached frequently to both the clergy and the laity—

¹ Cf. *Hurter*, Vol. II., p. 452 sq. *Bonn Periodical*, n. 22, pp. 209-215.

² The Greeks accepted the formula: "Pater a nullo, Filius autem a solo Patre et Spiritus St. ab utroque pariter absque initio semper ac sine fine."

³ Una vera est fidelium universalis ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur. In qua idem ipse sacerdos et sacrificium Jesus Christus, cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur; *transsubstantiatis* pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem, potestate Divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo, quod accepit ipse de nostro (*Mansi*, T. XXII., p. 981; *Harduin*, T. VII., p. 17); concerning Joachim and Amalric, *ibidem*. c. II.

⁴ Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem *semel in anno* proprio sacerdoti, et injunctam sibi pœnitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha eucharisticæ sacramentum. (Can. XXI.) "Nam in prima Ecclesia," says *Peter of Blois*, a writer who flourished between A. D. 1160 and 1200, "quotquot intererant consecrationi Eucharisticæ, communicabant eidem: postquam autem crevit numerus fidelium, nec omnes accedere ad Eucharistiam visum est, statutum est, ut saltem diebus dominicis fideles communicarent. Cum vero palæ succrescentes coeperunt cooperire granum, et multorum refriguit charitas, decretum est, ut saltem per *tres* solemnitates in anno fideles communicarent in Paschate, Pentecoste, et Natali: Nunc autem quia dies mali sunt, et omnes fere declinaverunt, non audeo dicere, ex præcepto Ecclesiæ, sed ex tacita permissione introductum est, ut *semel* in anno congregentur in Ecclesia ad communicandum; quod præterire fas non est." (*Palma*, II. e., Vol. II., p. 333; for the canons, pp. 317-333.) (Tr.)

to the former, usually in Latin, and to the latter, in the vulgar tongue. His sermons are not unlike those of Leo the Great, rich in imagery and allegory, and abounding in mystical allusions and startling antitheses. The language, which is admirably suited to the depth and earnest thought of the orator, is graceful, grave, and energetic throughout. The earnestness of his religious feeling, and the contemplative character of his mind, are fully attested by the little work, "*On Contempt of the World*,"¹ written by him while he was yet a cardinal.

Innocent III. united in himself the three qualities which his illustrious predecessor, Alexander III., required in a pope—viz., zeal in preaching, capacity for ecclesiastical government, and prudence in the care of souls. He was benevolent and charitable towards the poor and the widow; generous towards the crusaders, and displayed the most disinterested devotion in reconciling peoples and cities, and calling upon them, in the name of the Lord, to put aside their feuds and live in peace. He was, in fact, on his way to make peace between the cities of Pisa and Genoa, when he died (July 16, A. D. 1216).

If Innocent, like Gregory VII. and Alexander III., to whom he was eminently superior in capacity for business, and in knowledge of law and theology, had had an occasion to display his talents in difficult and trying circumstances, he would unquestionably have proved himself the greatest Pope that sat on the Papal throne from the days of St. Peter to his own. And as it was, no pope ever gained for the Holy See a greater measure of influence and authority. Neither is it likely that any pope has had a deeper sense of the responsibilities, or a more exalted idea of the office of the papacy; nor has any other pope ever shown so deep an insight into human affairs, or an equal grasp of the manifold and varied relations of the world, of human thought, passion, and prejudice. One of his latest biographers, the impartial *Hurter*, in the following picture, gives some idea of the light in which this great Pontiff viewed the office of the papacy and his own mission: "In his eyes," says this writer, "the papacy was the only power competent to check the insolence of brute force, and the violation of laws, human and divine. It was a power higher and holier than any political or civil tribunal; a power gentle in instructing and kind in admonition, standing forth against the great of the earth, defending the weak and the oppressed from the violence of the tyrannous and the strong, and protesting against reducing a freeman to the condition of servitude; a power compelling princes to permit widows and orphans to carry their causes before free and impartial ecclesiastical courts; treating with kings as a father might with his children, now praying, now warning, now menacing, and now counseling them to consider the responsibility and the dignity of their office; a power whose greatest glory consists in being the defender of the oppressed; which watches over the morals of the wealthy, reminding them that their pride must not lead them to fancy themselves above

¹ *De Contemptu Mundi & de Miseria Conditionis Humanæ*, lib. III., ed. *Achterfeld*, Bonnæ, 1856.

all law and authority; which shields the weak and unfortunate against the cupidity of the great and the powerful, and the people against the aggressions of arbitrary and despotic princes, which civilizes nations, and, in the assurance of eternal salvation, brings comfort to the heart of man; a power, in fine, which, by its very nature and character, authorises those who wield it to say truthfully that they have but one weight and one measure for all, and to carry themselves towards those upon whom society has put its brand as towards all other Christians.”¹

§ 222. *Honorius III.* (A. D. 1216-1227)—*Gregory IX.* (A. D. 1227-1241)—*Innocent IV.* (A. D. 1243-1254)—*Alexander IV.* (A. D. 1254-1261)—*Urban IV.* (A. D. 1261-1264)—*Clement IV.* (A. D. 1265-1268), and the *Hohenstaufens*, *Frederic II.*, *Conrad IV.*, and *Conradin*.

I. *Petri de Vincis* (cancellar. Frid. II. †1249) Epp., lib. VI., ed. *Iselon.*, Basil, 1740, 2 T. *Regesta Honor. III. et Greg. IX.* in *Raynald. Riccardi*, De S. German Chronic. 1189-1242 (*Muratori*, T. VII.), continued by *Nicol de Jamsilla*, Hist. de Reb. gestis Frider. II. ejusque filiorum *Conradi et Manfredi* to 1258 (*ibid.*, T. VIII.) *Pipini et Monachi Paduens.*, Chron. (*ibid.*, T. VIII. et IX.) **Historia diplomatica Friderici II.*, collegit et notis illustravit, *Huillard-Bréholles*, Par., 1853, etc., in several volumes.

II. *Schwarzacher*, De Celebri inter sacerdotium et imper. schismate temp. Frid. II. diss. hist., Salisb. 1771. *Raumer*, Hist. of the *Hohenstaufens*, Vol. III., p. 311 sq. and Vol. IV. *W. Zimmermann*, the *Hohenstaufens*, Pt. II. *Höfler*, the *Hohenstaufen*, *Frederic II.*, Munich, 1844. *Damberger*, Vol. X. *Schirrmacher*, Emperor *Frederic II.*, Götting. 1859-1865, 4 vols. *Leo*, Lectures on the Hist. of the German Nation, Vol. III.

Frederic II. was far from realising the high hopes *Innocent* had entertained of his ward, or from making good, by any corresponding acts of gratitude, his words, when he solemnly declared that “he owed whatever he possessed to the *Holy Sec.*” When fairly seated upon the imperial throne, he inaugurated the favourite policy of his predecessors, by seeking to raise the omnipotence of state power and absolutism upon the ruins of ecclesiastical rights and municipal liberties. But he could not at once accomplish his purpose. On his way to Rome, in 1220, to receive the imperial crown, he found the gates of Milan closed against him; and when he had arrived at the Eternal City, he was refused coronation until he had sworn to abolish all laws prejudicial to the liberties of the Church; to cede Sicily to his son Henry, to be held as a fief of the Holy See, and not of the Empire; to restore the inheritance of Mathilda, and to undertake a new crusade. He was crowned in St. Peter’s church, November 22, 1220, and, visiting Sicily shortly after, deposed some bishops and conferred investiture upon others, thus again reviving the old quarrel between the Empire and the Papacy.

In the meantime, information reached Europe that *Saladin* had taken *Damietta* (September 8, 1221), the key to Egypt. *Honorius* complained that the Christians had sustained this loss because of the tardiness of *Frederic*, who had culpably put off the promised crusade.

¹ *Hurter*, Pope *Innocent III.*, Vol. III., pp. 74, 75; cf. also p. 69.

The latter gave excuses, and at a meeting between himself and the Pope, at Veroli, in April, 1222, agreed to depart with an army, for the recovery of the Holy Land, within the coming two years. They next met at Ferentino, in March, 1223, where it was agreed that the departure of the expedition should be deferred two years more, and that Frederic, now a widower, should marry *Iolanthe*, daughter of John of Brienne, titular King of Jerusalem—a circumstance which it was thought would be a fresh inducement to the Emperor to save that kingdom.

It was, however, found impossible or inconvenient to make the necessary preparations within the specified time, and a new agreement was made at San Germano, in July, 1225, by which the Pope consented to the postponement of the departure of the army for two years longer. Frederic, on his part, promised to supply money, troops, and ships: and, in case of the non-fulfilment of these conditions within the appointed time, to submit to the threatened sentence of excommunication, and to allow himself and his kingdom to be dealt with as the Holy See should think just and right.¹ Honorius died before the expiration of this term (March 18, 1227).

His successor, *Gregory IX.*, the nephew of Innocent III., though far advanced in years, was full of life and energy, and his piety, his learning, and his eloquence had elicited the praises of the Emperor. Gregory pressed upon Frederic the importance of speedily carrying out his promise. The latter appointed Brindisi as the place of rendezvous, and, after many halts and delays, finally embarked his troops, and set sail, August 15, 1227. He had been scarcely three days out, when, feigning indisposition, he changed his course, and returned to the harbour of Otranto. Gregory pronounced sentence of excommunication upon him at *Anagni*, September 29, 1227.

Frederic now gave full vent to his long pent-up anger. In a circular letter, addressed to all the potentates of Europe, he complained in the most bitter terms of the Pope's conduct, and called upon them to unite with him in an effort to crush papal tyranny. He took every occasion to excite the Roman people and nobles against the Pope, and to gain them over to himself; broke treaties which he had entered into with the Holy See; and, finally, roused the Romans to insurrection, thus forcing the Pontiff to withdraw from the city, and retire to Perugia. For these acts of duplicity and violence, Gregory again excommunicated the Emperor, at Easter, 1228.

But Frederic, though at enmity with the Pope, never thought of relinquishing his vow. Without having obtained absolution from his censures, he got his forces together as rapidly as possible, at Brindisi, and set off on the *fifth*² *crusade*, August 11, 1228, publishing, at the same time, a circular letter to Christendom, complaining that his excommunication was undeserved, and that the Pope would listen to no terms.

¹ *Döllinger*, Ch. Hist., Vol. IV., p. 36. (Tr.)

² This usually given as the *Sixth*. (Tr.)

The Emperor landed at Ptolemais in September, but, to his surprise, found that papal envoys were in advance of him, with instructions from the Pope to the masters of the military orders to see that none of their followers served under his banners, and with authority to lay under interdict any place he might enter. He concluded a treaty with the Egyptian sultan *Kamel*, a transaction in which there was a strong suspicion of collusion between the Emperor and the Sultan, but by which the whole of Jerusalem, except the temple or mosque of Omar, was surrendered to the Christians, the towns of Jaffa, Betlehem, and Nazareth restored, and a truce of ten years granted. To all appearance, the kingdom of Jerusalem was re-established. Frederic entered the city, but the clergy fled at his approach, and religious exercises were suspended in the churches. Attended by a magnificent retinue, he entered the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and, there being no bishop who would perform the ceremony, took the crown from the high altar and placed it upon his head. Pompous accounts were forwarded to Europe, proclaiming his glorious achievements; while, in reality, the treaty forbade the rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, and the Egyptian sultan was boasting that he had surrendered to the Emperor only ruined churches and tottering walls, and that the truce was of doubtful stability, and might be broken any time, as the Christians of Palestine were protesting against it.

The Emperor, on his return, disembarked at Brindisi, and the Pope, at the instance of the Dominican *Qualo*, and the German bishops and princes, consented, after considerable hesitancy,¹ to sign the Peace of *San Germano*, August 28, 1230.² Frederic promised to give way in whatever had occasioned his censures; to restore the territory wrested from the Church; to recall and reinstate the exiled bishops; to leave unimpaired, in future, the rights of the Roman and the Sicilian churches; and, finally, to pay a certain indemnity. But he had no intention of making good these obligations; on the contrary, he was loyal to his old principles, and, in a letter addressed to Louis IX. of France, spoke as follows: "It has been my constant aim to reduce the hierarchy to the condition of the apostolic age, when men led apostolic lives. The priests of our own day have grown worldly. The abundance of their wealth chokes every religious sentiment; and hence, as it would be doing them a charitable service to strip them of this baneful wealth, all European princes should direct their efforts to that end." Consistently with these principles, he constantly advocated the policy of depriving the Pope of the States of the Church, and bishops of their fiefs held of the Empire. Re-

¹ *Gerold*, Patriarch of Jerusalem, has left a very unfavourable account of Frederic, in *Raynald.*, Ad an. 1229, nos. 3 sq., and, Ad universos Christi fideles, in *Matt. Paris.*, p. 359 sq. *Defele*, Vol. V., pp. 861-867, and *Tüb. Quart.*, 1863, n. 2.

² *Raynaldus*, Ad an. 1230, nos. 3 sq. Cf. *Raumer*, Vol. III., p. 458 sq. *Kestner*, *The Crusade of Frederic II.*, Göttingen, 1873. *Balan*, *Storia di Gregorio IX. e dei suoi tempi*, Modena, 1872 sq.

strained by no consideration of justice, and recognising no law but his own arbitrary will, he endeavoured to establish the despotic rule of a few petty princes in Italy, and shocked by his conduct the sentiments and opinions of his contemporaries. In the same spirit, he commissioned Peter of Vineis, his chancellor, to make a "*Collection of the Laws of Sicily*" (A. D. 1231), in which the influence of the Church, then so potent and extensive, is totally ignored; while, on the other hand, a legislative absolutism is claimed for the Emperor, of so wide a reach as to be startling, even for that age.

In the introduction, Frederic states, with a pompous array of words, that, as head of the *Romano-German* empire, he has a duty to protect and defend the rights of the Church, and to preserve the *public peace*. But it is noteworthy, that he nowhere mentions the Church as the source of the royal power. While referring everything to Christ, and professing to hold his power directly from Him, he entirely ignores His Church. According to Tit. 39, anyone doing violence to those in the Emperor's service shall receive a double punishment, *ut participatio*, the title goes on to explain, *concedens honoris et honoris inducatur*. The source of justice resides in the king; his authority is the sanction of every duty. All authority and power are subordinated to his, and derive their legality from it. Little or nothing is said of the relations of the temporal to the spiritual power, and the responsibility of the former to the latter is put quite out of sight. By Tit. 32, ecclesiastical suits at law are given a *precedence* before civil or other cases; but this is granted as a *concession*, and not as right. Frederic's assumption of imperial omnipotence, so much at variance with his earlier professions,¹ gave grave offence equally to clergy and people—to the former, because he claimed to be at once the source and sanction of all authority in the state, and to the latter, because he governed the state by his absolute will as he might run a machine. He also outraged the feelings of the whole people, by violently destroying institutions that had become endeared to them by national association and historical tradition, and substituting in their stead the arbitrary creations of his own will.²

The Emperor's policy will seem still more extraordinary when placed beside the teachings of the great Doctors of the Church—of St. Thomas, for instance, who so faithfully interprets the spirit of the age in which he lived. "When," says this profound Doctor,³

¹ *Frederic I.*, although a Hohenstaufen, admitted, in a letter written by him to the Greek emperor, Emmanuel, the right of the Roman Church to the two swords (*Goldast.*, Const. imperator. IV. 73); and, in his fierce letter to Pope Hadrian, speaks as follows: "Quod in passione sua (Luc. xii. 38) Christus duobus gladiis contentus fuit, hoc in Romana Ecclesia et in Imperio credimus mirabili providentia declarasse, cum per hæc duorum capita et principia totus mundus tam in divinis, quam in humanis ordinetur." (*Baron.*, Ad an. 1159, nro. 52.) *Frederic II.* said: "Gladius materialis constitutus est in subsidium gladii spiritualis." (*Constitut. Frid. II.* an. 1220, c. 7.) The *Saxon Mirror* (Code), which is by no means partial to the papacy in its tone, recognises the mutual relations of the temporal and spiritual powers to each other in the following words: "God has left upon earth two swords for the defence of Christendom—the one to the Pope, the other to the Emperor. Should anyone resist the spiritual sword of the Pope, the Emperor shall compel his obedience by the temporal; in like manner, it is the duty of the Pope to support the Emperor when necessary," &c. (Book I., art. I., of the Saxon Code, collected by Eiko de Repchow, sheriff of Salpke, near Magdeburg, 1216; edited by *Sachsse*, Heidelberg, 1848.)

² When Louis IX. of France said of Frederic II., that he wished to unite ecclesiastical supremacy and imperial absolutism, he hit exactly the underlying principle of the Emperor's policy. This is stated in the *Epistolæ Petri de Vineis*, Cura J. R. Iselin, Basil, 1740, 2 vols. *Hahn*, Collectio monumentorum veterum, Bruns., 1724-1736, T. I., pp. 116-278.

³ The *Constitutiones regum regni Siciliae utriusque*, published at Naples in the year 1786. The analysis of this Code, in *Buss*, Influence of Christianity (*Freiburg Journal of Theology*, Vol. IV., pp. 348-360). The same, on St. Thomas Aquinas, pp. 379-405. On other complaints against Frederic, cf. *Raumer*, L. c., Vol. III., p. 692 sq.

(*De Regimine Principum*, lib. I., c. 14). "when a state is founded, its government should be modelled on that of God Himself. To govern is to guide the governed to their true destiny. It would seem that to live conformably to virtue should be the great object of nations. But this object is only secondary to a still higher, which is common to nations and to individuals, viz., to attain by virtue a union with God. To lead men to this sublime destiny belongs to the Church, to the kingdom of Christ, and not to the secular power, and hence arises the necessity of a royal priesthood. This supernatural governance of men belongs not to the kings of this world, but to the priesthood, and pre-eminently to the Pope, whom all Christian kings must obey as Christ Himself. This was not, indeed, so of the Pagan priesthood, who were subordinate to kings, inasmuch as the sole object of Pagan worship was the temporal well-being of men. But, in the New Law, the priesthood has quite a different mission—a mission to lead men to the possession of a heavenly inheritance, and hence does the law of Christ make kings subject to the priesthood."

This remarkable legislation did not, as might have been anticipated, at once stir up a fresh war. The mild and pacific Gregory contented himself, for the present, with publishing five books of *Decretals*, in which he took occasion to refute the false principles of the Sicilian code.¹

A still further proof of the nobility of Gregory's character was given, when Frederic's son, Henry, to whom he had entrusted the government of Germany,² rose in rebellion against his father. Gregory, instead of availing himself of this opportunity to humble the Emperor, wrote (March 13, 1235) to all the princes and bishops of Germany, condemning the rebellion and the unnatural conduct of Henry.

But the magnanimity of Gregory was wholly lost upon Frederic, who still continued to hate him as cordially as ever, and with all the vindictiveness of his nature. It would seem that Frederic had now no greater ambition than to abase and humiliate the Pope; he no longer put bounds to his violence.

The Lombards, having suffered an overwhelming defeat at the battle of Cortenuova (November 27, 1237), expressed themselves ready to submit to Frederic, and to accept very hard and galling terms. Frederic demanded unconditional surrender; but the Lombards, recollecting the fate of other Italian cities, and driven to desperation by the demand, replied,³ "that they had rather die, sword in hand, than behold their city a heap of ruins, themselves perishing of hunger and want, or dying in slavery, and by the hand of the executioner."

After the reduction of Milan, the insolence and demands of Frederic grew so excessive, that the Pope found himself necessitated to take what measures he could in self-defence. It was now a matter of life and death. He made an alliance with the Venetians and Genoese, after which he excommunicated⁴ Frederic, just as that prince was establishing his natural son *Enzio* upon the throne of Sardinia (A. D. 1238), and released his subjects from their oaths of allegiance (March

¹ Cf. § 227.

² Cf. *Rawner*, Hist. of the Hohenstaufens, Vol. III., p. 692 sq.

³ Cf. *Rawner*, L. c., p. 753 sq.

⁴ The bull of excommunication, together with the motives, in *Raynald Ad*, an. 1239 cro. 2 sq.

20 and 24, 1239). Frederic declared the sentence null and void, and the Pope the enemy of princes, and said that, if all princes thought as he did, he would soon be rid of the pest of the papacy. An angry *correspondence*¹ was now opened between them, in the course of which both resorted to recriminations and to epithets the reverse of complimentary. While the Emperor accused the Pope of shielding heretics, because he protected Milan, which was known to contain many Oathari, the latter retorted by charging Frederic with perjury and blasphemy—a charge for which, it must be admitted, there was abundant foundation in fact—and with having given expression to the blasphemous utterances, that the world had been led astray by the three seducers, *Moses, Christ, and Mohammed*,² and that the conception of Christ by the Holy Ghost, and His birth from a creature, were simply impossible.

In the year 1240, Frederic marched on Rome, defeated the Romans, drove the Venetians out of Apulia, expelled all ecclesiastics and monks not subjects of the Empire, and made himself master of Benevento.

Gregory convoked a council, to meet at Rome, and a great num-

¹ First, the letters of the Emperor to the Romans, to the cardinals, and to all princes, in *Petri de Vincis*, Epp., lib. I., epp. 6, 7, 21. *H.-Bréholles, Vie et Correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne, ministre de l'empereur Frédéric II., Paris, 1865. Against these, *Gregorii*, Epp. ad omnes principes et Prælatos terræ, in *Mansi*, T. XXIII., p. 79 sq., in which it is said, among other things: "Ascendit de mari bestia, blasphemiarum plena nominibus, quæ pedibus ursi et leonis ore deserviens ac membris formata cæteris sicut pardus, os suum in blasphemias divini nominis aperit, tabernaculum ejus et sanctos, qui in cœlis habitant, similibus impetere jaculis non omittit." Among many other grievances, the following charges are brought against him: "Iste Rex pestilentiarum a tribus baratoribus, ut ejus verbis utamur, scilicet, *Christo Jesu, Moyse et Mahometo, totum mundum fuisse deceptum*, et duobus eorum in gloria mortuis, ipsum Jesum in lignum suspensum manifeste proponens, insuper dilucida voce affirmare, vel potius mentiri præsumpsit, quod omnes fatui sunt, qui credunt, nasci de virgine Deum, qui creavit naturam et omnia, potuisse." Frederic's answer, in *Petr. de Vin.*, Epp., I. 31, in which the pope, with reference to Apoc. vi. 4, is styled "ipse draco magnus, qui seduxit universum orbem. Antichristus, cujus nos dixit esse præambulū, et alter Balaam, conductus pretio, ut malediceret nobis, principes per principes tenebrarum, qui abusi sunt prophetiis."

² The defence of Frederic, by *Gieseler* (Ch. Hist., Vol. II., Pt. II., p. 129), is, in our opinion, hardly satisfactory. As early as the year 1201, *Simon of Tournai*, a professor of theology at Paris, is reported to have said: "Tres sunt qui mundum sectis suis et dogmatibus subjugarunt, Moyses, Jesus et Mahometus. Moyses primo Judaicum populum infatuavit, Jesus Christus a suo nomine Christianos, gentilem populum Mahometus." Cf. *Thomas Cantimpranus* (a Dominican † 1263), Bonum universale de apibus, l. II., c. 48, n. 5: "And a man," says Gieseler, "of Frederic's penetration, must, after all this, adopt so frivolous a theory!" But the testimony of a contemporary Mussulman, the imam of the grand mosque of Jerusalem, seems to be conclusive against Frederic (*Reinard*, Extraits des historiens Arabes relatifs aux guerres des Croisades, Paris, 1829, p. 431). Also *Schlösser-Kriegk* (Univ. Hist., Vol. VII., p. 200), in speaking of Frederic, says: "He was better known among Mohammedans living in the most distant countries than among his co-religionists in Europe, and not without reason. His best soldiers in the Two Sicilies were Mohammedans; the principles of his philosophy were more in accord with Islam than Christianity, and his passion for women was as fatal to him as of old to Solomon." On the later work (which is manifestly a production of the sixteenth century), *De tribus impostoribus*, cf. *De impostura religionis breve compendium, seu Liber de trib. impostoribus*, published, with introd., by *Genthe*, Lps., 1833; again, with a bibliographical preface, by *Weller*, and transl. by *Aester*, Lps., 1846, and in the *Freiburg Cyclopæd.*, Vol. V., pp. 606-609. *Hefele*, Supplement to Ch. H., Vol. I., p. 339 sq.

ber of prelates, in answer to his call, embarked at Genoa ; but, while on their voyage, their vessels were attacked by Enzo, and they themselves, to the number of one hundred, either murdered or taken prisoners (May 3, 1241). The news of this terrible outrage gave so violent a shock to Gregory, that he died shortly after from its effects, at the age of one hundred years (August 21, 1241). Frederic, on hearing of the event, made use of the following impious remark : “ Him who dared harm Augustus, August has taken off ; God, who well knows the dark designs of the wicked, has turned them against their authors.”

Fearing to further excite public opinion against himself, Frederic permitted the imprisoned prelates to assemble at Naples, and proceed to an election. Their choice fell upon Goffredo Castiglione, a Milanese, and bishop of Sabina, who took the name of *Celestine IV.* (A. D. 1241), but died after a pontificate of eighteen days. After his death, the Holy See remained vacant for some time. The cardinals, fearing the violence of Frederic, fled, and took refuge in the fortresses about Rome. They finally assembled at Anagni, and elected (June 25, 1243) Cardinal Sinibaldo Fieschi, of Genoa, who took the name of *Innocent IV.*

When Frederic was informed of his election, he said : “ As cardinal, Fieschi was my friend ; but as Pope, he will be my enemy. No Pope can be a Ghibelline.”

The new Pontiff assured the Emperor of his desire of having peace, and of his readiness to reconcile him to the Church upon the easiest possible conditions, one of which was that prisoners, secular and ecclesiastical, taken by Enzo in his naval attack off Elba, should be set at liberty ; but, he added, if the Emperor feels these conditions burdensome, or himself aggrieved, let the whole matter be referred to a general council, composed of spiritual and temporal princes.

When Frederic was called upon to support his complaints against the Holy See by facts, having nothing of importance to bring forward, he had recourse to all manner of shifts and trifling pretexts to make out a case. But, notwithstanding this, the conditions of peace were drawn up, and about being signed, when Frederic suddenly broke off the negotiations, by demanding to be immediately freed from the ban of the Church. His demand was refused, and, putting every other condition aside, he marched straight on Rome, laying waste the whole country along the line of his march. As the Pope steadily and firmly refused to remove the excommunication until *after* ample satisfaction should have been made to the Holy See, Frederic attempted to get possession of his person ; but the attempt was baffled by the hasty flight of the Pope and the College of Cardinals, first to Genoa, and thence to *Lyons*. From the latter place, the Pope issued letters of convocation for the First of *Lyons*, or

THE THIRTEENTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL (A. D. 1254).

There were present at this council one hundred and forty (250 ?) archbishops and bishops, and the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Aquileia. Innocent opened

the proceedings with an address, in which, taking as his text the words of the Psalmist, "*According to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart, thy comforts have given joy to my soul,*"¹ he gave a most distressing picture of the evils afflicting the Church.

The chief questions that came up for discussion were the relations of the Greek Church to the Latin; the relations of the Church to the Saracens; the condition of the Holy Land; the invasion of Hungary by the Tartars; the quarrel with the Emperor, and the morals of the clergy. Frederic having been declared guilty of infidelity, heresy, perjury, sacrilege, and collusion with the Saracens, was excommunicated and deposed. His chancellor, *Thaddeus of Suessa*, who is referred to in the acts of the council as *knight and doctor of laws*, defended his master with ability and eloquence; but some of his arguments are ingenious, and were probably meant to be satirical, but are far from being either apposite or convincing. He argued that the Emperor was not a heretic, because he tolerated no usurers in his dominions; and, in answer to those who reproached Frederic with having enlisted Saracens in his army, whom he ordered or permitted to shed the blood of Christians, plunder and destroy churches, he said the Emperor had done so from a tender solicitude for Christians, whose places the Saracens filled, and whose lives were thus spared. In reply to the charge of immorality, he said the Emperor retained Saracen women at his court to do fancy work, and to entertain him with their musical performances; and to those who complained of the imprisonment and harsh treatment of the prelates made prisoners by Enzo, he had the cool assurance to say that the affair grieved the Emperor exceedingly, and was entirely accidental, having happened through a misunderstanding.

The protest sent by Frederic to all princes, in which he endeavoured to show them the Pope could not punish princes, met with about as much favour as the declamatory efforts of the partisans of imperial absolutism had formerly received. The mendicant orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assissi became now the powerful auxiliaries of the Holy See, and fortunately counteracted the pernicious influence of the Troubadours, or *Minnesänger*, from whose caustic raillery truths the most sacred were not secure. Henry had so far lost his former credit with the princes of Germany, who recognised the justice and necessity of the sentence pronounced against him at Lyons, that they proceeded, at the diet of Hochheim (May, 1246), near Würzburg, to the election of one to take his place. Their votes were given in favour of *Henry Raspe*, Landgrave of Thuringia; but he having died a few months later (February, 1247), *William*, the young Count of *Holland*, was elected to succeed him, chiefly through the efforts of Capucius, the Papal Legate, and the Rhenish archbishops.

Conrad IV., Frederic's son, carried on the contest against both these kings; while his father, in person, levied war in Apulia, and forced the clergy to make no account of the Pope's excommunication. But the good fortune which had thus far sustained the Emperor, was now rapidly deserting him. After the promulgation of the sentence of Lyons, disaster after disaster overtook him. The imperial cities of Central Italy threw off their allegiance, and espoused the Pope's cause; the Guelfs, mustering all their strength, rose in their might against him; he himself suffered a terrible defeat before Parma, and his son Enzo was beaten and taken prisoner by the Bolognese. While on his way, at the head of a powerful army, to the deliverance of Enzo, Frederic died (December 13, 1250). He made his confession

¹ Ps. xciii.

to the Archbishop of Palermo, by whom he was absolved from the ban of the Church, and, at his own request, was buried in the cathedral of that city. Shortly before his death, he had perpetrated some of the most frightful atrocities of his life. He had the Bishop of Arezzo disgracefully executed; punished a conspiracy in Sicily, by taking vengeance upon the defenceless women and children, and had the eyes of his confidential counsellor, *Pietro delle Vigne*, the author of the outrageous manifesto against the Holy See, who was called his "right arm," put out, simply because, as it is said, he was suspected of having made an attempt to poison the Emperor.¹

The Holy See came victorious from this terrible conflict, but bore from it severe wounds, which were centuries in healing. The Popes had been reduced to the necessity of laying heavy taxes upon the churches throughout Christendom, and this had the effect of loosing the bonds which had heretofore kept Christian nations united to the Holy See. It was claimed that as the contest did not, as in the case of investitures, concern the freedom of the Church, but seemed to be more directly connected with territorial acquisition, there was no adequate reason why these taxes should be levied.

After the death of Frederic II., Innocent went back to Italy. He declared that the house of Hohenstaufen had forfeited the throne. He entered into an alliance with the Lombards, and regarding Sicily as having reverted to its former lord, and consequently as a fief of the Holy See, and wishing to confer upon it some prince who would be able to retain it, he first made a tender of it to *Richard*, Count of Cornwall, and brother of Henry III., King of England; next to *Charles of Anjou*, brother of Louis IX., King of France; and, finally, to the English prince, *Edmund*. Meanwhile, *Conrad IV.*, Frederic's son elected King of the Romans in 1254, did all in his power to make good his claims in Italy. Conrad died soon after (A. D. 1254), leaving a young son, *Conradin*, then only three years of age,² whose rights the Pope showed a disposition to protect. *Manfred*, the natural brother, and formerly the tutor of Conrad, entered into negotiations with the Pope for the kingdom of Sicily, which he agreed to accept as a fief of the Holy See (September, 1254). But fresh differences having broken out between them, Manfred took up arms, ostensibly in the interests of Conradin, and seized upon Apulia and Calabria. In the meantime, Innocent died at Naples, December 7, 1254. The efforts of *Alexander IV.*, his successor, to restore peace to the Church, were equally fruitless. He reluctantly excommunicated Manfred, who, disregarding the sentence, had himself crowned King of the Two Sicilies, at Palermo (A. D. 1258), after which he stirred up such commotions in Rome, that the Pope was forced to seek safety by flight to Viterbo. The young prince Edmund being unable, in consequence of the disturbed state of England, to accept the proffered crown

¹ His last will, in *Muratorius*, T. IX., p. 661. Cf. *Raumer*, Vol. IV., p. 263 sq.; on Peter de Vineis, pp. 256-260, and 632-638.

² *Raynald*, Ad an. 1254, n. 46. *Raumer*, Vol. IV., p. 351 sq.

of Sicily, Alexander, in 1260, entered into negotiations with Manfred, but died before any satisfactory conclusion could be reached (May, 1261). Before his death, the influence of Alexander seemed to have been on the increase in Germany, where, on the death of William (A. D. 1256), *Richard of Cornwall* and *Alphonso the Wise, King of Castile*, received each an equal number of votes for emperor.

Alexander's successor, *Urban IV.*, cited Manfred to appear before him, at Rome, and answer the serious charges made against him, but Manfred wholly disregarded the citation. The Pope then published a crusade against him, and, in spite of the prudent counsel of Louis IX., gave the crown of Sicily to *Charles, Count of Anjou*, who, after having subscribed to the necessary conditions, was crowned by Urban's successor, *Clement IV.* Charles met, defeated, and slew Manfred at the battle of *Benevento*, and thus asserted, by arms, his right over Sicily, which, in spite of the wise and well-meant counsel of the Pope, he governed as a tyrant, and was more detested by the people than the *Hohenstaufens* themselves.

The discontented inhabitants invited *Conradin* from Germany to place himself at their head. The Pope warned the young prince not to accept; threatened him with censure if he should, and, finally, excommunicated him as soon as he entered Italy (A. D. 1267). His campaign was short, decisive, and disastrous. Defeated at the battle of *Tagliacozzo*, on the borders of the lake of Celano (October 2, 1268), he and his friend, *Frederic of Austria*, fell into the hands of the victor, and, in spite of the earnest and energetic appeals of the Pope and Louis IX., whom the Pope had interested in their favour,¹ addressed to Charles in the hope of disposing him to clemency, were beheaded at Naples, October 29, 1268.

Among the many virtues of this Pope, his detestation of nepotism is conspicuous. He ordered all his relations to keep at a distance from him, unless when invited to approach.

§ 223. *Crusades of St. Louis (IX.)—Pragmatic Sanction.*

*Ludovici, Vita et conversatio per Gaufrid. de Bello loco confessor. et Guil. Carnotens capellan. ejus and Ludov. Ep. de captatione et liberatione sua (du Chesne, T. V.) Bol landi, Acta sanctorum ad 25. mens. Aug. †*Villeneuve Trans., Hist. de St. Louis roi de France, Paris, 1839, 3 vols. †Scholten, Hist. of St. Louis, Münster, 1850, sq., 2 vols. †Canti, Vol. III., pp. 318-350. Damberger, Vol. X., in many places. Wilken, The Crusades, Vol. VII. Raumer, Hist. of the Hohenstaufens, Vol. IV., pp. 269-312. Michaud, Hist. des Croisades, Par. 1854. Wallon, St. Louis et son temps (Revue des sciences eccles., n. 184, 1875). Guizot, Les vies de quatre grand chrétiens français, Paris, 1873.*

The deplorable contests between the Papacy and the Empire did much to cool the enthusiasm of European nations for expeditions to

¹ Raynaldus, Ad a. 1268, nr. 34 sq.: Peperit sibi ea severitate Carolus non modo illius ætatis hominum, sed etiam futurorum sæculorum invidiam et odia collegit: gravissimeque, ut asserunt Ricordanus et Joannes Villanus, a Pontifice increpatus est: tantum abest quod aliqui commenti sunt, qui tanto Pontifici ac re ipsa elementissimo crudelitatis maculam aspergere voluerunt, atque illi hoc famosum dictum impingere: *Vita Conradini mors Caroli, mors Conradini vita Caroli*. Cf. Raumer, Vol. IV., pp. 613-620.

the Holy Land. The Sultan of Egypt, by the aid of the savage hordes of the *Khoswaresmian* tribe, whom he had enlisted in his service, succeeded, after many ineffectual efforts, in taking Jerusalem (A. D. 1247).

Louis IX., the pious king of France, and perfect type of a mediæval prince, who had long desired to lead an army to the Holy Land, was taken suddenly and dangerously ill, and while in this critical condition made a vow, that if he should recover, he would undertake a crusade. His eloquence and his example did much towards inspiring those about him with his own sentiments. During Christmas-tide of the year 1245, a few days after he had made his vow, he presented, according to a custom of his court in those days, each of his knights with a robe, on which was wrought a red cross between the shoulders. They enjoyed the pleasantry, but at once expressed their willingness to follow their king to the East. Nearly two years and a half more were spent in preparations, and on the 12th of June, 1248, Louis received from the papal legate, at the abbey of St. Denys, the pilgrim's wallet and staff, and the oriflamme or sacred banner, and at the end of August set sail from France. Fully persuaded that it was impossible to hold Palestine without having possession of Egypt, Louis directed the *sixth crusade*¹ towards the coast of Africa, and having landed, captured Damietta (A. D. 1248). Had order been preserved and ordinary prudence used, the crusade might have secured some substantial results; but the folly of the Count of Artois, the king's brother, who, despite the warning of the grand-master of the Templars, attacked the Saracens, near Mansourah, before the bulk of the main army had come up, proved fatal to the expedition. The Christians were defeated, and, during the retreat, the king was himself taken prisoner (A. D. 1250). He bore his captivity with exemplary fortitude, and manifested throughout an unclouded trust in God. The Pope wrote him letters of condolence, encouraging him to persevere, and to bow in humble submission to the unsearchable counsels of God. He also ordered prayers to be said in all the churches of France for the captives. "O treacherous East!" said the Pope. "O dark and fatal Egypt! O Jerusalem, whose deliverance has cost so much blood, when, oh, when wilt thou console the Church for all the sorrows thou hast brought upon her!" He, at the same time, appealed to all Christians of the West, begging them to aid, either personally or by contribution, in freeing their captive brethren in the East.

Peace was offered to the king if he would surrender all the Christian fortresses in Syria. He replied, that as these belonged to Frederic II. as king of Jerusalem, he could not dispose of them. It was finally arranged that Damietta should be given up; the king pay one million byzants for his own ransom, and a half a million French livres for that of his barons. After his release, Louis spent four years more

¹ Usually called the seventh. (Tr.)

in the East, visiting and repairing the fortresses of Acre, Sidon, Jaffa, and Cæsarea. He was, at the end of this time, called to France by the death of his mother, Blanche, the queen-regent. The wise and good king at once set to work with commendable zeal to forward the interests of his kingdom, and to raise the condition of *Tiers Etat*.

In 1268, Pope *Clement IV.* published a decree, declaring that the Roman Pontiff might dispose of all benefices, whether already vacant or yet to fall vacant, as he should see fit. Hence, benefices not yet vacant, but already given out or collated, were called *expectancies* (*expectativæ* sc. dignitates). French historians say that this decree was the occasion of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, said to have been published by Louis IX., in 1268, containing the following articles: "The first declares the full liberty of ordinary collations to benefices; the second, the liberty of canonical elections; the third favours the extirpation of simony; the fourth recurs to first and second, and ordains that dispensations of prelacies and collations to benefices shall be according to the common law, the councils, and the Fathers; the fifth renews and approves the franchise, the prerogatives, and privileges granted by former kings and by himself to churches, monasteries, and other institutions of a religious character, and to ecclesiastics. Such is, substantially, the text as given in the oldest and best authenticated manuscripts; but to these a sixth article is added in more modern copies, which runs as follows: "We forbid anyone to levy or collect taxes, and exactions, either already imposed or that may be imposed, by the Court of Rome, except for an urgent cause, and with the consent of the crown and the Church."¹

There are both *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* arguments² to prove that Louis IX. is not the author of these articles, but notably the declaration, entirely out of keeping with the sentiments of a religiously minded prince of the Middle Ages, that "*the kingdom of France, recognizing no other superior or protector than God Almighty, is independent of all*

¹ Cf. *Darras*, Ch. Hist., Vol. III., p. 392. Also *Blunt*, Doctrinal and Historical Theology, art. Prag. Sanct. (Tr.)

² This Pragm. Sanction in five, and also in six, articles, in *Mansi*, T. XXIII., pp. 1259-1262, and *Bibliotheca Patrum* (Paris), T. VI., p. 1273. Cf. *Raynald.*, Ad. an. 1268 nr. 37, and *Spondanus*, Ad an. 1268, nr. 9. Its authenticity is questioned by *Thomass.*, Paris and Montpelier, 1844; second ed., Paris, 1866; by Mgr. *Affre*, Appel comme d'abus, p. 46, and by *Rösen*, The Pragm. Sanction, etc., Münster, 1854. Cf. *Damberger*, Vol. X., p. 983 sq. The *extrinsic* arguments against the authenticity of the Pragmatic Sanction are: 1. It was not promulgated at all; 2. It was first mentioned in 1438, when a Pragmatic Sanction was published at Bourges; and 3. Had these articles been really promulgated by Louis, they could not have escaped the notice of Boniface VIII., who canonized him in 1294, and who, if he had known of them, would have certainly brought them against him at his canonisation. Among the *intrinsic* arguments against their authenticity are the following: 1. The declaration given above, which is entirely out of harmony with the known sentiments and character of Louis; 2. The many variations in the text of the articles, as given in the various manuscript and printed copies, and even the erasures that are plainly visible in the reputed original manuscript at Paris; and 3. Formulas and words are employed in the articles which are not to be found in public documents of that age. Such are: *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*; *justitarii*, *officiarii*, *loca tenentes*—The authenticity of the Prag. Sanct. is defended by *Soldan*, in *Niedner's Journal of Hist. Theol.* 1856, pp. 377-450.

men, and consequently of the Pope." The first five articles were probably intended by their author or authors to lead the way to the sixth, which has been proved by Thomassini, Roncaglia, and other critics to be an addition of more recent date.

The palmary object of this forgery seems to have been to secure the freedom of ecclesiastical elections; to put a stop to the sale of benefices; but, still more, to guard the national church of France against the constantly increasing taxations of the Popes (*quibus regnum nostrum miserabiliter depauperatum existit*), and to bring again into prominence the privileges granted to it in the lapse of ages (*ecclesiis et monasteriis successive concessa innovamus, laudamus, approbamus*).

Louis, although far advanced in years, never left off wearing the cross of the crusaders, and when, in 1268, the news reached Europe that *Bibar*, the Sultan of Egypt, had taken Antioch, he at once organised another crusade. The pious and chivalric hero, taking in his hand the symbol of man's redemption, again roused the courage and kindled the enthusiasm of the noble sons of France, who flocked in thousands to his side. Louis left France with an army of sixty thousand men; but the fleet having been driven by adverse winds to the coast of Sardinia, it was resolved to make for Tunis, whose king was well disposed to Christianity, in order to establish there a colony, with the ultimate purpose of converting the Mohammedans. The army had hardly disembarked, and encamped on the site of ancient Carthage, when a virulent plague broke out, which swept away nearly half the troops, and to which the king himself was a victim (August 25, 1270).

With Louis died out the last embers of that generous love and buoyant enthusiasm for the Holy Land, which had once set the martial fire of Christendom aglow. The Latins were no longer able to maintain themselves in the East; and the Greeks, under *Michael Palæologus*, retook Constantinople, in 1261. The subsequent efforts of *Gregory X.* to arouse the dormant energy of Europe in behalf of the Holy Land were fruitless, and Ptolemais, after a gallant defence, was assaulted and taken by the infidels, May 10, A. D. 1291.

D.—BEGINNING OF FRENCH INFLUENCE—TARDINESS OF PAPAL ELECTIONS.

§ 224. *Gregory X. (A. D. 1271-1276)—Council of Lyons—Death of St. Thomas Aquinas and of St. Bonaventure—Rudolf of Hapsburg.*

After the death of Clement IV., the Apostolic See was vacant for two years and nine months, and during the whole of this time the cardinals remained in conclave, at Viterbo. They clung obstinately to their respective candidates, but finally settled upon Teobaldo Visconti, of Piacenza (September 7, 1271), who took the name of Gregory X., and was consecrated at Rome, in March, of the following year. He had but shortly before returned from the Holy Land, whither he

had gone as papal legate with Prince Edward, and, witnessing there with his own eyes the hardships and trials endured by the Christians, made a vow, before leaving the country, to devote his energies to the work of their deliverance. During the whole of his pontificate, he accordingly kept steadily in view the organisation of a crusade, and, in order to bring it more prominently before the people of Christendom, convoked the Second of Lyons, or the

FOURTEENTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL (A. D. 1274).

There were present at this council five hundred bishops, representing every country of the Catholic world; the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, the grand-master of the Knights of St. John, and above a thousand mitred abbots. The civil power was represented by Philip, King of France; James II., King of Aragon, and by ambassadors from Germany, England, Sicily, and the kingdoms of Northern Europe. *St. Thomas Aquinas* died while on his way to the council, and *St. Bonaventure* during its sitting.

The organisation of a crusade, to which, it was enacted, all ecclesiastical prebendaries should contribute,¹ and the *reunion of the Churches of the East and the West*, formed the chief business of the council. But, besides the enactments touching these questions, there were thirty-two canons passed, regulating the discipline of the Church and providing for the reformation of morals.

One of the disciplinary canons touched on the collation and plurality of benefices; another condemned the Flagellants; and a third was directed against the needless multiplication of religious orders.²

When the Pope celebrated pontifically on the 1st of July, the Epistle and Gospel were read in both Greek and Latin; and the *Credo*—including the addition, "*Qui a Patre Filioque procedit*," which was thrice repeated—was chanted in both languages. At the close of the Mass, letters were read from the Greek emperor, Michael Palæologus, and the Greek bishops, in which they made a full and explicit confession of the orthodox faith, and in unequivocal terms recognised the Primacy of the Church of Rome. They addressed the Pope under the titles of "First and Sovereign Pontiff, Œcumenical Pope, and Common Father of all Christendom." The imperial ambassador, in the name of the Emperor and his own, abjured the schism, and made a profession of the "Catholic, orthodox, and Roman faith."³

¹ *Humbertis de Romanis* (General of the Order of St. Dominic, in the name of the Pope), De his quæ tractanda videbantur, in Conc. Generali Lugd., in *Mansi*, T. XXI., p. 109 sq. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, VI., 108-130. *Pichler*, Hist. of the Eccl. Schism. Vol. I., p. 346-353.

² The Acts, in *Mansi*, T. XXIV., p. 38 sq. *Harduin*, T. VII., p. 670. The Epp. Gregorii X., in *Mansi*, T. XXIV., p. 27 sq. 107. The taxation of all benefices in the diocese of *Constance*, officially prescribed in the "*Liber decimationis cleri Constance*, pro papa de anno 1275," published by Dean *Haid*, in Vol. I. of the Freiburg Diocesan Archives, Freib., 1865. This is undoubtedly the oldest statistics of the diocese of *Constance*.

³ The formula of conciliation is couched in the following terms, in can. 11: "Fideli ac devota confessione fatemur, quod Spiritus St. æternaliter ex Patre et Filio, non tanquam ex duobus principiis, sed tanquam ab uno principio, non duabas spirationibus, sed unica spiratione procedit."—And concerning the Roman Church, the profession of faith runs thus: "Ipsa quoque sancta Romana Ecclesia summum et plenum primatum et principatum super universam ecclesiam catholicam obtinet, quem se ab ipso Domino in beato Petro apostolorum principe sive vertice, cujus Romanus pontifex est successor, cum potestatis plenitudine recepisse veraciter et humiliter recognoscit. Et sicut præ cæteris tenetur fidei veritatem defendere, sic et si quæ de fide subortæ fuerint quæstiones suo debent iudicio definiri. Ad quam potest gravatus quilibet super negotiis ad ecclesiasticum forum pertinentibus appellare, et in omnibus causis ad examen ecclesiasticum spectantibus ad ipsius potest iudicium recurri, et eidem omnes ecclesiæ sunt subjectæ, et ipsarum prelati obedientiam et reverentiam sibi dant. Ad hanc autem sic potestatis plenitudo consistit, quod ecclesiæ ceteras ad sollicitudinis partes admittit, quarum multas et patriarchales præcipue, diversis privilegiis eadem Romana Ecclesia honoravit, sua tamen observata prærogativa, tum in generalibus conciliis, tum in aliquibus aliis, semper salva."

In the East, where the Greeks had been taught for centuries to look upon the Latins as heretics, as Pagans, and worse than Jews and Mohammedans, the act of union, as might have been foreseen, met with a very determined opposition. Fasts, ablutions, and processions were resorted to by the ignorant and superstitious populace, to expiate the guilt which, it was supposed, necessarily attached to this act of infidelity on the part of their bishops.¹

After the death of Richard of Cornwall, in 1273, the electoral princes of Germany, yielding to the express wish of the Pope, and acting under the guidance of the Archbishop of Mentz, the Pope's special friend, elected *Rudolph, Count of Hapsburg*, who, when still quite a youth in the suite of the Emperor Frederic II., had gained for himself the love and esteem of all with whom he came in contact. He was specially agreeable to the spiritual princes, who believed that the strength of character and the resolution which he was known to possess were necessary to uphold the tottering throne, to restore the unity of the empire, and to reconcile the conflicting claims of Church and State. He wrote a respectful letter to the Pope, asking him to confirm the election and to confer the imperial dignity. His chancellor, Otho, went to Lyons, and there promised, under oath, in Rudolph's name, that all the rights and prerogatives granted to the Roman Church by Otho IV. and Frederic II. should remain unimpaired; that the States of the Church should not be attacked, and that war should not be waged against the King of Sicily. At a meeting between Gregory and Rudolph, at Lausanne, in October, 1275, the latter took the cross, promised to go to Rome the year following for coronation, renewed the oath taken by his chancellor, and made still larger concessions to the Holy See.² He also gave his word, under oath, to guarantee the freedom of ecclesiastical elections and the right of appeal; to labour for the suppression of heresy, and to renounce the *right of spoil* (*jus spolii*).³

On the other hand, the Pope published sentence of excommunication against all who should refuse to recognise Rudolph as Emperor. Having thus established friendly relations with the Emperor, the Pope set out for Rome, but died on the way, at Arezzo, in January, 1276. Shortly before his death, he warned the tyrannical Charles of Anjou that the divine vengeance would soon overtake him.

In order to put a stop in future to any such delay as had taken place in his own election, Gregory drew up a constitution, which, in spite of the vigorous opposition of the cardinals, was read between the fourth and fifth sessions of the council, and received the approbation of the Fathers. This constitution is still in force and acted upon. It ordains that, on the death of a Pope, the cardinals shall go into *conclave*, and remain there until they shall have chosen a successor. Should, however, more than three, or at most five days elapse before a choice is made, their fare shall grow daily more scant in proportion to the length of the delay, until it is reduced to bread, water, and wine, which shall be their only nourishment until their work is done.⁴

¹ Cf. *Darras*, Ch. Hist., Vol. III., pp. 399, 400. (Tr.)

² *Gerbert*, Cod. epistolar. Rudolphi I. St. Blasii, 1772 f. *Bodmann*, Cod. Rud. I. epp. 230 anecdotas continentes., Lps., 1806. Cf. *Raynald*, Ad. a. 1274, nr. 5 sq. and **Hefele*, The Interregnum and the Fall of the Hohenstaufens (Suppl. to Ch. Hist., Vol. II.)

³ By the *jus spolii* sovereigns claimed as theirs such property of deceased priests and bishops as had been accumulated from their benefices. (Tr.)

⁴ *Gregorii*, Constitutio II. de electione et electi potestate (*Mansi*, T. XXIV., p. 81-86; *Harduin*, T. VII., p. 705-708): Quod (servato libero ad secretam cameram aditu) ita claudatur undique, et nullus illic intrare valeat vel exire: nulli ad eosdem cardinales aditus pateat vel facultas secrete loquendi cum eis: nec ipsi aliquos ad se venientes admittant, nisi eos, qui de voluntate omnium cardinalium inibi præsentium pro iis tantum quæ ad electionis instantis negotium pertinent, vocarentur.—In conclavi tamen prædictæ aqua fenestra competens dimittatur, per quam eisdem cardinalibus ad victum necessaria commode ministrentur; sed per eam nulli ad ipsos patere possit ingressus. Verum si, quod absit, intra tres dies, postquam, ut prædicitur, conclave prædictum iidem cardinales intraverint, non fuerit ipsi ecclesiæ de pastore provisum; per spatium quinque dierum immediate sequentium singulis diebus, tam in prandio, quam in cena, uno solo ferculo sint contenti. Quibus provisione non facta decursis, ex tunc tantummodo panis, vinum et aqua ministrentur eisdem, donec eadem provisio subsequatur. Cf. *Hefele*, VI., 125 sq.

§ 225. *The Popes from Innocent V. (A. D. 1276) until the Abdication of Celestine V. (A. D. 1294).*

Gregory was succeeded by Peter of Tarantaise, a Dominican, who, as Archbishop of Lyons, was universally esteemed for his personal worth and ability. As Pope, he took the name of Innocent V. He gave bright promise of great usefulness to the Church, but he had time only to reconcile the Guelfs and Ghibellines of Tuscany, when he died, after a short pontificate of five months. Thirty-nine days later, he was followed to the grave by his successor, Cardinal Ottoboni Fieschi, a nephew of Innocent IV., who, as Pope bore the name of Hadrian V. His successor, John XXI., a Portuguese by birth, and celebrated for his knowledge and skill in medicine, displayed remarkable energy and tact in governing the Church during his short pontificate of seven months. He was killed at Viterbo by the falling in of the ceiling of his chamber.¹

Cardinal Cajetan Orsini was elected to succeed him in November, 1277. He took the name of *Nicholas III.* He displayed considerable vigour in dealing with Charles of Anjou, whom he deprived of the government of Sicily and forced to resign the title of Roman Senator.

Rudolph of Hapsburg made a formal resignation of all imperial rights over the cities of the Romagna, and released them from their oaths of fealty; and the Pope, in turn, negotiated a peace favouring the pretensions of Rudolph² and detrimental to those of Charles of Anjou over Tuscany.

The Pope died shortly after (August, 1280), leaving behind him the unenviable reputation of having raised a great many of the members of the already too powerful family of the Orsini, to which he belonged, to positions of honour and influence. His bad example was, unfortunately, too frequently followed by succeeding Popes.

In the conclave which assembled at Viterbo to choose a successor, the politic Charles of Anjou exercised an undue influence, and, by intimidating the cardinals, secured the election of the French cardinal Simon de Brie, a man entirely devoted to his interests, who, as Pope, took the name of Martin IV. (A. D. 1281-1285).³ From the accession of this Pope dates the beginning of those trials which came upon the Holy See in succeeding years; and it may be truly said that the policy of France during this period was more disastrous to the interests of the papacy than the fierce hostility of the Hohenstaufens had been. Instead of opposing the tyranny of Charles of Anjou by the weight of his authority, he is reproached with having played into the hands of that prince, and with having favoured the Guelfs by making himself

¹ On all the three, cf. *Mansi*, T. XXIV., pp. 153-183.

² *Vita Nicolai Papæ III.*, in *Mansi*, T. XXIV., p. 191. The acts concerning the possessions of the States of the Church, see in *Raynald.*, Ad an. 1278, nros. 51-62.

³ Though he was in fact but the second of the name, yet the enumeration of both popes Marinus in the list of Martins, occasioned the error, which usage has sanctioned. (Tr.)

the tool of their enmity against the Ghibellines, whose most important city, Forlì, he laid under interdict. In the course of his pontificate, he created nine cardinals, of whom four were French. But he lived to bitterly regret his partiality and see it atoned for by the horrible massacre of the French, known as the "*Sicilian Vespers*"¹ (March 30, 1282), during which twenty-four thousand French inhabitants of the island, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, were murdered. The conspiracy was organized and directed by *John of Procida*, a knight of Salerno, who had sworn to avenge the death of the young and hapless Conradin, with the consent and connivance of *Peter III.*, King of Aragon, who had married Constantia, the daughter of Manfred and cousin of Conradin, and was consequently next heir to Naples and Sicily. The result of the terrible massacre was the union of the kingdoms of Sicily and Aragon.² Pope Martin excommunicated Peter III., declaring that he had forfeited the kingdom of Aragon, which, it was claimed, was a fief of the Holy See, and the kingdom of Valencia, which, together with the countship of Barcelona, he offered to confer upon Charles of Valois, the second son of Philip the Bold, King of France. But ecclesiastical censures of a character so extravagant were necessarily without effect. Peter made captive the only son of Charles, left Aragon by last will to his eldest son, Alphonso, and Sicily to his second son, James. Both Charles of Anjou and Pope Martin died soon after (A. D. 1285); the latter at Perugia, where he was buried.

The cardinals present in Perugia chose, without formally going into conclave, James Savelli, a man far advanced in age and broken with infirmity, as successor to Martin. He took the name of *Honorius IV.* (A. D. 1285-1287). While displaying more prudence than his predecessor, he adopted pretty much the same policy. He laid the whole of Sicily under interdict, deposed the three bishops who had crowned James, and, after declaring Peter III. to have forfeited the crown of Sicily, pronounced him excommunicate. He also made, during the interregnum, many useful laws for Sicily, restraining the royal power and limiting the imposition of taxes to certain occasions which he named. But all his efforts to adjust the affairs of this kingdom satisfactorily were utter failures.

After his death, the cardinals, obedient to the constitution of Gregory, assembled in conclave, and elected Jerome of Ascoli, previously the general of the Franciscan order. There had been a vacancy of ten months, occasioned by a plague which desolated Italy from end to end. Jerome could hardly be prevailed upon to accept the papacy, but finally yielding to the solicitations of the cardinals, was consecrated under the name of *Nicholas IV.* (A. D. 1288-1292). His efforts were equally as ineffectual as those of his predecessors to

¹ *Raynald.*, Ad an. 1282. *Schlosser*, Univ. Hist., Vol. III., Pt. II., sec. 2, p. 71 sq. in the new revised ed. *Schlosser-Kriegk*, Vol. VII., p. 330 sq.

² *Gesta Petri regis* (*Muratori.*, Thesaur. ital. T. X., P. V.), cf. *Mart. IV.*, *Eop.* in *Achéry*, *Spicileg.*, T. III., p. 684.

restore Sicily to the house of Anjou, or to induce James of Aragon to renounce his pretensions to the crown. He did, however, succeed in obtaining the freedom of Charles II. of Naples. He was still further pained when the news reached him of the capture of *Ptolemäis* (Acre), the last stronghold of the Christians in the East (May 18, 1291). His appeals to the princes of Christendom to organize another crusade were met by plausible excuses and evasive pretexts. The West had indeed reaped many and precious *fruits from the Crusades*;¹ and now, if they were shut out from the hallowed land whose possession they so much desired, they had no one to blame for it but themselves. The spirit of Christian unity and fellowship, and the bond of common aspirations and common interests among the nations of Western Christendom, so necessary in a contest against the power of Islam, had been utterly destroyed by petty jealousies and intestine feuds. The religious and chivalric enthusiasm which had swelled the hearts and inspired the sentiments of the early crusaders gave place to purely military considerations, to the ambition of emperors and kings, and to the sordid interests of avaricious speculators.

Innocent III. had made a vain effort to restore the Crusades to their original purpose, but all future calls for fresh expeditions were suspected, by both ecclesiastics and laymen, as being only clever contrivances, devised by popes and princes, to extort money under false pretences.

That the Crusades have had momentous and far-reaching consequences cannot be denied. All who have been at the pains of examining calmly and philosophically the general condition of Europe at their commencement and close, agree in admitting that they were the source of innumerable advantages to *civilisation*. The crusaders, in the course of these expeditions, came into immediate contact with the civilisation of the Greek and the Saracen—each far more cultivated and advanced than themselves. Their journeys to and fro by land, and their voyages by sea, taught them the science of navigation and familiarised them with the methods of overland travel; and, as a consequence, an impulse was given to commercial enterprise, both by sea and land; industry found new markets for its products; the grace and beauty of Eastern architecture were successfully imitated in the West; sciences began to flourish, and the wealth and comparative refinement of the Greeks and Saracens left a vivid impression, and were not without a considerable influence on the minds of the less cultured strangers of the West.

Nor were these the only or most important consequences of the Crusades. European society, whose very existence was threatened by bold and reckless invaders, ready and anxious to lay waste the fair countries of the West, rid itself of a dangerous and powerful foe, and became in turn conquering and aggressive. The narrow and selfish policy of feudalism widened and developed until it embraced a community of interests affecting every country of Europe, and gave rise to a spirit of political freedom which gradually enfranchised nations and peoples without doing violence to the existing bonds of society.

Moreover, apart from the political advantages, social changes, and material progress resulting from the Crusades, they insured, above all, the triumph of the *religious principle*. This principle, instead of being the outcome of human reason, was rather directly antagonistic to it—took it by surprise, went beyond it, and superseded it. It quickened the faith of the believer, controlled and guided his line of thought, and crushed out the *germs of religious scepticism before they had sprung into life and vigour*.

¹ *Heeren*, Development of the Results of the Crusades for Europe, Göttingen, 1808.—Our exposition is according to *Ratisbonne*, Vie de St. Bernard, pp. 41-49. *Cantù*, Vol. VII., pp. 464-499

This healthy *intellectual and moral influence* gave a definite purpose and deep significance to the Crusades. The reawakening of faith, and its triumph over the vagaries of rationalism, at the very moment when rationalism was about to chill the heart and turn intellectual effort from its true direction, are to the Christian world the immediate, the direct, and the unlooked-for results of the Crusades. These results, and these alone, will adequately account for the zeal and enthusiasm of the Christian preachers, and the deep and absorbing interest of those apostles of faith and angels of peace who laboured so energetically and persistently to secure the success of the expeditions to the Holy Land; while Abelard and his disciples, on the other hand, regarded them with cold indifference, pronounced them imprudent and foolish, and employed all the varied resources of a wayward and stubborn human reason in combating them. *The foolishness of the Cross confounded then the wisdom of Christian rationalism, as in a former age it had confounded the wisdom of the Pagan intellect.*

The sight of Jerusalem, the Holy City, and the memories called up by the scenes where our Lord, by His sufferings and death, had atoned for the sins of mankind, roused the religious feelings of the Middle Ages, as they could have been roused in no other way.

After the death of Hadrian V., the cardinals somewhat modified the constitution of Gregory X. concerning the holding of conclaves; and, as a consequence of such action, on the death of Pope Nicholas IV., on Good Friday of 1292, there was a long vacancy of twenty-seven months, the effects of which were felt throughout the whole Western Church. Of the twelve cardinals who went into conclave, some were in the interests of the family of the Colonnas, which was much favoured by the last Pope, and others in the interests of the family of the Orsini, which was entirely devoted to the cause of the house of Anjou. After many meetings in both Rome and Perugia, without being able to agree upon a candidate satisfactory to both parties, their attention was directed to *Peter*, a saintly hermit, living in the wilds of the Abruzzi, near Sulmona, who had gained some notoriety by being the founder of the Celestines. Strangely enough, when his name was proposed to the cardinals then in conclave at Perugia, they all gave their votes in his favour, and the obscure hermit was proclaimed Pope (June 7, 1294), under the name of *Celestine V.* (from June to December, 1294.)

The new Pope was indeed worthy of the reputation that had gone abroad concerning his sanctity; and, were proof of this required, the fact that he was placed on the roll of the saints by Clement V. as early as 1313 would be sufficient. But private virtues, no matter how numerous or exalted, do not imply a capacity to govern the Church or the ability to keep from being overreached by astute secular princes.¹ Celestine had, moreover, the misfortune of falling completely under the influence of Charles II. of Naples, who, availing himself of all the arts of intrigue, and practising upon the good man's simplicity, had three Neapolitan and seven French cardinals nomi-

¹ *Jacob. Cardin.*, *Carmen de vita et canon. Cœlestini* (*Muratori*, *Scriptt.*, T. III., Pt. I.) *Petrus de Alliaco*, *Vita Cœlest.* (*Bolland*, *M. Majj*, T. IV., p. 485.) *Cœlest. Opp. ascet.* ed. *Telera*, Neap., 1640, 4to (Max. bibl., T. XXV.), cf. *Raynald.*, Ad a. 1294. *Ptolemæi de Piadonib.*, H. e. lib. XXIV., c. 29 sq. *Gregorovius*, *Hist. of the City of Rome during the M. A.*, Vol. V., pp. 508-517. James, the witty Archbishop of Genoa, said of Celestine V. that he did many things *de plenitudine potestatis*, but many more *de plenitudine simplicitatis*. (Tr.)

nated in a single day.¹ The consciousness of his unfitness for his position grew daily upon his mind. When advent came, he expressed an intention of entrusting the government of the Church to a commission of three cardinals, in order to retire to a solitude during that season, and give himself up wholly to prayer and meditation; but, being prevented by Cardinal Matteo Orsini from doing so, he began to cast about for new expedients to satisfy his desire for prayer and quiet, and to regain his former peace of conscience. Cardinal Stephanesius tells us that Celestine, having no one superior to himself into whose hands he might resign the dignity, sought counsel among his friends and those in whose learning and prudence he trusted, as to whether he might abdicate. Being informed that he *might*, he at once expressed his intention of *doing so*. When Charles II. and the monks of his own order who were about him heard of his intention, they did all in their power to change him. A great procession of the clergy and people appeared before his palace, beseeching him not to resign his dignity; but Celestine had made up his mind once for all. Fearing that the mere assent of the College of Cardinals to his resignation might not be sufficient for the validity of the act, he published a special *constitution* covering the ground, in which he declared that a pope might abdicate, and that the College of Cardinals was competent to receive the act of formal abdication.² He then stated to the cardinals that he had been led by a consciousness of his unworthiness, by a taste for solitude, and by a desire to quiet his troubled conscience, to lay down the dignity which they had conferred upon him, and then retire from the honours and cares of the world. His successor, fearing that he might come forth from his solitude and again assert his claims to the papacy, thus causing a schism, kept him in close but honourable confinement in the castle of Fumone³ until his death, which took place shortly after (May 19, 1296).

The most useful act of the pontificate⁴ of Celestine was the renewal of the constitution of Gregory X. concerning the holding of conclaves.

§ 226. *Boniface VIII.* (A. D. 1294-1303)—*Philip IV., King of France.*

I. *Jacob. Cardin.*, De elect. et coronat. Bonif. VIII. (*Bolland.*, M. Maji, T. IV., p. 462.) *Ptolem, Luc.*, H. e., lib. XXIV., c. 29 sq. (*Raynald.*, Ad a. 1294-1303. *Mansi*,

¹ This act had considered to do with the transference shortly afterwards of the Papa See to Avignon. (Tr.)

² C. unic. Tit. VII. (De Renunciatione) in Sexto. The Constitution was inserted into the Corp. Jur. by Boniface VIII. (Tr.)

³ This feudal castle is still standing. It is situated on the top of a picturesque mountain, near *Alatri*, not far from the Neapolitan frontier, and commands a magnificent view of the surrounding country. It is now the property of *Marchese Lunghi*. Two rooms, whose walls were of rough stone, were put at the service of the saint. One of these was so small and dingy as to resemble a vault for the dead rather than an abode for the living; and here he spent most of his time. The other has since been changed into a chapel. (Tr.)

⁴ It was during this pontificate also that the Holy House of Nazareth was transported by angels from Dalmatia to Loreto. Cf. Rom. Off., December 10th. (Tr.)

T. XXIV., p. 1131 sq., T. XXV., pp. 1-123. *Harduin*, T. VII., p. 1171 sq. (*P. du Puy*), Hist. du diff. entre le pape Boniface et Phil. le Bel., Par., 1665 f. *Rabanis*, see *Phillips* C. L., Vol. III., pp. 239-261.

II. **Rubei*, Bonif. VIII. et famil. Cajetanor., Rom., 1651. *Vigor*, Hist. eorum, quæ acta sunt inter Phil. Pulchr. et Bonif. VIII., 1639, 4to. *Baillet*, Hist. des démêlés du Pape Boniface avec Phil. ed. 2, Paris, 1718. †*Tosti*, Storia di Bonifacio VIII. e de' suoi tempi, divisa in libri sei, Monte Cassino, 1846, 2 Tom.; Germ. transl., Tübg., 1848. †*Christophe*, Histoire de la papauté au XIV. siècle. Paris, 1853, 2 vols.; Germ. transl. by *Ritter*, Paderborn, 1853, 2 vols. *Planck*, Hist. of the Constitution of Christian Ecclesiastical Society, Vol. V., pp. 12-154, who praises this often misrepresented pope, and defends him especially against the Ghibelline poet, Dante (*Inferno*, Canto XXVII., v. 85; Canto XIX., v. 52). The more severely is he censured by *Drumann*, Hist. of Bonif. VIII., Königsbg., 1852, 2 pts. Cf. **Palma*, Prælect. h. e., T. III., pp. 143-189. †*Gengler*, in the Tübg. Quart., 1832, p. 214 sq. †**Wiseman*, Pope Boniface VIII. (Essays on Various Subjects, Vol. III.) †*Damberger*, Synchronistic Hist., Vol. XII. *Phillips*, C. L., III. 239. *Boutaric*, La France sou Philippe le Bel, Paris, 1861. *Chantrel*, Bonif. VIII., Paris, 1862; *Cesare Cantù*, Boniface VIII., Dante et Ceco d'Ascoli (Revue d'économie chrétienne, Mai, 1866). **Hefele*, Hist. of Counc., Vol. VI., pp. 251-356. *Gregorovius*, Vol. V., pp. 517-585. *Von Reumont*, Vol. II., pp. 621-670. **Hergenröther*, The Catholic Church and the Christian State, Freiburg, 1872, p. 260 sq., Mgr. (Card.) *Matthieu*, Le pouvoir temporel des Papes, p. 318 sq. (Tr.)

When Cardinal Cajetan, *Boniface VIII.*, was elected to take the place of Celestine, the political affairs of Europe were extremely complicated. No satisfactory settlement had yet been reached in Sicily; in Germany, Adolph of Nassau, the successor to Rudolph of Hapsburg, was contending for the crown; England and France were at war; the King of Scotland was the ally of Philip the Fair of France, and Adolph of Nassau and the Count of Flanders the allies of Edward I. of England. In Italy everything was feverish and unsettled. Partisan spirit ran high; the love of freedom, the desire of domination, and the thirst of conquest filled every breast and occupied the minds of all. Commercial centres contended for naval supremacy. Venice and Genoa, Pisa and Florence, were respectively engaged in a terrific war against each other. Matthew Visconti had made himself master of Milan, and had had himself nominated Imperial Vicar of Lombardy, by the Emperor Adolph, in order the better to subject the whole country to his rule. Under such circumstances, a man like Boniface, on whom nature had lavished her choicest gifts, who was equally skilled in canon and civil law, whose talents and accomplishments fitted him to be no less a secular prince than the Head of the Church; whose strong sense and strength of character enabled him to fully comprehend his mission and his office, and to go straight through with whatever business he had in hand, without turning to the right or the left; who surpassed all his predecessors in talent for affairs, experience of practical life, and in his knowledge of the art of governing, and who was still in the full tide and vigour of manhood, must, when looking back upon the lives and calling up the memories of Gregory VII. and Innocent III., have resolved to follow their example in pursuing a well-defined policy and assuming a bold and determined attitude,

There was an unusual display of magnificence at his coronation. The two kings, Charles of Naples, and his son, the King of Hungary, walked

on either side of Boniface, holding his stirrups.¹ There were those who interpreted this pomp and display as indicative of Boniface's determination to restore the papacy to its former splendour and power. The character of the first decrees issued by him placed him, as a churchman, beside Innocent III. Although the views entertained by Boniface, touching the relations of Church and State, were not precisely those put forward by his great predecessors, Gregory and Innocent, they differed from them only because the altered circumstances of his age called for a corresponding change of ecclesiastical policy.

While Charles was still undecided as to what course to pursue, Boniface quitted Naples, and, in spite of the extreme rigour of the season, set out for Rome, where his immediate predecessors had not ventured to reside, and at once set about reducing the strongholds of such of the nobles as resisted his authority. Shortly after, he made an effort to bestow Sicily on Charles II., as a fief of the Holy See; and, in order to insure the success of the project, ceded to James of Sicily, who, on the death of his brother, had been raised to the throne of Aragon, the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, as a compensation for his loss. But the Sicilians, whom neither promises nor threats could induce to accept a French ruler, chose Frederic II., the brother of James, for their king. In vain did Boniface employ every means of temporal and spiritual penalty at his command to oblige them to submit. A people who had set ecclesiastical censures at defiance for twenty-three years were not likely to pay much attention to them, now that their interests and their liberties were at stake.

Although the policy of Boniface had been to establish peace among the States of Europe, to defend oppressed princes and prelates, and adjust differences among contending parties and factions, it was not always his fortune to have his labours crowned with success, and he was not unfrequently obliged to employ weapons, both temporal and spiritual, against those who resisted his authority.

His first great difficulty arose from an effort to settle a family quarrel of the Colonnas (*Colonnese*), by whom he was called in as arbiter.

James and Peter Colonna, uncle and nephew, belonged to the College of Cardinals. James had three brothers, viz., Matthew, Otho, and Landulf, who were co-heirs with him in the vast possessions of the family; but they allowed the cardinal to have the estate in his own name, and to administer it for the common good of all.² The cardinal, secure in his possession of the property, refused his three brothers a sufficient allowance to keep them above a condition of indigence.³ They in consequence appealed to the Pope, who, naturally enough, took measures to have justice done them. The words of Boniface were lost upon the cardinal, who obstinately refused to do fairly by his brothers. So

¹ The humble Celestine V. enjoyed the same honour on a similar occasion. These two princes came there, as in the case of Boniface, not only as feudatories of the Holy See, but because they wished to render a willing homage to the successor of St. Peter. Card. Wiseman, l. c., from Stephanesius, *De elect. Bonif.*, p. 634—and Raynaldus. (Tr.)

² *Petrini*, *Memorie Prenestine*, Rome, 1795. 4to. (Tr.)

³ Bonif. Bull. apud Raynald, p. 1297. (Tr.)

far was the Pope from being at enmity with the whole Colonna family, that he intrusted the command of the forces sent against Palestrina¹ to Landulf, one of the three brothers mentioned above. Moreover, the Colonnas gave aid and encouragement to the emissaries sent by Frederic of Aragon, then at war with the Pope, into the States of the Church to excite the people to rebellion. But, for all this, the Pope did not take extreme measures against them until every effort at reconciliation had failed.² He then demanded that they should surrender the custody of their castles at Palestrina, Zagarolo, and Colonna as pledges of their fidelity and good behaviour. This method was constantly resorted to, in those times, by liege lords when they thought that they had just reason to suspect the fidelity of their vassals. The demand was refused, but the Pope did not at once take steps to compel the surrender.³

The two cardinals, who, with many other members of the Colonna family, fled from Rome (May 4, 1297), notwithstanding that they had been among the first to give their votes in favour of Cardinal Cajetan, issued a manifesto, six days later, in which, after declaring that as Celestine's resignation was necessarily invalid, Boniface's title to the papacy could not be sustained, they appealed to a general council for a decision in the matter. They were at great pains to have this widely circulated,⁴ and, having affixed one copy to the doors, placed another on the high altar of St. Peter's Church.⁵ Boniface took prompt and decisive action. That very night he excommunicated and declared war against his rebellious vassals, and such of the clergy as had taken sides with them. The friends of Boniface, to whom he had sent invitations to come to his aid, flocked about him, and the neighbouring States either sent him troops or assaulted and took the castles of the Colonnas. Palestrina (ancient Præneste) was the only stronghold they still retained, and against this Boniface now sent all his available forces. Among the captains serving in this expedition were Landulf and Matthew Colonna. The siege was pushed with great vigour, and the defence was for some time equally vigorous; but the Colonnas eventually surrendered, and all the members of the family, both laymen and ecclesiastics, passed from Palestrina to Rieti, threw themselves at the Pope's feet, sued for pardon, and were absolved from sentence of excommunication. Palestrina was then razed with the ground, according to compact (1299).⁶

After this event, the heads of the Colonna family withdrew from the States of the Church—some retiring to France and others to Sicily.

But it was from France, which had had so many and so considerable favours from the Holy See, that the most cruel outrages and the most disgraceful treatment were received by Boniface. In order to put an end to the sanguinary war raging between *Edward I.* and *Philip the Fair*, Boniface had remonstrated with the former, and persuaded *Adolph, King of Germany*, to break off his alliance with England (A. D. 1295). In 1297, he threatened the three kings with excommunication if they would not consent to an armistice. This conduct may now seem extravagant; but, in so acting, Boniface did not overstep the authority which, at that time, nearly every State in

¹ Apud *Petrini*, p. 419.

² "Eos studuit (Apost. sedis benigna sinceritas) nunc paternæ lenitatis dulcedine alloqui, nunc verbis charitativæ correctionis inducere." Bonif. Bull. apud *Raynald*, p. 225.

³ Many contemporaries state that Sciarra Colonna seized and plundered the papal treasury, but to this the Pope never alludes. It would seem that his silence would be a sufficient denial of the fact; still it is sustained by a host of respectable authorities, among which the following may be given: *Amalricus*, R. I. S., Tom. III., Pt. II., p. 435; *Cronica di Bologna*, ib., Tom. XVIII., p. 301; *Chronicon Estense*, ib., Tom. XV., p. 344; *Gregorii Stellæ Annales Genuenses*, lib. II. ib., Tom. XVIII., p. 1020, quoted by *Wiseman*. (Tr.)

⁴ *Bern. Guido*, R. I. S., Tom. III., p. 670; *Amalricus Angerius*, ib., p. 435.

⁵ *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Âge* (p. 34), by J. C. L. de Sismondi, Engl. Tr., London, 1832.

⁶ *Chronica*, R. I. S., Tom. II., p. 53.

Christendom recognised as inherent in the *Papacy*. To put an end to war, if possible, under the circumstances, was not only his right, but his *duty* as well; and he had a still stronger right to insist on an armistice, and to propose that the quarrel should be submitted to his arbitration. Were proof needed to show that on this occasion he had no wish to go beyond the limits of his legitimate authority, it might be found in his moderation and his unwillingness to push affairs to extremes when he learned the irreconcilable nature of the respective claims put forward by the two kings. His legates hesitated to make known his wishes to Philip the Fair, and when they finally mustered courage to do so, that prince stated that in temporal matters he recognised no other superior than God. The Pope did not insist further on this score, but reminded Philip, who, besides being a young man, had all the insolence common to that age, that in whatever concerned the Church, whose privileges he had most unwarrantably invaded by heavily taxing the clergy to defray the expenses of the war, he must heed the voice of the Holy See. Matters went from bad to worse; the French bishops complained of the arbitrary exactions demanded of them; and the Pope, to remedy this condition of things, published his bull "*Clericis laicos*,"¹ in which he emphatically condemned the practice of levying extraordinary taxes upon churches for secular purposes. According to this bull, any layman who should exact from an ecclesiastic, or any ecclesiastic who should pay to a layman an extraordinary impost, was excommunicated. When it is considered that Edward of England pushed his demands so far as to require one-half of the entire income of all ecclesiastics within his realm, and that Philip of France exacted one-fifth of their movable and immovable property, it will be seen that there was ample ground for the publication of the bull. But the French king took his revenge by forbidding,² in general terms, the exportation from his kingdom of all gold, silver, and precious stones, and, by implication, the sums of money heretofore sent from France to Rome.³ This had its effect, for Boniface, who could not well afford to lose the revenues of France, published, in 1296, the bull "*Ineffabilis*," and in 1297, the bulls "*Romana Ecclesia*" and "*Etsi de statu*," besides the brief "*Excidat*," by all of which he put the mildest possible interpretation⁴ upon the "*Clericis laicos*," stating that it was not intended by the bull to forbid ecclesiastics to give what they liked, provided only it were *freely given*, and that its censures were meant to strike royal officials who extorted money illegally.

¹ Also given in the *Liber sextus decretalium*, Lib. III., Tit. XXIII., cap. 3. This bull is little more than an emphatic repetition of the decree of Innocent III., (Can. 46). The necessity of having the Pope's consent to lay an extraordinary tax on the Church is specially insisted upon.

² *Raynald.*, An ad. 1296, nro. 25, and *du Puy*, Preuves, p. 13.

³ *Döllinger*, Oh. Hist., Vol. III., p. 84. (Tr.)

⁴ *Ibid.* nr. 49 conf. *Baillet*, p. 322: Quia ejus est interpretari, cujus est concedere, ad cautelam tuam humana declaratione decernimus, quod si prælatus aliquis *voluntarie* donum aut mutuum tibi dare voluerit, etc.

Boniface also commended the French clergy for their zeal in applying their own incomes and the revenues of the Church to the support of the king, approved of their resolution to pay him a tenth for two years, and brought to a close the *canonisation of Louis IX.*, Philip's grandfather, which had been under consideration for twenty-five years.

In 1298, Boniface persuaded the kings of England and France to name him, not in his official capacity as Pope, but as simple *Benedict Cajetan*, mediator between them and arbiter of their quarrel. Benedict very fairly and justly decided that things should remain as they had been previously to the breaking out of the war. To this judgment Philip took exception, and swore he would renew the war on the expiration of the armistice. He was as good as his word, and the assault made upon the Count of Flanders showed that he was terribly in earnest.

Philip was ingenious in devising methods of insult. *Albert of Austria* had deprived Adolph of Nassau of both his crown and his life, and had been in consequence summoned to Rome to answer the charge of high treason. Of this Philip was perfectly well aware, but he, notwithstanding, concluded an alliance with him, and then gravely sent his ambassador, *Nogaret*, to inform the Pope of the fact.

Conduct of this character, and the rapacity of the king and his ministers in seizing the property and revenues of the Church, called forth a most determined resistance from Boniface.

It was just at this time (A. D. 1300) that the centenary jubilee, the only successful and cheering event in the whole pontificate of Boniface, took place in Rome. It was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence, and the piety and devotion of the countless hosts of pilgrims who visited the city on the occasion were touching and gratifying.

In 1301, while affairs were still in the condition described, Boniface had occasion to send an envoy to the French court, and he unfortunately chose for this office *Bernard of Saisset*, bishop of the newly erected see of Pamiers, who, having but lately quarrelled with the French king about ecclesiastical rights, was intensely objectionable to him. Bernard, who, it is said, had instructions to obtain the release of the Count of Flanders, approached Philip with an air of authority, spoke imperatively, and threatened him with interdict if the prayer were denied. Philip had the offending prelate driven from court, and delivered into the custody of the Archbishop of Narbonne.

The king, now fairly roused, made up his mind to push matters to their utmost limits. In order the better to avail himself of all the means of sustaining his cause and raising money placed within his power by the laws of the Church, he sought information of those skilled in canon law—a science then highly cultivated in France. The two chief personages who had this matter in hand were *Peter Flotte*, who had great cleverness in devising and making the best of financial resources, and *William Nogaret*, a professor of laws at Montpellier, whom the king called to court in order to avail himself of his

knowledge and ability in cloaking royal usurpations under legal forms and the appearances of justice.

These two jurists undertook the prosecution of Bernard of Saisset on charge of high treason, in the course of which they gave ample proof of their knowledge of Byzantino-Roman law. They specially insisted on some remarks made by Bernard on a prophecy which foretold the fall of the French monarchy and dynasty. Nogaret, whose argument was little more than a tissue of silly and contradictory counts, demanded that the Bishop of Pamiers should be judicially and solemnly punished. The latter was then arrested and cast into prison by order of Philip, who next requested the Pope to degrade him, that he might be handed over to the secular authority, and punished according to the law of the State. To this demand the Pope replied by suspending the tithes granted to Philip from the revenues of the Church, alleging that they had been diverted from their proper uses. On the same day (December 5, 1301), he published the bull "*Ausculda fili*," in which, after reminding Philip that, though king, still, as a son of the Church, the Pope was his superior on earth, he went on to complain of the violations of ecclesiastical rights by arbitrary appointments to benefices, by oppressive levies of taxes upon the clergy, by measures impeding the administration of ecclesiastical law and interfering with episcopal jurisdiction over monasteries, by seizing upon and appropriating the revenues of vacant bishoprics; and, finally, by circulating counterfeit coin. He also informed the king that he was about to call the French bishops and doctors to a council in Rome, in order to provide measures for the removal of these abuses, and that he would expect him to be present, either personally or by representative.¹ It is said that the Pope, on one occasion, while delivering an allocution at a consistory, so far lost control of his temper and forgot his high dignity as to make an unbecoming allusion to a bodily defect of Peter Flotte, who, he said, was physically blind of an eye, and stone-blind spiritually.

When the papal bull reached Philip,² he had it falsified; after which, amid a great display of injured innocence and outraged dignity, he had it publicly burned (February, 1302). In order to strengthen his cause in every available way, and to forestall the dangerous effects of a threatened interdict, Philip convoked at Paris (April 10, 1302) the *three estates* of his kingdom, and, for the first time, united the clergy, the nobles, and the commons in opposition to the papacy, just as, five centuries later, they were united in opposition to royalty.

At this assembly, Chancellor Flotte played quite a conspicuous part. An unscrupulous intriguer and dishonest schemer, he brought all his talent, discrimination, and address to bear on an effort to

¹ Raynald., Ad an. 1301, nros. 13 sq. *du Puy*, Preuves, p. 661; complete in Christophe, T. I., p. 390.

² On the falsification of the shorter bull or epistle (*Baillet*., p. 103), cf. *Spondanus*, Ann. eccl. ad an. 1301, nro. 11.—*De Marca*, De concord. sacerdot., Lib. IV., c. 16, presumes, from the insinuations made by Cardinal Aquasparta, that Chancellor Flotte was the falsifier. See *Planck*, L. c., p. 96 sq.

alienate the French clergy from the Pope. "The court of Rome," said he, in a speech to the convened estates, "has arbitrarily conferred bishoprics and some of the best prebends upon unknown strangers, some of whom do not even live among us; thus making it impossible for local prelates to promote men of ability and merit. It has imposed unusual taxes upon churches, shorn archbishops of their legitimate powers by withdrawing suffragan bishops from their jurisdiction, and is now engaged in an effort to make the king himself subject to it. But this can never be, for our royal master recognizes on earth no superior other than God. In view of these aggressions," continued Flotte, "the king has called upon the estates to aid him in maintaining the ancient liberties of the nation."

The nobility and the commoners replied that they were ready to give their wealth and their lives in defence of their liberties, and that if the king should be weak enough to yield to the demands of the Pope, they would resist them. The clergy, intimidated by a menace to the effect that whosoever should oppose these sentiments would be regarded as an enemy to his king and country, assured the monarch of their fidelity and of their willingness to aid him, and begged that they might be permitted to attend the Roman synod in obedience to the Pope's call. Their request being refused, they wrote a letter to the Pope, beseeching him not to sever the ancient alliance between France and the Holy See, nor to insist on their coming to Rome to attend the Synod. They also advised him to use great prudence in the matter of ecclesiastical censures, as the laity, in their present temper of mind, would treat them with contemptuous indifference.¹

Philip wrote a short note to Boniface, in which, after addressing him as *maxima tua fatuitas*, or Your Supreme Stupidity, he went on to say that in temporal matters he recognized no superior, and that he should take it to be the height of folly in anyone to pretend to dispute with him the right of disposing of ecclesiastical prebends and their revenues.

Boniface, in an answer written out in presence of the cardinals, denied that he had ever made the claim falsely attributed to him in the interpolated bull, by which he was made to say that "Philip held France as a fief from the Holy See," which, he affirmed, was a corruption and a fabrication. Then he went on to explain that Philip was subject to the Pope, not as a temporal prince (*ratione dominii*), but in a spiritual sense and as a Christian; and that in temporal matters he was subject to him only when and in so far as there was question of sin and injustice (*ratione peccati*); and finally, that the Holy See, far from denying, recognized the fact that there was a difference between the two powers established by God.²

In spite of the violent threats of Philip, four archbishops, thirty-

¹ Cf. *Döllinger*, *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. III., p. 88 sq. (Tr.)

² Boniface, in referring to the way in which the two powers are related to each other, adopts the comparison of the sun and moon, used by Gregory VII. and Innocent III. He says: "Scriptum est: fecit Deus duo luminaria magna, luminare majus, et præsetet

five bishops, and six abbots' went from France (November, 1302) to Rome, to be present at the council. The enactments of this assembly are summed up in the bull "*Unam sanctam*" (November 18, 1302), which is an exposition of the relations between Church and State—between the spiritual and temporal powers—the line of argument pursued being based on the words of Jeremias, i. 10: "Behold, I have set thee over kingdoms and empires."

"There being but one faith and one baptism," says Boniface, "and the Church constituting but one body, there can necessarily be but one Head. The invisible head is Jesus Christ; the visible, His representatives, the successors to Peter. Christ has established two swords or powers in the Church—the one temporal, the other spiritual. The latter He has committed to the Priesthood, the former to kings; and, both being in the Church, both have the same end. The temporal power, being inferior, is subject to the spiritual, which is the higher and more noble, and directs the former as the soul does the body. Should the temporal power turn aside from its prescribed course, it is the duty of the spiritual to recall it to its true destiny. It is of faith that all men, even kings, are subject to the Pope; for, if kings were not subject to the censures of the Church whenever they might sin in the exercise of the power committed to them, they would, as a consequence, be out of the Church, and the two powers would be essentially distinct, having, in that case, their origins in two different and opposite principles—an error not far removed from the heresy of the Manichæans."

Such is the drift and the doctrinal contents of the oft-quoted and much-criticised bull in which Boniface designedly gives special prominence to the teaching of French writers and theologians, such as *St. Bernard*, *Hugo of St. Victor*, and *St. Thomas Aquinas*,² who,

diei, et luminare minus, ut præesset nocti: sunt enim duæ jurisdictiones, spiritualis et temporalis. Jurisdictionem spirit. *principaliter* habet summus Pontifex, jurisdictionem temp. habet imperator et alii reges; tamen de omni temporalis habet cognoscere summus Pontifex et judicare *ratione peccati*, etc.—Dicimus, quod in nullo volumus usurpare *jurisdictionem regis*; non potest negare rex seu quicumque alter fidelis, quin sit nobis *subjectus ratione peccati*." Cf. *du Puy*, p. 72 sq. It is more than likely that this bull was composed by *Ægidius of Rome*, also called *Ægidius Colonna*, Archbishop of Bourges. It is sometimes erroneously stated that he was an opponent of Boniface's (Austrian Quart. of Cath. Theol., Year I., 1862, n. 1). The remark of Gerson, an author usually found on the side of the bishops, is important in this connection. It is in *Serm. de pace et unione Græcorum*, and runs as follows: "Nec dicere oportet omnes reges vel principes hæreditatem eorum vel terram tenere a Papa (something that Philip imputed to Boniface), ut Papa habeat superioritatem civilem, similem et juridicam super omnes, quemadmodum aliqui imponunt Bonifacio octavo. Omnes tamen homines, principes et alii, subjectionem habent ad Papam, in quantum eorum jurisdictionibus, temporalitate et Dominio abuti vellent contra legem divinam et naturalem, et potest superioritas illa nominari potestas directiva et ordinativa potius quam civilis vel juridica."

¹ *Raynald*, Ad. an. 1302, nro. 12, subfin. *Mansi*, however, in his note, doubts if there were so many French prelates present. *Raynald*., nro. 13, makes the following supposition respecting the origin of the bull "*Unam sanctam*:" Ex eo concilio videtur emanasse insignis constitutio—*unam sanctam eccl. cath.*, etc. See this in *Extrav. Commun.*, Lib. I., Tit. VIII., De majorit. and obed. c. I. (Tr.)

² Two principal passages from *St. Bernard*, De consideratione, Lib. IV., c. 3; *ejusd.* ep. 256 ad Dom. papam Eugen.; from *Hugo of St. Victor*, De Sacramentis, Lib. II., Pt.

though not a Frenchman, was an authority in France on the relations between Church and State, of which this bull, and every other directed by this Pope to the French king, particularly treats.

When Charles of Valois, who had previously been the recipient of many and considerable favours from the Pope, offered his kind offices as mediator between the French king, his brother, and Boniface, the latter sent Cardinal *John le Moine* of Amiens as his legate to Philip,¹ who, rejecting all overtures of accommodation proposed by the cardinal, was excommunicated, April 13, 1303. The bearer of the papal letters was met at Troyes by the king's officers, his documents taken from him, and he himself cast into prison. With a view to strengthening his position, Philip now concluded a peace with Edward of England; while, on the other hand, Boniface adjusted the difficulties between Charles II. of Naples and Frederic of Sicily, and, after considerable hesitation, recognized *Albert of Austria* as lawful King of Germany, and invited him to come to Italy and receive the imperial crown. In reply Albert wrote a very respectful and submissive note, in which he disclaimed any feeling of opposition to the Holy See.

In June, 1303, Philip again convoked the three estates of his kingdom at Paris. *William de Plasian*, supported by four barons, appeared before this assembly with a long catalogue of complaints against the Pope, ingeniously arranged and worked up with consummate sophistry, to produce the very worst impression on his hearers. The substance of the document had evidently been supplied by the exiled members of the Colonna family. In it the charges of heresy, witchcraft, idolatry, disbelief, simony, and murder were brought against Boniface. The proof of his *heresy* consisted in that he had said, in a moment of irritation, that "he had rather be a dog than a Frenchman," denying by implication, it was urged, *the immortality of the soul*; of his *idolatry*, in that he had had his image engraven on some of his gifts to the churches, the conclusion being that he desired to have himself worshipped, of his *disbelief*, in that he had, while Mass was being celebrated, turned his back upon the altar, thereby practically denying the Real Presence; of his *simony*, in that he had asserted the Pope could not

II., c. 4.; from *St. Thomas Aquin*, Contra errores Græcor ad Urban IV., P. M., sub finem, where the sentiment, quod subesse Romano Pontifici sit de necessitate salutis (in the bull of Pope Boniface: porro subesse sub Rom. Pontif. omnem humanam creaturam declaramus, dicimus, definimus et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis). *Phillips*, in his Canon Law, Vol. III., p. 256, has pointed out the quotations from *St. Bernard* and *Hugo of St. Victor*, yet his own quotation is incorrect, and he has also forgotten to mark variations; for, whereas it is put in the bull *Unam sanctam*, "Ille (gladius) sacerdotis, is manu regis et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam (complacentiam) sacerdotis," it is said in *Bernard*, De consid., IV., 3: "Ille sacerdotis, is militis manu, sed sane ad nutum sacerdotis et jussum imperatoris." It is likewise put in the bull, "Spiritualis potestas terrenam potestatem instituere habet et judicare, si bona non fuerit;" whilst *Hugo of St. Victor* says: "Spiritualis potestas terrenam potestatem et instituere habet ut sit, et judicare habet, si bona non fuerit." Yet *St. Bernard* also says: "Exercendus est nunc uterque gladius — per vos. Petri uterque est, alter suo nutu, alter sua manu, quoties necesse est evaginandus.—Ergo suus erat ille, sed non manu sua utique educendus (epist. 256).

¹ On the twelve articles proposed by the cardinal as a basis of settlement, cf. *du Puy*, p. 89.

be guilty of simoniacal practices, and had unlawfully disposed of the goods of the Church to the French king; of *murder*, in that a rumour had got abroad compromising him in the death of Celestine V.; of *magic*, in that, being possessed, he had heaped outrages upon the bishops and the religious orders of the Church, and was now persecuting France and pursuing the French king with the most implacable hatred. To the truth of these charges and the facts by which they were supported, De Plasian vouched on oath,¹ whereupon the deputies pledged their fortunes and their lives in defence of the liberties of France against the aggressions of Rome. *For the first time in the History of France, king and people, high and low, "appealed from the Pope to a general council,"* thus practically opening a schism. Of all the prelates and ecclesiastics present at that Gallican assembly, the abbot of Citeaux alone had the courage and the manliness to stand up and protest against proceedings so dishonest and violent.

William de Nogaret, the keeper of the royal seals, who had taken an active part in getting up the charges against the Pope, was sent into Italy, ostensibly as ambassador, accompanied by *Sciarra Colonna*. Boniface, who had in the meantime received intelligence of what had taken place in France, held a consistory at *Anagni*, his native place, in which he deposed on oath that the crimes laid to his charge were utterly without foundation in fact. He next published (August 15th) five *bulls*,² in which he declared that a citation to Rome had its full effect, even if it should not actually have reached the person cited; suspended the power of ecclesiastical corporations to appoint to vacant prebends, and withdrew from the French universities the faculty of conferring academical degrees. He was about to lay France under interdict and absolve the subjects of Philip from their allegiance, when William de Nogaret, at the head of a French force, and Sciarra Colonna, leading a band of Ghibellines, made their way, by treachery, into Anagni, and, rushing through the streets, cried out, "Long live the King of France! Death to Boniface!" The astonished and affrighted inhabitants could make no resistance, and the two bands forced their way, by different entrances, into the Pope's presence-chamber. In the meantime Boniface had hastily put on his pontifical vestments, and having seated himself upon his throne, and holding a crucifix in his hands, calmly awaited the approach of his enemies. Sciarra Colonna, thirsting for vengeance, was making for the Pope with drawn sword; but, catching sight of the venerable old man, he halted, abashed and irresolute, on the threshold of the chamber. William de Nogaret, who was a stranger to reverence, fine feeling, and generous instincts, rudely approached the Pope and insultingly threatened to carry him off a prisoner to Lyons and have him deposed by a general council. To this Boniface calmly replied, making ironical reference to Nogaret's father, who had been punished

¹ *Card. Wiseman and Döllinger*, Ll. c. (Tr.)

² *Cf. du Puy*, Preuves, p. 63, and *Raynald*, ad an. 1303, nros. 36 sq.

for heresy: "Here is my head, here is my neck. I, a Catholic, lawful Pontiff and Vicar of Jesus Christ, may patiently bear being condemned and deposed by the Patarini. I desire to die for the faith of Christ and His Church.¹

After a three days' captivity, he was rescued by the inhabitants of Anagni, who, roused to action by the indignant words of Cardinal Luca del Fiesco, rushed to his release, crying, "*Death to the traitors!*" On his return to Rome, whither he went a few days later, he received a most extraordinary ovation. He was shortly attacked by a severe fever, of which he died on the tenth day after his return (October 11, 1303), in the eighty-seventh year of his age. After his return, it is said,² he was detained for a short time in honourable captivity by the Cardinals *Orsini*, who were indignant that they should have been suspected of complicity in the conspiracy against him.³ It is not improbable that the shock of these two captivities may have accelerated the death of Boniface.

The opinions even of Catholics have been divided as to the character of this Pope. The Ghibelline poet, *Dante*, assailed him fiercely, calling him "the prince of modern Pharisees"⁴ and "the high priest whom may evil overtake;"⁵ and St. Peter is made, by the same poet, to call him "an usurper," and to charge him with crime⁶ and the shedding of blood; and, finally, he is represented as buried among the damned in hell for his guilt of simony.⁷ On the other hand, *Petrarca* calls him "the marvel of the world," and the Protestant *Planck* has written a vindication of him. "Although," says Cardinal Wiseman, "the character of Boniface was certainly stern and inflexible, there is not a sign of its having been cruel or revengeful. Throughout the whole of his history, not an instance can be found of his having

¹ This was proved in his "*process*." See *Raynald*, L. c., and *Rubæus*, p. 214. "This scene," says Cardinal Wiseman, "exhibits, beyond almost any other in history, the triumph of moral over brute force—the power of mind, arrayed in true dignity of outward bearing, over passion and injustice." Even *Dante* relented at its contemplation, and indignantly sang of his enemy:—

"Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,
E nel Vicario suo Cristo esser catto.
Veggiolo un'altra volta esser deriso;
Veggio rinnovellar l'aceto e'l fela,
E tra nuovi ladroni essere anciso."

"Entering Alagna, lo! the fleur-de-lis,
And in his vicar, Christ a captive led!
I see Him mocked a second time;—again
The vinegar and gall produced I see;
And Christ Himself 'twixt living robbers slain."

Wright's Dante—Purgatory, Canto XX., lines 86-90.

* In the chronicles of *Parma* and those of *Ferretti* of *Piacenza* (*Muratori*, T. IX., pp. 848-1006), but the latter is hardly reliable. (Tr.)

² *Döllinger*, Ch. Hist., Vol. IV., p. 96. (Tr.)

⁴ "Lo principe dei nuovi farisei." Inf. XXVII., 85.

⁵ "Il gran prete a cui mal prenda." Inf. 68. This is regarded by the Italians as the very worst of imprecations. (Tr.)

⁶ "Quegli che usurpa in terra il luogo mio
Il luogo mio, il luogo mio che vaca."

Parad. xxvii. 22.

⁷ Inf. XIX. 52.

punished a single enemy with death. . . . Moreover, we do not find in any writer, however hostile to him, the slightest insinuation against his moral conduct or character, and this is not a little thing in one who has been more bitterly assailed than almost any other pontiff.¹

That he was severely just, no one can fairly deny; but, on the other hand, it must be admitted that, as a strict *jurist*, not always taking into account the circumstances of his age, he often went too far in the assertion of rights which unquestionably belonged to him, forgetting that the most just claims, when pushed to their extreme consequences, may degenerate into wrongs.² But when we take into account the character of Boniface's adversaries, and the difficulty, at the dawning of a new era, of clearly apprehending and fully appreciating all the influences at work, and of providing for contingencies, we shall be inclined to moderate the severity of this judgment. Perhaps no Pope could have let the papacy down from the height reached by it in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with more safety and more imposing dignity than Boniface VIII.

§ 227. *General View of the Temporal and Spiritual Power of the Popes during the Middle Ages.*

Roskovány, De Primatu Rom. Pontif. ejusq. jurib. August. Vindel., 1854. Against the vague distinction, in vogue since Febronius, of *essential* and *accidental* (questionable) rights of the Primacy, cf. **Contzen*, Theocracy and Gallicanism (Hist. and Polit. Papers, Vol. 45, three articles). *Phillips*, C. L., Vol. III., Pt. I., p. 179 sq.; Vol. V., Pt. I., and **Walter*, C. L., 13 ed., § 446. *Hurter*, Innocent III., Vol. III., pp. 51-149. **Contzen*, Critique of the Middle Ages, with a special reference to the Political Economy of St. Thomas Aquinas, Cassel, 1870.—Mgr. Card.) *Matthieu*, Le pouvoir temporel des papes.

Never did the spiritual and the temporal power of the Popes rise to a greater height or take a wider range than during the epoch over which we have just passed.³ Look where we will, and we behold the Pope acting as mediator between princes and subjects, and governments and peoples; at one time passing judgment on kings and nations in the name and by the authority of God; at another, making a resolute stand against injustice, and preventing, as far as possible, the ravages of war and the anarchy of revolution. In the belief of all, he is *the immediate representative of God*, the Vicar of Jesus Christ (not only *vicarius Petri*, but also *Christi, Dei*), and responsible for the exercise of his authority *to God alone and His Church*.⁴

¹ *Card. Wisemann*, L. c. sub finem. (Tr.)

² The following judgment, passed on Boniface by his contemporary, *Ptolemæus de Fiadonib.*, generally devoted to the Church (his hist. eccl., Lib. XXIV., c. 36), is remarkable: "Hic longo tempore experientiam habuit Curix, quum primo Advocatus ibidem, inde factus postea Notarius Papæ, postea Cardinalis, et inde in Cardinalatu expeditor ad casus Collegii declarandos, seu ad externos respondendum. Nec in hoc habuit parem, sed propter hanc causam factus est fastuosus et arrogans ac omnium contentivus." *Murator*, T. XI., p. 1203. Yet *Mansi*, in Raynaldi annal. ad an. 1303, judges him more mildly: "Ingentes animi dotes—sæculari principatui potius quam ecclesiastico potiores."

³ See above § 191.

⁴ Against the claim to a universal, despotic, and *absolute* power, said to have been made by the popes of the Middle Ages, cf. Paschal II.: "Ad hoc in Ecclesia Dei constituti sumus, ut Ecclesiæ ordinem et patrum debeamus præcepta servare." In *Mansi*,

He wears the triple crown to symbolise the Church militant, the Church suffering, and the Church triumphant, and as a token of an Empire superior to all the kingdoms of this world, and embracing in the range of its immensity¹ the heavens above, the earth beneath, and the places under the earth. High above every other banner rises the glorious banner of the Church—the banner of the Crucified Christ, *who is the direct object of the homage, the honour, and the obedience of all Christians.* Every law is promulgated *in Christ's name*, and observed *for His sake.* To condemn the visible head of the Church is all one with condemning Him who is her invisible Head. To the primacy of the Popes does Rome owe all she is, and, in fact, that she now exists at all is nearly, if not altogether due to their presence. Had they at any time ceased to make it their abode, the malaria of the surrounding campagna would have dispersed the population, and the once proud mistress of the world would have become as desolate as Ephesus, and as politically and commercially insignificant as Syracuse, Agrigentum, or Corinth.

The Infallibility of the Pope, now an article of faith, was then the generally received belief of Christians, and its witness then, as now, was the untainted purity of the Roman faith.² Some of those who took upon them the defence of the doctrine brought to its support many genuine, and not a few *suspicious* passages from the Fathers³—

T. XX., p. 1099: Innocentii III.: "In tantum mihi fides necessaria, ut cum de cæteris peccatis Deum iudicem habeam, propter solum peccatum, quod in fidem committitur, possim ab *Ecclesia judicari.*" Cf. Greg. VII., Lib V., ep. 11; Lib. VI., ep. 14. As regards subsequent popes, *Pius VII.* spoke as follows: "There are, in the very nature and constitution of the Church, certain limits which the Pope may not go beyond without doing violence to his conscience and abusing the power committed to him by Jesus Christ, to be used for the building up, and not the overturning of the Church. These limits are *the dogmas of Catholic faith*, which the Bishop of Rome cannot violate, either directly or indirectly; and, even in the matter of discipline, there have always been certain bounds which the popes never ventured to overstep." Vide *Döllinger*, *The Papacy and the States of the Church*, Munich, 1861, p. 41 sq.

¹ The use of a crown is perhaps as ancient as the *temporal power* of the popes. The biographer of Alexander III. (1159-1181) (see *Pagi* in *Brev. P. R.*), relates of him: "Consecratus est in sumnum Pontificem, et secundum *solitum* ecclesiæ morem *regno de more* insignitus, mitra *turbinata* sc. cum *corona.*" Pope Innocent III. (1198-1216) makes an explicit distinction between the papal crown and mitre: "Romanus Pontifex in signum Imperii utitur *regno*, et in signum Pontificii utitur *mitra.*" (Serm. in fest. s. Sylvest. P.) The name "*tiara*" is mentioned by Pandulphus in the life of Pascal II. (1099-1118). Writing of the enthronement of this Pope, he says: "Chlamyde coccinea induitur a patribus, et thiara capiti ejus imposita, comitante turba cum cantu Lateranum vectus," etc. *Pagi* (in *Brev. R. P. in vita Alexandri III.*) has an ancient list of the festivals "in quibus Dominus Papa solebat coranari." All this goes to show that the tiara was not then a "*Triregnum*," or "*triple crown.*" The common opinion is, that the second crown was added by Boniface VIII. (1294-1303) as a symbol of the spiritual and temporal power, and the third was by Pope Urban V. (1362-1379, for mystical reasons. Ancient portraits of the popes confirm this statement. *Aleman*, in *diss. de parietinis Lateranensibus*, and *M. A. Mazzaroni*, *De tribus coronis Pont. Mas.* (Romæ, 1609). *Schrödl*, in *Freibg.* Cyclop. art. *Tiara*. The use of this triple crown in *all* ages of the Church, as implied by *Darras* in his *Ch. Hist.*, cannot be sustained. (Tr.)

² See Vol. I., § 30.—Cf. Luke, xxii. 32.

³ Thus, for example, at the passage quoted, at page 625, by St. Thomas Aquinas—"Quod subesse Romano Pontifici sit de necessitate salutis,"—is added, "Dicit enim *Cyrillus* (Alex. Patriarcha) in libro thesaurorum," a work written in imitation of the genuine one of St. Cyril, and having the same title, but whose author was probably a Dominican.

notably from the so-called "*Thesaurus St. Cyrilli*;" but the schoolmen much preferred arguments drawn from texts of Holy Writ,¹ and deductions from dogmatic premises on the nature, unity, and end of the Church—a line of reasoning perfectly in keeping with scholastic methods of thought.

The episcopate of the Pope, being *one* and co-extensive with the Church, was regarded as the origin and source of all episcopal power; and hence, since the eleventh century, bishops have been in the habit of styling themselves bishops "*by the grace of God and through favour of the Apostolic See.*"² They were, as a rule, elected by cathedral chapters, and their elections, or their translation from inferior to more important sees, always required the approbation of the Pope. Archbishops, according to long-established usage, *generally* received the pallium, and enjoying as *metropolitans*, in a special sense, a share in the solicitude of the Head of the Church, were required to take an *oath of fidelity* to the Pope.³ Without the authorisation of the Pope, new episcopal sees could not be established, nor could the administration or the boundaries of old ones be changed. The Pope alone could validly *convoke* councils and *confirm* their acts, and, for good and sufficient reasons, reserved to himself the *right of canonisation*.⁴ He at times claimed the right to *propose* deserving ecclesiastics for *benefices* (*precistæ*), and himself conferred the investiture;⁵ and, in extreme cases, he even *laid a general tax* upon the whole church of a particular country. Appeals were constantly made to him in affairs both secular and ecclesiastical. He reserved to himself all manner of *dispensations* and *absolution from certain grievous sins*. This latter was freely granted to such as made pilgrimages to Rome.

So wide an extension and so active an exercise of the power and authority of the Holy See called for a large and efficient staff of officials about the immediate person of the Pope, and the continual presence of papal legates in distant countries. For the decisions in all legal matters, the *Roman court* was the highest tribunal of appeal, and for these legal services heavy fees were exacted. The *legates* sent into the various countries to look after ecclesiastical affairs, as a rule, made an honest and conscientious use of the vast authority with which they were invested; but the abuses which they not unfrequently permitted themselves excited the most bitter complaints even against the

¹ Matt. xvi., Luke, xxii., John, x. 16 and xxi.

² Histoire littér. de la France, T. I., pp. 253-259. Cf. Thomassini, T. I., Lib. I. c. 69, nros. 9, 10. Cf. *The Catholic*, 1823, Vol. VII., pp. 129-148.

³ According to the acts of the Council of Rome, in the year 1079, the oath was taken by the patriarch of Aquileia. *Mansi*, T. XX., p. 525.

⁴ *Alex. III.* (Decretal. Greg., Lib. I., Tit. 45. c. 1.) *Innoc. III.* extended it to relics. Conc. Lateran. IV. a. 1215, can. 62. Cf. *Benedicti XIV.*, De servor. Dei beatificat. et beator. canonisat. (Opp., om., Rom., 1747, Vol. 1-4.)

⁵ *Thomassini*, T. II., Lib. I., c. 43, 44: De initio et progressu juris vel. exercitii juris summor. pontificum in beneficia diœcesium aliarum. Cf. *Hurter*, L. c., Vol. III., pp. 105-111, and p. 123 sq.

Popes, who, to their honour be it said, always meant well, but were not always faithfully served.¹

The wide-extending influence of the Popes, embracing both secular and ecclesiastical interests, so well expressed in the form of benediction given by the Vicar of Christ to Christendom ("*Urbi et Orbi*"), and the large range of rights and prerogatives attached to the Primacy, have frequently been a source of embarrassment to historians in instituting a comparison between the papacy in the early ages and what it came to be as time went on. But the comparison will embarrass only those who considered the Church and her institutions as the sterile abstractions of a purely human system. It can seem strange to none but those disposed to be hypercritical and narrow-minded, that the papacy should be found in the Middle Ages not exactly what it was in the first centuries of the Church. While finding fault with the papacy on this score, they forget or overlook the fact that the episcopacy in like manner went on developing and widening the sphere of its influence as the exigencies of each successive age demanded, until it finally included within its circumference the full scope of metropolitan rights. The Primacy, being the keystone of the imposing edifice of the Church, proves, by its continual growth and varying adaptation to the needs of successive generations, its title to legitimacy. The seed of Divinity, sown in the soil of the Church, sprang up, expanded, and gained strength and vigour as centuries went on. Its growth kept pace with the constantly increasing *wants of the times, was called forth, and in a sense nurtured by them*, and was adequate to them. The Primacy increased in greatness and power in proportion as the tendency to unity and centralisation was developed in the Church. The phases and manifestations of ecclesiastical unity vary in different ages and under diverse circumstances. In times of peace they are more or less in abeyance; but when trouble comes and storms threaten, the Church gathers all her scattered energies for the struggle, and puts forth her full strength in the *Primacy*.

The popes of the Middle Ages, acting from purely Christian motives, and not from a sense of personal power, exercised their authority the more effectually, inasmuch as they were conscious that the principles on which it rested were identical with those enunciated and drawn out by the early Fathers of the Church, and notably by St. Cyprian.²

¹ We refer, above all, to *Alex. IV.*, ep. encyclica ad archiepiscopos Galliæ: "Sicut ad audientiam nostram non sine animi perturbatione pervenit, horum (Legatorum) nonnulli famæ prodigi et salutis obliti—occasione procurationum hujusmodi a nonnullis ecclesiis et ecclesiast. personis—magnas et immoderatas pecuniarum summas extorquere ausu sacrilego præsumserunt, diversas excommunicationum, suspensionum et interdicti sententias in quam plures ex personis et ecclesiis—temere promulgando in animarum suarum periculum, nostram et dictæ sedis infamiam et scandalum plurimorum, etc." (*De Marca*, Concord. sacerdot. et imp., Lib. V., c. 51, § 14.)

² All the churches, when menaced from within or attacked from without, turn their eyes ad *Petri cathedram atque ad ecclesiam principalem unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*, because it is to her that Christ has delivered the keys, *ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem*.

The power and action of the Church are always abreast of her needs; and, although the *rights* and prerogatives of the Primacy may be *more or less nearly connected with its direct aim and scope*, still the distinction which has been drawn between *rights essential and non-essential to its nature* is vague and indefinite; for it not unfrequently happens that those which are regarded as non-essential in one age become in another *the most vital* to the preservation and advancement of the Church.

The judgments passed by some upon the possession and exercise of *the temporal sovereignty* by the popes are characterised by a tone of unusual severity. But unprejudiced inquirers, who had no purpose to subserve but the ascertaining of the truth, and who brought to the investigation critical sobriety and honesty, have gratefully acknowledged that the political and moral *supremacy*, and, in certain instances, *suzerainty*¹ asserted and exercised by the Head of the Church, not as his inherent and absolute right, but in part *the result of circumstances*, and in part conceded to him by the common voice of Christendom, was, for those ages of violence and lawlessness, a beneficent disposition of an all-wise and overseeing Providence. It was, in some sort, the necessary result of the peculiar circumstance attending the introduction of Christianity among the Germanic nations.² Everything in the history of their conversion tended to weld together the interests of Church and State, and to develop a *system of theocracy*. The missionaries who preached Christianity among them were sent *from Rome*, their bishops were united *to Rome*, their Christian empire received its sanction *from Rome*, and was bound *to the Apostolic See by innumerable ties*; and, finally, *their emperors and their kings were crowned by the popes*. Under such circumstances, it is no matter of surprise that the Pope became the lawgiver to kings and nations, the guide who conducted both along the way that leads to God, and the counsellor who reminded them of their duties when they deviated from them, and of their obligations when they violated or showed a disposition to shirk them. What was a *political prerogative* during the Middle Ages has remained a *moral right* ever since, and will continue so until the Church ceases to exist; for, morally speaking, *the Pope is an abiding lawgiver to Christendom*. But it is to be

¹ It has been frequently shown, in the course of the history of the papacy, from 1073 to 1303, that the popes neither asserted a "*universal suzerainty*" over Christendom, nor represented the temporal power as an emanation from the spiritual. Cf. *supra*, p. 591, n. 1; p. 574, n. 2; p. 624, n. 1. When such claims were put forward, as in the instance of the heritage of Mathilda, in Tuscany, the Norman conquests in Southern Italy, and the kingdoms of England and Portugal, they were based on treaties, the validity of which could not be contested. But when popes put forward unsupported claims, as when *Martin IV.* asserted his right over the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia, they were dismissed with as little concern, and just as peremptorily, as if made by secular princes to territories belonging to their neighbours. Cf. *Bianchi*, Della podestà e della polizia della chiesa, T. I. *passim*.

² Cf. *Bonn*, Philosophical and Theological Review, year 1844, nro. 4, p. 40 sq.; *Hurter*, Innocent III., Vol. III., p. 66 sq., and *Böhmer*, Dissert. de varia decret. Grat. fortuna, in his Corpus Juris, Tom. I.

noted that it was not theologians who, during the Middle Ages, *recognised* and formulated the rights of papal sovereignty, but *jurist and schools of law*. The mediæval popedom was incontestably the outgrowth of those times—a peculiar phase of the papacy which passed away with the age and circumstances that gave it life and form, while the essential elements of the papacy remained unimpaired, without loss or accession. And, in matter of fact the political supremacy of the popes has disappeared since the thirteenth century. From this time forward, the *state-general* commenced to take a more definite shape, to assert a greater measure of independence, and to embody national rights in *well-defined constitutions*. These political assemblies, as they grew in strength and organisation, gradually superseded the papacy in resisting the power of princes.

In preceding centuries, the clergy, and pre-eminently the Pope, were alone possessed of dignity and authority, while these attributes were conspicuously absent in every other class of men. Strong by virtue of their high mission, the popes opposed a courageous resistance to popular passion on the one hand, and on the other fearlessly raised their voice against the vices of kings and the insolence of nobles. Their superior knowledge, their spirit of conciliation, their pacific mission, and the very nature of their interests necessarily inspired them with grand and generous ideas in politics, such as neither the nobles nor the commoners were then capable of grasping and appreciating. It has been too long the fashion, in our text-books of history, to represent the Church's power during the Middle Ages as an intolerable tyranny, and the secular princes who opposed it as the great champions of popular freedom. The case was precisely the reverse. Nations were oscillating between the tyranny of a powerful ruler and the intolerable oppression of feudalism. *The Church, and she alone*, gained them their freedom. Without the protection of bishops and popes, cities could not have obtained the large franchises which, by their powerful intervention, they secured. The clergy, possessing all the education, literary culture, and refinement of those times, were public-spirited and devoted to the popular cause. This tendency to democratic principles was but natural in a body of men whose ranks were for the most part recruited from the lower orders. Who but the sons of honest artisans and peasants, with mitres upon their heads and crosiers in their hands, would have had the courage to resist reckless princes and semi-barbarous feudal lords?

If popes, at times, in the exercise of their power over nations, went beyond the legitimate limits of their authority, their excesses were promptly condemned by the bulk of the people, who, however, while doing so, did not lose sight of, or fail to gratefully acknowledge the blessings of papal arbitration. "If there existed in Europe," says Chateaubriand, "a tribunal to judge nations and monarchs in the name of God, and to prevent wars and revolutions, this tribunal would doubtless be a masterpiece of policy and the very height of social perfection. The Popes, by the influence they exercised over the

Christian world, were on the point of effecting this object.”¹ The same truth is expressed by *Ancillon* in the following words: “In the whole range of ideas,” says he, “capable of being embodied in visible form, I know of none greater than that of setting up a representative of religion and morality, raised high above nations and kings, to whose spiritual power appeal may be constantly made from the injustice of brute force.”

The wide influence and universal consideration enjoyed by the popes had unquestionably been long favoured and strengthened by the false decretals of *Isidore* and the collection of laws made by *Yves, Bishop of Chartres*.² The prestige thus acquired was still further increased by the celebrated Benedictine, *Gratian* of Chiusi, in Tuscany, who, by his zealous labours, did for canon law what *Irnerius* had already done for civil, and *Peter Lombard* for scholastic theology. *Gratian*, when he published (c. A. D. 1151) his celebrated manual of ecclesiastical law, was a professor in the cloister-school of St. Felix, at Bologna. The work, which is entitled “*Decretum Gratiani*,” and is divided into three parts,³ was, before publication, submitted to the judgment of the most learned professors of law at Bologna. He arranged in scientific order all the laws in force in his time, explained each subject in turn by an introduction on the general principles of law pertinent to the matter in hand, and developed the text by a running commentary.

Ecclesiastical law, to which heretofore little or no attention had been given, began now to be so generally studied, and to exercise so wide an influence, that it threatened to supersede civil law at the universities, and even forced itself upon the consideration of emperors, who were in consequence obliged to have among their retinue some doctors of canon law.

Gratian, like *Justinian* in a former age, had many glossarists.⁴ The *Decretum Gratiani* is, on the whole, an indifferent compilation, containing, indeed, abundant proof of the compiler's familiarity with the character and genius of his subject-matter, but giving no satisfactory explanation of the conflicting statements to be found in the older and more modern ecclesiastical law. These difficulties rendered a number of new decisions necessary, which the Dominican *Raymond of Pennafort*, by order of *Gregory IX.*, collected and arranged in systematic form, somewhat after the manner of the Code of *Justinian*. (*Decretalium Gregorii IX.*, Lib. V., A. D. 1234). The subjects treated of in its five books are indicated by the well-known hexameter, “*Judex, judicium, clerus, connubia, crimen*.” This compilation served as a basis for the subsequent collection of Pope Boniface VIII. (*Liber sextus Bonifacii VIII.*, also arranged in five books), published about the close of the early half of the present epoch. By the publication of Boniface's collection, the *Decretum Gratiani*, which is critically of little value, and, as a rule, can claim no authority beyond what the documents therein contained intrinsically possess, gradually passed into disuse.⁵ Cf. *infra*, §268 sub fin., for those contributions to the body of canon law which were added after the publication of the *Liber sextus*, viz., *Libri V. Clementinarum*, and the *Twenty Extravagantes* of Pope John XXII., and the *Extravagantes Communes*, which are the production of various popes, from Urban IV. to Sixtus IV.

¹ *Chateaubriand*, *Génie du Christianisme*, T. IV., Chap. XI. (Politique et gouvernement). Cf. *Hurter*, *Innocent III.*, Vol. IV., p. 420.

² *Yves'* Lesser collection, in eight books, *Panormia* ed. *Melchior de Vosmediano*, Lovan., 1557. More complete collection, in seventeen books, *Decretum* in opp. ed. *Fronto*, Paris, 1647, 2 T. fol. *Theiner*, “On the supposed *Decretum* of *Yves*,” raises strong doubts on the authenticity of this *Decretum*. *Mentz*, 1832. *Walter*, C. L., 13 ed., pp. 241-245.

³ The three parts are: 1. *De Personis*, divided into 101 distinctiones; 2. *De judiciis ecclesiasticis eorumque ordine*, divided into 36 causas; 3. *De consecratione*, divided into 5 (not 7) distinctiones. The first part treats of the hierarchal constitution of the Church, and relates chiefly to doctrinal and moral subjects. The second treats of external jurisdiction, and the third, of the inner life of the Church—i. e., the *liturgy* and the *sacraments*. (Tr.) The full title, which is, however, of later origin, is “*Concordantia discordantium Canonum*,” *Libri III.* For the literature relating to this subject, see *Walter*, C. L., 13 ed.

⁴ *Guido Panciroli*, *De claris leg. interpretibus*, Ips. 1721, 4to. The most important is *Joan. Semeca*, provost of Halberstadt, magister Teutonicus (†1343). Cf. *Walter* and *Maassen*.

⁵ On the decretals of *Gregory IX.* and *Boniface VIII.* lib. sextus, see *Walter*, L. l., pp. 245-251. *Maassen*; *Buss*, *Freiburg Review of Theol.*, Vol. IV., p. 298.

CHAPTER II.

THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE HIERARCHY—ADMINISTRATION OF
DIOCESES.§ 228. *The Clergy in their Relations to the State.*

THE violent conflicts between Church and State produced their legitimate results. Without a conflict, there is no victory. Feudalism and its innumerable fetters were among the greatest obstacles to the progress and freedom of the Church. The feudal lords generally claimed that the *royalties* and *right of spoil* (*jus regalæ*, *jus spoli* seu *exuviarum*), so burdensome to the Church, were rights which justly belonged to them by reason of their position.¹ In *Germany* alone did the popes succeed in abolishing these rights. By what was called the *jus primarum precum*, the feudal lords long retained an influence in nominations to ecclesiastical benefices. It required the full exercise of papal authority to shield and protect the clergy against the arbitrary and violent exactions of the temporal power. Among their ablest and boldest champions were *Urban II.*, in the council of Clermont (can. 2), and *Alexander III.*, in the third council of Lateran (can. 19). After the publication of the decree of Innocent III. in the fourth Council of Lateran (A. D. 1215, can. 46), and of the bull "*Clericis laicos*" of Boniface, VIII., the clergy were not allowed to make any but *voluntary* contributions, and these only in urgent cases, and subject always to the will of the Pope.

The clergy also made an effort to regain their ancient *immunities*, particularly those of the *forum*, in personal suits at law. But here the claims of feudal lords occasioned frequent collisions between ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction. In spite of the menaces of Popes and councils, ecclesiastics still continued to be dragged before secular tribunals; but this clashing of the spiritual jurisdiction with the secular had at least the effect of making the punishment of Churchmen more commensurate with their offences. The domain within which the higher clergy exercised a civil jurisdiction grew daily more extensive, and their exercise of it steadily more beneficial. To their

¹ The right, *jus spoli*, by which sovereigns claimed succession to the property of deceased priests and bishops—to so much, at least, as they had derived from their ecclesiastical benefices. The ancient canons forbade ecclesiastics to dispose by will of any but their patrimonial goods. These canons were by degrees relaxed, on account of the many lawsuits which arose from the difficulty of distinguishing between ecclesiastical and patrimonial property. Later abuses called for a renewal of the ancient discipline. We learn from Matthew of Paris (ad an. 1246) that three archdeacons in England had amassed great wealth in money and sacred vessels of silver and gold, and that two of them dying intestate, their great possessions, which ought to have passed to the poor or to the service of the Church, were claimed and obtained by their lay relatives. The evil was not much remedied when sovereigns seized, for their own purposes, the property left at their deaths by bishops and priests. *Döllinger*, Ch. Hist., Vol. IV., p. 28, Eng. transl., note of the translator, Rev. Dr. Cox. (Tr.)

equitable administration of justice is to be ascribed the enactment of laws—some enjoining the observance of the *Peace of God*, and others directed against piracy, arson, tournaments, usury, and arbitrary taxation—by which the public peace and municipal order were far better preserved than in these days of police, with its many facilities for correcting lawlessness and repressing vice.

The energy displayed by the clergy in political affairs created a *spirit of public enterprise*, which manifested itself in the formation of *guilds*, the foundation of charitable institutions, such as orphan asylums (orphanotrophia), foundling-houses (brephotrophia), hospitals for the sick (nosocomia), homes for the aged and infirm (gerontocomia), and free hospices for the entertainment of strangers (xenodochia). They also took the precaution to found *pest-houses for lepers* (leprosoria), which, at a time when the same attention was not given as at present to public sanitary measures, checked the spread of the terrible malady brought from the East into Europe by the crusaders.¹

The clergy, in order to justify their steadily increasing influence, appealed to *the right of the Church to interfere in civil affairs, when and in so far as these came within the domain of morals and might be an occasion of sin, or when the parties themselves invoked her intervention as arbitrator.*² But, as every act of injustice, when considered from a Christian point of view, is sinful, it followed that in proportion as an age became *Christian*,³ the influence of the clergy widened.

The preference of the people to seek justice from ecclesiastical rather than secular tribunals was not unfrequently a source of warm and animated disputes between clerical and lay judges, in the course of which the latter showed a disposition to forget that they had been taught jurisprudence by the clergy. Thus, for example, by a decree of the *fourth council of Lateran* (œcumenical) it was enacted that, instead of the summary and arbitrary methods of procedure heretofore in use in lay courts of justice,⁴ a carefully written and detailed process should be substituted. In the course of time this was adopted in all secular tribunals. The *Suabian code* says, expressly, “that all the principles of law and right in use in civil and ecclesiastical courts of justice have been taken from the *Decretum Gratiani* and the decretals of Gregory IX.

The Church exercised a specially beneficent influence in favour of that class of mankind on whom feudalism bore most heavily. She never ceased to offer the most determined opposition to slavery,⁵ and

¹ Cf. *Wührer*, On the beneficent influence of the Church in the Middle Ages (*Pletz*, New Theolog. Journal, year IV., 1831, Vol. I., p. 227 sq.); *Hurter*, Vol. IV., p. 454 sq. The same, on the Christian Institutions of Charity at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries (*Tüb. Quart.*, 1842, pp. 226-250). *Hefele*, Influence of Christianity on public spirit (Supplement to Ch. H., Vol. I., pp. 175-211).

² *Denunciatio evangelica*, according to St. Matt. xviii. 17.

³ Cf. Decretal. Greg. IX., Lib. II., Tit. I., c. 13; the chapter is summed up thus: “Judex ecclesiast. potest per viam *denunciationis evangelicæ* seu *judicibilis* procedere contra quemlibet peccatorem etiam laicum, maxime ratione perjurii vel pacis fractæ.”

⁴ *Concil. Lateran. IV.*, can. 38. Cf. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. V., p. 797.

⁵ The *Conc. London. ann. 1102*, under *St. Anselm of Canterbury*, most emphatically forbids it: “Ne quis nefarium illud negotium, quo hactenus solebant in Anglia homines sicut bruta animalia venundari, deinceps ullatenus facere præsumat.”

to soften its hardships,¹ by appealing to man's better instincts, and by showing how that all men are brothers by being created in the image of God and redeemed by the blood of His Son. She commanded bishops to protect the serfs of their dioceses against the violence of the lords, and procured the freedom of countless numbers of them, particularly when their masters were on the point of death, by representing their manumission (*manumissio per testamentum*) as a most acceptable work of Christian charity (*in remedium animæ, pro amore Dei*), and by conducting the ceremony before the altar, thus surrounding it with the sacred solemnity of a religious rite. Finally, the Church gave the most noble examples of generous disinterestedness by renouncing many worldly advantages which she might have retained; by securing to the serfs engaged in domestic service such rights as changed their condition to that of free servants, and to those occupied in tilling the fields the privilege of becoming hereditary tenants or perpetual leaseholders, with the obligation of paying trifling but *fixed* sums annually called *jura dominicalia*. But these classes being regarded as in a certain sense born to their condition, could not dissolve at will their relations with their feudal lords.

The Church furthermore removed from her legislation the *irregularity* arising from defect of freedom. Bishops freely received into their seminaries the sons of serfs who gave evidence of talent and capacity, where they were educated for the ecclesiastical state, and prepared to occupy, as not unfrequently happened, the highest offices of the Church.²

Including within the compass of her sublime unity men of every rank and condition of life, she, and she alone, was able to break down the barriers and to bridge over the great distances separating one class of society from another, and thus to bring together in the same state and for the same service the sons of serfs and the scions of kings.

§ 229. *The Cardinals* (cf. *supra*, § 194).

The *cardinals*, occupying a position immediately about the Pope's person, and being intimate with his affairs, acquired daily more and more the character of confidential advisers.³ But they were not the

¹ Greg. IX. severely reprimanded some Polish nobles who set their serfs to watch falcons' nests, and cruelly punished them if the young were permitted to escape. He says: "Animas fidelium, quas Christus redemit sanguine, avium intuitu et ferarum Satanæ prædam effici detestabile decernimus et iniquum." *Regesta Greg. in Raumer's Hist. of the Hohenstaufens*, Vol. V., p. 16.

² When Béla, King of Hungary (A. D. 1266), rejected a bishop because he was born a serf, *Clement IV.* wrote to him: "Pro nihilo reputanda esse hæc discrimina, quæ inter homines commenta est humana imprudentia imparesque esse voluit, quos Deus cœquaverat—hominum voluntate præscribi non potuisse contra naturam, quæ hominum genus omni libertate donavit." However, the Church always sustained the principle enounced—e. g., in decretis Hungarorum, in *Mansi*, T. XXIII., p. 1184: "Nullum servum in clericum ordinetis, nisi dominus ejus eum manumittat, ut de cætero ex toto nihil in eo juris habeat."

³ In *Otto Frising.*, I. 17, they say of themselves: "Per cardinales universalis ecclesiæ volvitur axis." Cf. above, p. 344, n. 1. Later on, also *Sixtus V.*, in the Constitut. "*Postquam*," dated 1585, says of them: "Cum ipsi veri cardinales sint in templo Dei bases."

only persons of whom he took counsel. Quite the contrary. When matters of grave importance were under consideration, he took the opinions of all the archbishops and bishops who chanced to be present in Rome at the time, and not unfrequently called in men distinguished by ability and prudence from every country of Christendom.¹ But the office of cardinal became one of prime importance after Nicholas II., Alexander III., and Gregory X., had committed to them the right of electing the Pope in the name of the whole clergy and the universal Church, and for this reason the Sacred College has among its members representatives from the three highest orders of the clergy—viz., *bishops, priests, and deacons*.

They were ordinarily selected from men still in the prime of life and the full vigour of manhood, who had already given evidence of their capacity and trustworthiness in the management of important affairs, either in the city of Rome itself, in legations, or, as sometimes happened, in administering the provinces belonging to the patrimony of St. Peter.

At the Thirteenth Œcumenical Council, the first of Lyons (A. D. 1245), Innocent IV. gave them permission to wear the *scarlet hat*, as commemorative of the violent deaths of their martyred predecessors. Their dress, which is also scarlet, is intended to be emblematic of their senatorial rank, but more particularly to remind them that they should be at any time ready to shed their blood in the cause of truth and religion. Paul II., in the fifteenth century, added the red *berretta*, and ordered them to use scarlet caparisons for their horses whenever they rode out. Urban VIII. conferred upon them the title of *Eminence*, and permitted them to ornament their carriages and coaches of state with scarlet tassels. During the season of Lent, the cardinal's dress is violet—emblematic of penance—and also on the death of a relative or friend, as a sign of mourning. On *Gaudete* and *Lætare* Sundays, when the penitential season is half over, it is a light rose colour; and on Holy Saturday, the eve of Easter, when colours emblematic of joy are resumed, a mixture of purple and violet. As they should have all the qualifications of bishops, and have in reality greater responsibilities, they also receive from the Pope a *ring*, consisting of a large *sapphire*, emblematic of fidelity, encased in plain gold, and bearing the papal arms. The first person to receive this ring, so far as historical records inform us, was Cardinal Cajetan, who received it from his uncle, Pope Boniface VIII., in 1294. It may ever be worn, except during the Triduum of Holy Week.²

During the *early half* of this epoch, the popes, in their selection

¹ *Celestine III.* writes to the English bishops: "Unde sacrosancta Rom. ecclesia, cui Dominus super cæteras contulit magistratum, pium ad alias materna provisione respectum providit ab initio, et laudabili hactenus consuetudine custodivit, ut de diversis mundi partibus ad earum ministerium implendum viros prudentes assumeret, quorum auctoritas et doctrina sub Romani pontificis moderamine constituta, quod ipse non poterat, procul distantibus ecclesiis ministraret." *Mansi*, T. XXII., p. 602.

² These particulars relative to the dress of a cardinal have been added by the translator. (Tr.)

of cardinals, gave little ground for the charge of *nepotism*, the candidates being, as a rule, men who deserved well of the Church. Some had distinguished themselves as intelligent restorers and embellishers of houses of worship, others as scholars, others as authors, and others as capable legates.¹ Towards the close of the thirteenth century, the preference of the reigning popes for Frenchmen as cardinals commenced to work mischief by fostering a partisan spirit in the Sacred College.

§ 230. Administration of Dioceses.

The change introduced into the mode of life of *cathedral chapters* was not without its influence on the position of bishops. The canonical mode of community life had in general ceased to be practised, and, after the eleventh century, chapters had the administration of their own property. The efforts of *Yves of Chartres*, of *Altman of Passau*, of *St. Norbert of Magdeburg*, and *Ruthard of Mentz*, to restore canonical life² were fruitless.³ The canons (*principes minores*) obtained a share of episcopal power, and, by the *Concordat of Worms*, the exclusive right of electing bishops.⁴ They sometimes made use of this right to propose their own terms to candidates for the episcopal office, to which the latter were obliged to subscribe. On the death of a bishop, they administered the diocese until another was appointed. After the thirteenth century, the chapters themselves passed statutes for their own government, elected their own members, and determined their number (*capitula clausa*). They usually gave a preference to nobles, and sometimes conferred upon a single person⁵ a plurality of prebends, thus resuscitating simony in another form. According to the testimony of *Geroh* of Reichersberg, some of the canons hired substitutes (*conductitii*) to chant the office. The popes complained loudly of these derelictions of duty; and, all things considered, it may be regarded as a great blessing to the Church that, from Alexander III. onward, the popes reserved to themselves the right of appointing to the most important *prelatures*. The highest dignitary of a chapter was the *Provost of the Cathedral* (*præpositus*), or the *Dean*. Some

¹ Cf. *Hurter*, Innocent III., Vol. III., p. 150 sq., especially 160-176.

² See above, p. 253.

³ See the complaints of the decay of community life, particularly in *Gerohus*, *De corrupto Ecclesiæ statu* (*Baluz.*, *Miscellan.*, and *Galland.*, *Biblioth.*, T. XIV.)

⁴ As to elections of bishops, cf. *Staudenmaier*, *Hist. of Episcopal Elections*, and *Hurter*, L. c., Vol. III., p. 219 sq.

⁵ *Thomassin*, T. II., Lib. I., c. 36, nr. 10-17. Cf. *Dürr*, *Diss. de capitul. claus.* (*Schmidt*, *Thesaur. juris eccl.*, Tom. III., nr. 5, p. 122 sq.) The chapter of Strasburg, in the year 1232, rose up in an insolent manner against the ordinance of *Gregory IX.* *Decretal*. Lib. III., Tit. V., cap. 37: "Consuetudinem antiquam inviolabiliter observatam, juxta quam nullum nisi nobilem et liberum et ab utroque parente illustrem in suum consortium admitterunt." But the Pope interdicted this custom, saying: "Quod non generis, sed virtutum nobilitas, vitæ honestas, gratum Deo faciant." And the same pope (February 20, 1228) prescribed for the diocese of *Chaire*: "Ut nullus ecclesiæ Curiensis canonicus de proventus præbendæ suæ sive quotannis distributionibus percipiat in memorata ecclesiæ nisi personaliter resideat et deserviat in eadem."

chapters had both, and in that case the Provost had precedence; but in France there was generally but one—the Dean.

Between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, the pretensions of the archdeacons grew so excessive that they endeavoured to exercise their authority independently of the bishops, and, without consulting them, sometimes passed sentence of excommunication on individuals and laid districts¹ under interdict. Both bishops and chapters, in order to put an end to these assumptions,² appointed, in place of archdeacons, persons who were at first called *episcopal officials* (*officiales*), and afterwards *vicars* (*vicarii*).³ By a decree of the fourth council of Lateran, the office of a *penitentiary*, who was the bishop's representative in *foro interno*,⁴ was provided for.

After the Christians of the Holy Land had lost all their possessions, a number of Eastern bishops, being forced to seek refuge in Europe, became *auxiliary* bishops in some dioceses, but only in purely *episcopal* functions (*vicarii in pontificalibus*). They retained the titles of their lost bishoprics (in *partibus infidelium*), and were quite numerous,⁵ being called bishops-titular or bishops-vicar. After a time, they likewise obtained a share in the administration of dioceses.⁶

¹ *Gregor. IX. decretal., Lib. I., Tit. XXIII., de officio Archidiaconus post Episcopum sciat, se vicarium ejus esse in omnibus.* The archdeacons often considered the *jurisdictio delegata* as the *jurisdictio ordinaria*. See *Thomassini, T. I., Lib. II., c. 20, nr. 6-9.* Then it is said, *nr. 10*: "His contumeliis exulcerati Episcopi novos et Vicarios et Officiales sibi adscivere, sed et Archidiaconos vetuere, ne quam jurisdictionis partem exercerent," etc. Cf. *Hurter, Vol. III., pp. 361-364, and Binterlin, Memorabilia, Vol. VIII., Pt. I.*

² The history of their abolition is veiled in obscurity, and the time of their suppression uncertain. The most ancient canon against them was enacted at the synod of Laval, in the year 1242. *Can. 4*: "Statuimus, ut archidiaconi et alii de causis matrimonialibus, simoniæ vel de aliis, quæ degradationem vel amissionem beneficii vel depositionem exigant, nisi ex speciali mandato sui pontificis nullatenus cognoscere vel definire præsumant, nec officiales habere, excepto civitatis archidiacono, qui alios officiales habere consuevit," etc., in *Mansi, T. XXIII., p. 551.*

³ Cf. *Pertsch, Essay on the origin of archdeacons, archidiaconal jurisdiction, episcopal officials and vicars, and their difference, Hildesheim, 1743.* Cf. *Gregor., Decretal, Lib. I., Tit. XXV., c. 4-10.* *Peter Cantor* distinguishes, in his *Verbum Abbreviatum, c. 24*, tria genera officialium: 1. Confessor, cui Episcopus vices suas in spiritualibus, in audiendis confessionibus et curandis animabus committit; 2. Quæstor palatii sui, decanus, archipresbyter et hujusmodi, qui incrementis et profectibus causarum et negotiorum Episcopi per fas et nefas invigilant; 3. Præpositus ruralis primus. By the names of *quæstor* and *præpositus* he designates those who executed the penal jurisdiction of the bishops, and who, later on, were in a more restricted sense called *officiales*.

⁴ *Concil. Lateran IV., Capitul. X.*: "Unde præcipimus tam in cathedralibus, quam in aliis conventualibus ecclesiis viros idoneos ordinari, quos Episcopi possint coadjutores et coöperatores habere, non solum in prædicationis officio, verum etiam in audiendis confessionibus et penitentis injungendis ac cæteris, quæ ad salutem pertinent animarum. Decretal. Greg. IX., Lib. I., Tit. XXXI. De officio Jud. Ordin., c. 15. (Tr.) *Mansi, T. XXII., p. 998 sq.; Harduin, T. VII., p. 27 sq.; Hefele, Hist. of Councils, Vol. V., p. 790.*

⁵ *Thomassini, T. I., Lib. I., c. 27, De Episcopis titularibus.* The popes did not wish to give up the rights and reminiscences of those former bishoprics, and continued to consecrate bishops for those lost churches, "si minus in Sedem, certe in *spem Sedis*, in titulum et nomen ejus." They were then Episcopi in *partibus infidelium*. Cf. *Dürr, De Suffraganeis, Mogunt., 1782, 4to.* In France, bishops-titular have been known only in very recent times.

⁶ See above, p. 253.

§ 231. *The Morals of the Clergy.*

Cf. *Hurter*, Hist. of Innocent III. and his Contemporaries, Vol. III., pp. 401-426.

About the close of the preceding epoch, and onward from the pontificate of Leo IX., earnest and energetic, but ineffectual efforts were made to purify the morals of ecclesiastics; but to restore the clergy to their former honesty of life, to raise them to their ancient dignity, and to enforce the primitive rule of celibacy, required a man of the stern character and iron will of Gregory VII. That the successors to Gregory, and the councils held after his time, continued to pursue immoral ecclesiastics as persistently and as relentlessly as he had done, may be inferred from the severity and number of the decrees passed against *concubinæ*, *focariæ*, *pedissequæ*.

Innocent III., believing with the Apostle that "he that is with a wife is solicitous for the things of this world, how he may please his wife, and is divided," and therefore unable to give himself wholly to the service of God, declared married priests incapable of exercising ecclesiastical functions, and made every effort to carry out in practice the idea so forcibly expressed by St. Paul and so ardently advocated by himself.¹

There can be but little doubt that the unchastity of the clergy was the source of many other shameful vices. Numbers of ecclesiastics, notwithstanding that they were constantly reminded of their obligation to observe the rule of celibacy and to preserve a dignity becoming their state,² continued in a large measure the slaves of their passions, were worldly minded, lovers of pleasure, avaricious, and simoniacal, and got no more than they deserved in the savage criticisms and caustic satires of which they were the objects. But, while granting all this to *Mr. Gieseler*,³ who is careful to remind us of it, we have, on the other hand, a right to demand that an exposition of the morals of the clergy of those times, when given at all, should be thorough and honest, and not unfair and done by halves. That there were many clergy distinguished by eminent virtues, in an age whose greatest institutions, worthy of the undying gratitude of mankind, may be directly traced to their exertions and influence, can admit of no doubt; and yet our author has not a *single* word of commendation of either the lives or the labours of these men. *Hase*, who is also a Protestant, is far more fair. "The declamations," says he, "which are sometimes found in the writings of that day, respecting clerical depravity, as a rule, had their origin in monastic prejudices or secular antipathies. The clergy must have shared in the virtues of that

¹ Capitul. 31, Decretal. Greg. IX., Lib. I., Tit. XVII., c. 15: "Filiis canonicorum præbendas in eisdem ecclesiis conferri non sinatis, quarum sunt canonici patres eorum, quum indecorum sit, ut in altaris officio filius, impudico patri ministret, in quo unigenitus Dei filius æterno patri pro salute humani generis victimatur." (Tr.)

² 1 Cor. vii.; *Decretal.*, Greg. IX., Lib. III., Tit. III., passim. (Tr.)

³ Conf. his Church History, Vol. II., Pt. II., pp. 252-261.

period; for, were it otherwise, their influence among the people would appear incomprehensible. The consciousness of control over the age in which they lived, and the true conception which they possessed of what a clergyman should be, contributed to elevate even the more degraded among the priesthood, and to make them sharers in the common spirit of their order."¹

§ 232. Church Property (cf. p. 533).

Cf. *Raumer*, Hist. of the Hohenstaufens, Vol. VI., p. 135 sq. (Possessions of the Church.)

The clergy enjoyed exceptional advantages to accumulate wealth during that period of time included between the beginning and end of the Crusades. Many of the crusaders, before setting out from their homes, made over their property to the Church, in the belief that they should probably meet their death in the East; while others, hoping to secure more desirable estates in Palestine, sold those in Europe at quite a low price, and the Church was not unfrequently the purchaser.² The *tithes* also became now more productive, and this source of revenue was again increased by the offerings of the "*first-fruits*" (one-thirtieth or one-fiftieth). The tithes were, however, frequently contested, not by laymen alone, but by ecclesiastics also, who refused them to others of their own body; and so frequent and complicated were these contests that the reports of them occupy no small proportion of the chronicles stored away in the archives of churches and monasteries.

The Church always persistently refused to accept a salary from the State for her clergy, because, as Pope *Honorius III.* replied when it was offered by Hugh, King of Cyprus, it would be dangerous to her liberty.³

A great part of the wealth thus accumulated by the Church was spent in founding noble institutions building hospitals and homes for the poor, providing for orphans and pilgrims, sustaining universities, promoting commercial and industrial interests, and forwarding the growth of civilisation. It is all the more to be regretted that she should have been despoiled of her property by rapacious nobles when the proceeds of it were turned to so good account. They not

¹ Ch. Hist., Eng. trans., p. 223.

² *Eberhard of Salzburg* says, in a document dated 1159: "Tempore quo expeditio Jerosolymitana fervore quodam miro et inaudito a saculis totum fere commovit Occidentem, ceperunt singuli tanquam ultra non redituri vendere possessiones suas, quas ecclesie secundum facultates suas suis prospicientes utilitatibus emerunt." Monum. Boica., T. III., p. 540.

³ "Beloved son," said the Pope, "those who receive salaries are subject to those who pay them. Should an employer desire to rid himself of one in his pay, he stops his salary, and the employé must leave off work. If you so secure the revenue of ecclesiastics that no one can deprive them of it, I shall at once send you all the priests you desire." *Diomedes*, Cronica di Cipro, in *Raumer*, Vol. VI., p. 135.

only exercised the *right of spoil* (*jus spoli*),¹ but also laid heavy imposts upon the estates of the Church—a practice which was prohibited by many popes after Alexander III.

The division among the members of cathedral and collegiate chapters and certain others of the clergy, of property which had heretofore been held and administered in common for the benefit of all by the bishops of the several dioceses, had a most injurious effect. Those who had the *administration* of ecclesiastical property were sometimes so open and so bold in their methods of plundering² that it was necessary to appeal to the secular power to have them removed, and thus put a stop to their shameless extortions.

CHAPTER III.

FANATICAL AND REFRACTORY SECTS.

Accounts of contemporaries: *Ebrardi Flandrensis*, E Betunia oriundi, Lib. antibæresis ed. 1. *Jacob. Gretseri* (Max. Bibl. PP., T. XXIV.) *Ermengardi*, Opusc. contra eos, qui dicunt et credunt, mundum istum et visibilia omnia non esse a Deo facta, sed a diabolo (ibid.). *Alani ab insulis* (monk of Clairvaux, † 1202), Libb. IV., ctr. hæreticos (Waldenses, Judæos et Paganos) sui temp., Lib. I. et II., ed. *Masson.*, Par., 1612; Libb. III. et IV., ed. C. *Vischius*. (Bibl. scriptt. Cisterciens. Colon., 1656, p. 411). *Bonacursus* (first teacher of the Cathari, then a member of the Catholic Church), *Vita hæreticor. s. manifestatio hæresis Catharor. (d'Achéry, Spicileg., T. I., p. 208).* *Rainerii Sachon.* (first a Waldensis, then a Catholic and Dominican, † 1259), *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis s. Pauperib. de Lugduno.* (Martène et Durand, Max. Collect., T. V.). *Ejusdem* vel alius *Rainerii* lib. adv. Waldens. (Max. Bibl. PP., T. XXV.).—**Du Plessis d'Argentré*, *Collectio judicior. de novis error. ab initio XII. sæc. usque ad a., 1632*; Par., 1728, 3 T. f. *Fuesslin*, *New and impartial History of the Heresies of the Middle Ages*, Frankfort, 1770, 3 pts. *Hahn*, *Hist. of the Heresies of the Middle Ages*, especially from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, Stuttg., 1847 sq., 3 vols. *Reuter*, *Pope Alexander III., Vol. III.*, p. 647 sq. On the heretics of Italy during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see *Cesare Cantù*, *Gli eretici d'Italia*, Torino, 1865 sq., 2 vols.

§ 233. General View.

WHEN the Church had reached the height of her temporal power and political influence, and had in consequence come into possession of vast land-estates, her position very naturally provoked comment,

¹ Vide supra, p. 256.

² Cf. *Ratmer*, Vol. VI., pp. 331-338. According to the account given by a contemporary, *Baldricus*, Gottfried, Archbishop of Treves, was treated with the utmost arrogance by Ludovicus, his Vice-Dominus: "Dom. Godofredum Archiepisc. suis artibus tantum sibi subegerat, quod dicebat, se in beneficio tenere palatium atque omnes redditus episcopales in illud deferendos, et quod ipse pascere deberet episcopum cum suis capellanis, etc.; ad episcopum autem dicebat pertinere missas et ordinationes Clericorum et consecrationes ecclesiarum celebrare; sui vero juris dicebat esse terram regere, omniaque in episcopatu disponere et militiam tenere, etc." *Hontheim*, *Hist. Trevir.*, T. I., p. 468.

and she was not unfrequently judged unfairly by reason of the absence of true historical criticism. Those under the influence of partisan feeling, as well as those who believed that their interests had been injured or slighted, brought trivial and exaggerated charges against her. She was reproached with being excessively wealthy and in close alliance with the world, both of which, it must be admitted, are always dangerous to, if not entirely subversive of her most vital interests. Individuals¹ scattered here and there, and particular *sects*, such as had in early times assailed the constitution of the Church, but whose numbers, now *increased* with extraordinary rapidity, raised their voices against the tendency of the age, gave in their own lives examples of voluntary poverty and austere morality, and proclaimed in earnest and impassioned language the necessity of going back to the simplicity of *apostolic* days, when the Church was *poor* indeed, but free and standing apart from the State. These declamations were all the more effective, inasmuch as they were directed against a clergy, many of whose members were worldly and little solicitous for the spiritual weal of their flocks. They appealed, in justification of their course, to epochs in the history of the Church, when analogous evils were dealt with in a similar way, and to the prophetic warnings of great and saintly men, such as *St. Bernard*, *St. Hildegard*, *St. Malachy* (Archbishop of Armagh), and *Joachim* of Calabria.² The

¹ See Vol. I., p. 530 sq.

² *Bernardus*, De Considerat. ad Eugen. III.; *Hildewardis* abbatissa, sanctissima Virgo et prophetissa, vita ejus in *Bolland.*, Acta SS., ad 17 m. Septemb. Epp. et opusc. (Max. Bibl., T. XXIII., p. 535 sq.) On St. Malachy, cf. St. Bernard, lib. de vita et reb. gestis St. Malach. u. sermo II. in transitu St. Malach. (Opp. Venet., T. II., p. 663; T. III., p. 326 sq.) The vaticinia Malachia Hiberni de Papis romanis, also in *Gfræver*. prophetæ vett. pseudepigraphi. The bibliography on this prophecy, see in *Fabricii* Biblioth. med. et infim. Latin., T. V., sub verbo, Malachias. They consist of enigmatical oracles taken from the Bible, each of which is supposed to contain some reference to the popes from Celestine II. (A. D. 1143) onward to the end of the world. For example, Celestine II. is referred to as "ex Castro Tiberis," Lucius II. as "mimicus expulsus," Eugene III. as "ex magnitudine montis" (supposed to be an allusion to the mountains near Pisa, his native city), and the late pope, Pius IX., as "crux de cruce," after whom it is said there will be eleven more popes, whose characteristics will be Lumen in cælo, Ignis ardens, Religio depopulata, Fides intrepida, Pastor angelicus, Pastor et nauta, Flos florum, De medietate lunæ, De labore solis, Gloria olivæ; and of the last *Petrus II.*, it is said; "Pascet oves in multis tribulationibus, quibus transactis civitas septicollis diruetur et judex tremendus judicabit populum suum." St. Bernard, while referring to Malachy's gift of prophecy, in his life of that holy archbishop, makes no mention of these predictions. An attempt was therefore made to fasten their authorship on Malachy, the Irish Franciscan, but as he lived about the opening of the fourteenth century (A. D. 1316), he could have had no connection with them, except as a *continuator*. *Menestrier*, S. J., *Traité sur les Prophéties attribuées à St. Malachie*, 1686, endeavours to show that this so-called prophecy had its origin in the conclave of 1590, where the party of Cardinal Simoncelli referred to their candidate, Nicholas Sfondrata, afterwards Gregory XIV., as designated by the words "de antiquitate urbis," because he was of Milan, which, according to popular tradition, existed four hundred years before Rome. Then, he says, in order that these words might carry with them the force of authority, the prophecy was supplemented backward and carried forward. Apart from a few designations which are quite apposite and significant, as *Peregrinus Apostolicus* for Pius VI., *Aquila rapax* for Pius VII. (an allusion to the French eagle, Napoleon I.), and *Canis et Coluber* for Leo XII., the prophecy is meaningless and enigmatical, and it requires considerable ingenuity to find events in the lives of the several popes to which the corresponding predictions can be

characteristics of these sects were opposition to the constitution of the Church, contempt of her doctrine, disdain of all learning and science, a fierce and gloomy fanaticism, a tendency to pursue one idea without regard to ultimate consequences, a revival of certain forms of the old *Gnostic* and *Manichæan* errors, and a *coarse and degrading Pantheism*. Hence they are called, generally, *Cathari* or *Neo-Manichæans*.

§ 234. *Tanchelm, Eon, Peter of Bruis, Henry of Lausanne, and the Passagians.*

Sects that had sprung up silently and in private were encouraged, by the hostile attitude of emperors and nobles towards the Church, to come forth from their privacy and openly proclaim their errors. *Their origin and development bear a striking analogy to those of the Apostolic age, which, commencing while our Lord was still on earth, gradually issued in the well-known Judaizing, Gnostic, Manichæan, and Montanistic sects.* *Tanchelm* (A. D. 1115-1124), an illiterate and fanatical layman, like the pseudo-Messiahs of Samaria, became the founder of a sect in Brabant. He proclaimed himself the Son of God, preached against ecclesiastical organisations, had churches erected in his own honour, set up the state of a king, collected around himself a body-guard of three thousand, gave himself the title of Divinity, celebrated his pretended espousal to the Blessed Virgin with great pomp and circumstance, repudiated the sacraments of the Church and her hierarchy, forbade the payment of the tithes, was guilty of all sorts of blasphemy in its grossest form, and was finally slain at Antwerp by a priest, about the year 1124.¹

Eon d'Etoile (*Eudo de Stella*), a wealthy nobleman, also proclaimed himself the Son of God, and wished to found a new kingdom. He seems to have been either very ignorant or very crazy. On account of the similarity between his name, Eon, and Eum in the formula of exorcism—"Per Eum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos"—he fancied that he was the true Messiah, and called upon others to regard him as such. He went up and down, through Brittany and Gascony, accompanied by a large number of followers, and living in sumptuous style. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment by the council of Rheims (A. D. 1148), where he died, still hopeful of the ultimate success of his cause. His followers announced that he would come again to judge the quick and the dead.

Peter de Bruis, who became notorious in Southern France, was a deposed priest (A. D. 1104-1125), of whom little is known until after he took up the rôle of a reformer. He rejected infant baptism; denied the Real Presence in the Eucharist; declaimed against the

made to apply with any sort of appositeness. Cf. *Weingarten*, The Prophecy of St. Malachy (Theolog. Studies and Criticisms of 1857, nro. 3). *Ginzcl*, St. Malachy and the prophecy attributed to him. (*Austr. Quart. of Theol.*, year 1868, nro. 1.)

¹ Vie de S. Norbert II. 126.—*D'Argentie*, Collect. Judic. i. 11. (Tr.)

Mass as a continuation of the sacrifice on Calvary; celebrated the communion service simply as a memorial rite; held that no special sanctity resided in consecrated buildings, and that God might be honoured as well in stables as before altars; forbade the erection of new churches, and directed that those already built should be pulled down; was fanatically opposed to the worship of the Cross, which, he said, should be the horror of all Christians, inasmuch as it was the instrument of Christ's torture and death; condemned the practice of praying for the dead, and of giving alms and doing other good works in their behalf; and, finally, prohibited all chanting and the use of any kind of sacred music. It might be inferred that one holding tenets such as these would be severely ascetical in his moral teaching and in his own conduct, but this was not the case with Peter. He encouraged marriage, even in priests, as a strictly religious duty, and wished to abolish the fasts of the Church. This popular reformer, while engaged one day at St. Giles, near Arles, in committing to the flames a number of images and pictures, was seized by a mob who grew furious at his disrespectful treatment of holy things, and cast into the fires he had lighted, thus being himself in a measure the instrument of his own death. His followers are called *Petrobrusians*.¹

Peter was followed in the same region of country by *Henry the Deacon*, also called *Henry of Lausanne* (A. D. 1116-1148), who, formerly a monk of the abbey of Clugny, had withdrawn from his order previously to becoming a reformer. Like Peter, he was a violent opponent of all sorts of sacred music, an enthusiastic advocate of marriage, and a determined enemy of the clergy. In the early part of his career he specially devoted himself to the mission of reclaiming courtesans, and so successful was he that many of these unfortunate women at his bidding cast their costly robes, their jewels, and other adornments into the flames, and entered upon exemplary lives. So general did his influence become, that, when he proceeded to arraign the indolence and immorality of the clergy, people deserted the churches, flocked to hear him, and, roused by the fierce energy of his words, threatened violence to those against whom his denunciations were directed. His rude eloquence, his ascetic life, and his single-minded earnestness favourably impressed *Hildebert*, Bishop of *Le Mans*, who, on Henry's arrival from Switzerland, received him kindly and gave him permission to preach throughout his diocese. But, discovering that he was an insolent and ignorant impostor, the prudent bishop contrived a public meeting between himself and Henry, and, after exposing his utter lack of education to the people, expelled him from the diocese. Henry then retired to the south of France, where, as Peter the Venerable says, he became the "inheritor of the wickedness" of Peter of Bruis, whose doctrine he continued to preach until the death of that

¹ *Petri Venerabilis*, Abb. Cluniac. Epist. Ad Arelatensem Ebredunensem Archiepisc. Diensem Vapinunsem Episc. adv. Petrobrusianos Hereticos in Max. Bibl. Patr. Lugdunens. XXII., 1033, et sq. (Tr.)

fanatic. He escaped the fate of Peter by flight into Gascony (A. D. 1125), but having entered the diocese of Arles a few years later, he was arrested and taken before Pope Innocent II., then in exile at Pisa, who did no more than commit him to the keeping of St. Bernard. Escaping from his confinement some years later, he returned to Languedoc, where, protected by the Count of Toulouse, he shortly regained his former influence over the people.

Eugene III. requested St. Bernard's assistance in putting down the heresiarch and restoring religion among the people. The saint was victorious in this, as in every other undertaking of his life, because his strength was of God and not of man; and the account he has left us of the condition of the Church at that time in Southern France shows the vast influence of Henry. "I have found," says he "churches empty of people, people without priests, priests not respected, Christians without Christ, God's holy places profaned, the sacraments no longer held in honour, and the holy days without solemnities."

Henry was afterwards arrested by the Archbishop of Toulouse, sent to Rheims, A. D. 1148, where Eugene III. was then presiding over a council, and cast into prison, where he shortly died.¹

The *Passagians* (Circumcisi) were a sect of Judaizing Catharists, of probably Eastern origin, and flourished chiefly in Lombardy at the close of the twelfth and the opening of the thirteenth century. Leading a wandering and vagabond life, they very likely got their name from resemblance, in their habits, to birds of passage (*passagieri*), or from some connection with the Crusades, to which the word *passagium* was not unfrequently applied. They maintained that the law of Moses² was binding, at all times and upon all persons, in everything except its sacrificial injunctions, and that Christ was not God, but only the highest of created beings, thus renewing the errors of the Ebionites and Arians respecting our Lord.

The other sects resemble, in their general features, those just described, and were all especially conspicuous by their determined hostility, in some form or other, to the Catholic Church.

§ 235. *The Waldenses.*

Cf. Bibliogr. heading, § 233, esp. *Raimerus*, contr. Waldens, in Bibl. Max Lugd., XXV. *Lucæ Tudens*, Surcedan. Prolegom., ibid. *Ebrardus*, ibid. *Works*: *Jean. Leger* (pasteur des églises des Vallées), *Hist. générale des églises évangéliques de Piémont*, etc. Leyde, 1669, 2 vols. f. German by Schweinitz; Bres., 1750, 2 vols., 4to. *Jac. Brez* (Waldensian preacher), *Hist. des Vaudois, Laus. et Utrecht*, 1796, 2 T. 8vo; German Lps., 1798. *Blair*, *History of the Waldenses*, Edinb., 1833, 2 vols. *Charvaz*, *Origine*

¹ *Acta Episcoporum Conomanensium*, in *Mabillon's* *Analect.* Vet., cap. 35, 36; De Hildeberto Episc. *St. Bernardi*, Epist. 241; *Peter Venerabilis*, Epist. adv. Petrobrusianos. (Tr.)

² Pope Nicholas III. complained, in the year 1278: "Verum etiam quam plurimi christiani veritatem catholicæ fidei abnegantes se damnabiliter ad judaicum ritum transtulerunt. *Bonacursus*, *Vita Hæret.* in *D'Achèry's* *Spicileg.* I. 211; *Gerhard. Bergom.* in *Murator.* Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi, V. 152. (Te.)

dei Valdesi, e carattere delle primitive loro dottrine, Tur., 1834; French, *Recherches historiques sur la véritable origine des Vaudois*, Par., 1836. *Hahn*, L. c., Vol. II. *Bender*, Hist. of the Waldenses, Ulm, 1850. *Dieckhoff*, the Waldenses during the Middle Ages, Götting., 1851. *Herzog*, the Romanian Waldenses, Halle, 1853; reply by *Dieckhoff*, the Waldenses during the M. A., Götting., 1858; the researches of the latter continued by *Friedrich*, the Adulteration of the Doctrines of the Waldenses through the French Reformed Church (Austr. Quart. of Theol., Vienna, 1866, n. 1, pp. 41-82). Cf. *Freiburg Ecol. Cyclop.*, Vol. XI., p. 1785.—Tr. adds: *Maitland's* Tracts and Documents connected with the Hist. of the Waldenses; *Todd's* Books of the Vaudois; Articles on the Noble Lesson, by *Hon. Alg. Herbert*, in *British Mag.*, XVIII., XIX.; *Melia*, Origin, Persecutions, and Doctrines of the Waldenses, 1870; *Blunt*, Dictionary of Sects, and *Bossuet*, Hist. of the Variations.

Since the sixteenth century, unsuccessful attempts have been made, by those who regard the Waldenses as the legitimate fore-runners of Protestantism, to trace their origin back to the Apostolic age, or at least to the time of the iconoclast, Claudius of Turin, and for this purpose their history has been falsified and their doctrines misrepresented. These efforts to pervert the truth of history have been ably refuted by *Herzog*, *Friedrich*, and *Melia*.

According to *Catholic* authorities, whose honesty cannot be fairly called in question, they derive their origin from *Peter Waldo* (Peter of Vaux, or Valdum—English, “Wood”) a wealthy merchant of Lyons, who, disconsolate at the sudden death of one of his friends, sought relief from his sorrow in the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and selected from them such passages as made a powerful impression upon him, to which he added extracts from the Fathers having special reference to these texts. Desirous of following literally the teaching contained in the biblical and patristic extracts he had made, he resolved to give himself wholly to religion, and, distributing his large property among the poor, he embraced a life of poverty, living on alms and going about instructing others (C. A. D. 1160). He next hired a poor scholar to translate into the Romanic vernacular language the Gospels and the extracts he had already made from the Bible and the writings of the Fathers, and in 1170 commenced his mission as *apostolic* teacher by preaching publicly in the pulpit. As his followers increased in number, he sent out chosen disciples, two-and-two, to preach in the country about Lyons, enjoining upon them apostolic poverty and the duty of earning their bread by the sweat of their brows. The members of the sect were known as the “*Poor Men of Lyons*” (Pauperes de Lugduno), or *Leonists*, but called themselves the “*Humble Ones*” (Humiliati). They, being *laymen*, were forbidden to preach by the Archbishop of Lyons, to whom they replied, “We must obey God rather than man,” and went on. When the archbishop again peremptorily commanded them to leave off the practice of preaching, they appealed (A. D. 1179) to Pope *Alexander III.*, to whom they also sent some of the translated books of the Bible, with their own annotations. The pope commended their poverty, but reproved them for interfering with the duties of the clergy, and referred them to their bishop for any further information they might desire. Things continued in this way until the death of Alexander and the

election of his successor, *Lucius III.*, to whom they again sent for permission to preach. Lucius refused their petition, and, at the synod of Verona (A. D. 1184), excommunicated the Waldenses and the other heretics of Southern France. They paid no attention to the excommunication, saying that it was void when pronounced against persons engaged in a good work, and that there was a necessity of having a body of laymen side by side with a degenerate and worldly clergy, to preach the pure *apostolic* doctrine. Claiming a higher antiquity than other sects, being more numerous, and living apparently more holy lives, they gained steadily in influence and importance. Having their stronghold in Southern France and Piedmont, they spread to Milan on the one side, and to Aragon on the other, and existed in large numbers at Metz.

In 1194, Alphonso II. issued an edict against them, in which he designated them as "enemies of the Cross, profaners of the religion of Christ, and dangerous to both King and State," and threatened them with the confiscation of their property and the penalties of high treason. Notwithstanding these condemnations, they sent, in 1212, another address to Pope *Innocent III.*, praying him to recognize their conventicles as lawful, but were again unsuccessful. Innocent, who at one time entertained a hope of being able to bring their practice of evangelical poverty within the rules of monasticism, and in this way to control the movement, gave the Waldenses of Metz permission to meet and read the Holy Scripture.

These sectaries had now become so numerous that they were to be found all over Southern France, Piedmont, Lombardy, and had even spread to Eastern Europe. They assailed the *external constitution and visible organisation of the Church*; threw off the authority of Pope and bishops; asserted the right of laymen and even women to preach; refused to pay tithes themselves, and condemned the practice in others; recognised at first the power of the priest alone to absolve penitents and consecrate the Eucharist, but when refused absolution and Holy Communion, affirmed that laymen might *validly do both* in case of necessity; abolished a great part of the rite of baptism; some of them denied the existence of *purgatory*, asserting that souls, when parted from the body, go either to heaven or hell, while others believed in an intermediate state; held that, in the matter of the *veneration of saints*, the apostles alone should be held in honour, but *not invoked*; and, finally, opposed the use of crosses, images, and all ornaments in churches, and admitted no custom or tradition not contained in Scripture.

The members were divided into the *Perfect* and the *Imperfect*. The former possessed no property and observed a strict fast. The latter lived in society pretty much as other men, only avoiding all sensual indulgence and luxurious excess. In moral character they were superior to all other heretical sects, such as the Albigenses and Paulicians.

They were at first governed by bishops of their own appointment,

whom they styled "*majorales*," and by *presbyters* and *deacons*; all which orders, they said, had been instituted by Christ. Their seniors, priests, and deacons held divine services, were celibate, and had led pure, holy, self-sacrificing lives previously to the sixteenth century, supporting themselves by the labour of their hands. To preach the Gospel in the vernacular they considered the primary and central object of religious worship, and held that the Holy Scripture is the one and *only* source of faith.

Having spread among the Cathari, they were the objects of a most cruel persecution; but, in spite of all opposition, they have maintained themselves down to the present day, and still exist, to the number of twenty-two thousand, in the mountains of Dauphiné and the Piedmontese Alps.¹

In the sixteenth century they came into contact with the Reformers, from whom they *received many new teachings and practices*, and have quite recently been regarded with much favour by the Anglicans, who, in 1848, materially aided them in building a magnificent church in the city of Turin, and assisted at its consecration in 1853, intending to make it, if possible, a stronghold of Protestantism in Italy.

§ 236. *The Cathari and the Albigenses.*

LITERATURE: Accounts of contemporary, all orthodox, writers concerning the Cathari, by *Bonacursus*, see above, bibliography heading, § 233; on the Albigenses, *Petri monarchi Sarnensis* (de Vaux Cernay), *Historia Albigens.*, and *Guil. de Podio Laurentii* (Capelan. Raymundi VII.), sup. hist. negotii Francor. adv. Alb. (*du Chesne*, T. V.; better in *Bouquet-Brial*, T. XIX.) *Rainerii*, Hist. in Bouquet, T. XVIII. *Gulielmus de Tudela*, *Guerre des Albigeois*, in Bouquet, T. XVIII.; *Codex Tolosanæ inquis.*, from 1307 to 1323, by Limborch, Amsterd. *J. Chassanion*, Hist. des Albigeois., Par., 1595; *Histoire générale de Languedoc par un religieux Bénédictin de la Congr. de St. Maur.* (Claude le Vic. et Jos. Vaissette), T. III., Par. 1737. Hist. Polit. Papers by *Phillips* and *Goerres*, Vol. II., p. 470-783. [TRANS. ADD.: The most valuable learning applied to the many difficulties with which the history of the Albigenses abounds is to be found in the *Histoire de la Poésie Provençale*, by *M. Fauriel*, Paris, and in *Maitland's* Facts and Documents connected with the History of the Albigenses and Waldenses.]

For want of words definitely expressing the characteristics of the various sectaries professing Gnostic, Manichæan, and other cognate errors, they were generally called Cathari (*καθαροί*), or "Puritans." They all made pretensions to superior sanctity, and were distinguished by their intense opposition to the clergy. The more advanced and rigid among them held that *the spirit of darkness, and not the God of light, was the creator of all visible things*, and that his son, Lucifer, having seduced a host of heavenly spirits by his wiles, imprisoned them in bodies of clay here on earth. These imprisoned spirits, they said, formed a distinct class of mankind, for whose deliverance Christ descended from Heaven in *apparently* human (Docetism), but really angelic form. But, while professing this doctrine, they adopted ex-

¹ Besides the historical work of *Charvaz*, Bishop of Pignerol (later of Geneva), see also his recent apologetical work, entitled "Le guide du catéchumène Vaudois," Paris, 1839. *Zetzschwiz*, The Catechisms of the Waldenses and Moravian Brethren, Erlangen, 1853.

ternal rites and formulas of prayer, and practised genuflection and other ceremonial observances, which are the natural out-growth and expression of a belief in the Catholic doctrine of the divinity and humanity of Christ.¹

Such theories led straight to an abandonment of the fundamental teachings of Christianity. Hence they rejected the Holy Eucharist and the other sacraments, denied the resurrection of the body and the efficacy of infant baptism, and declared matrimony to be an alliance whose author was the evil spirit.

Their dualistic principle also necessitated the division of all men into *two distinct classes*, viz., those who were sure to attain to salvation, and those who, by reason of their origin from the evil one, could never become virtuous or gain happiness. There could, therefore, be no such thing as moral guilt or imputation, and hence they said that an infant belonging to the latter class, if it should die the day after it was born, would be punished as severely as the traitor Judas or a highway robber.

Their method of purification was unique and ingenious. The ceremony was called the *Consolation* (*consolamentum*), and consisted in the laying on of hands. Penitence was not required in the purified, who were at once received among the "perfect," and promised to lead continent and sinless lives in the future.

But, as it was difficult to count upon such unswerving constancy and perseverance in virtue, and as relapse into sin, inasmuch as they held divine *grace* to be *inadmissible*, would prove the utter inefficiency of their system, and, if frequent, wholly destroy faith in the effectiveness of the *Consolamentum*, this came gradually to be administered only to those dangerously ill, and of whose speedy departure there could be no reasonable doubt. Should there, however, be prospects of their recovery, they were required to hasten their death by abstinence from food, or, more violently, by profuse bleeding. This process was called the "*Endura*."²

While making a boast of being the only true followers of Christ and His apostles, they manifested the most determined opposition to the Catholic clergy, declaring that whosoever received the sacraments of the latter became thereby participators in their sins.

¹ *C. Schmidt*, Hist. of the Cathari of Southern France during the second half of the thirteenth century, Strasburg, 1847; and in the Journal of Historical Theology, 1847, nro. 4. *Kunitz*, a Catholic Ritual (of the end of the thirteenth century), Jena, 1852.

² In the acts appended to the Protestant *Limborch's Historia Inquisitionis*, Amst., 1619, are given many instances of persons who, after having received the *Consolamentum* from the Prefect, were instructed to hasten their departure by violent means. Thus, in the Lib. Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tolosanæ, p. 138, it is related of one Hugo Rubei: "Dictus Hugo in quadam infirmitate, de qua convaluit, fuit hæreticatus per Petrum hæreticum, et receptus est ad sectam et ordinem dicti hæretici, quam aliquibus diebus in dicta, infirmitate tenuit et servavit, stando in *endura*, sed postmodum ad instantiam matris suæ comedit et convaluit. Item isto anno Petrus Sarcti hæreticus invitavit ipsum, quod vellet se ponere in *endura* et facere *bonem finem*, sed ipse non consensit tunc, sed quando esset in ultimo vitæ suæ.

They were most numerous and influential in *Upper Italy* and *Southern France*, whence they spread along the banks of the Rhine, particularly to the territory about Treves (A. D. 1121), and into England (A. D. 1159),¹ and were variously known as Cathari, Patarini, Mediolanenses, Publiciani, and in France as Bons Hommes. Efforts to convert them were made, but in vain; decrees of councils were enacted against them, but to little or no purpose. These measures, and others equally charitable and well intended, having failed, Pope Alexander III. resorted to others more severe.²

But, of the sectaries who shared the errors of Gnosticism and Manichæism and opposed the Catholic Church and her hierarchy, the *Albigenses* were the most thorough and radical. Their errors were, indeed, partly Gnostic and partly Manichæan, but the latter was the more prominent and fully developed. They received their name from a district of Languedoc, inhabited by the Albigeois and surrounding the town of Albi. They are called Cathari and Patarini in the acts of the Council of Tours (A. D. 1163), and in those of the third Lateran, Publiciani (i. e., Pauliciani).

Like the Cathari, they also held that the evil spirit created all visible things. Starting from this principle, they could not of course escape the most monstrous consequences when they came to apply its deductions to the conditions of practical life. They were forced either to avoid all contact with matter, and to aspire to an extravagant and impossible degree of spirituality, or to allow to both body and spirit, which they said were absolutely distinct and independent of each other, the fullest possible range in their respective domains, thus sanctioning intellectual anarchy on the one hand, and unrestrained sensual indulgence on the other. Conformably to their view of the evil origin of matter, they abstained from all animal food except fish, and the more rigorous of them abjured marriage, styling it a species of fornication, but others advocated it, provided the bride were a virgin and husband and wife would separate from each other after the birth of their first child. Others, again, gave full sweep to their carnal passions, and indulged in the most revolting excesses, saying in excuse of their practices that the origin of man is not from God—holy; but from the evil one—sinful.

They further taught that the souls of men are fallen spirits, which were all created at one time, but now condemned to pass from body to body, until, in the course of time, they become purified by this process and return to their primitive state. The formal means by which these souls wipe away the filth and cleanse the stains by which they are soiled are good works. There is, they said, no distinction of guilt in sins; all are equally heinous and de-

¹ Conf. *Historia Treverens. d'Achéry, Spicilegium*, T. II., and in *d'Argentré, l. c.*, p. 24. *Evervin*, Provost of Steinfeld, applied to St. Bernard for help. Conf. *Evervini, Præpos. Steinfeldens. ep. ad Bernardum. Mabillonii, Analecta T. III.*, p. 452, ed. nov. 1473; in *d'Argentré, l. c.*, p. 33.

² *Conc. Lateranens.*, III., cap. 27. (*Harduin, T. VI., Pt. II.*, p. 1683 sq.)

serving of death, but their punishment does not reach out beyond this world.

But, while some held this doctrine, others denied the immortality of the soul, or the existence of anything that does not fall under the senses. Many of them held that a belief in the *foreknowledge of God* implies an absolute fatalism in everything and a denial of free will in both God and man, at least in so far as it relates to the knowledge of evil and the power of preventing it.

Alexander III. had had a *crusade* preached against the Albigenses, in 1164, but it was carried on languidly, and no rigour of any consequence was exercised against them until the pontificate of *Innocent III.* This pope declared their teachings ruinous to the Church and subversive of society, and themselves "*more wicked than Saracens.*" In 1198, he sent among them *Rainer* and *Guido*, two Cistercian monks, with orders to preach to them, to instruct them, to discuss disputed points with them, and thus lead them back to the true faith. But, having failed in this attempt, they were advised (A. D. 1206) by *Diego*, Bishop of *Osma* in Spain, and *Dominic*, the sub-prior of his cathedral, both of whom willingly shared their labours, to dismiss their suite, and, going among these heretics in the poverty of the apostles, to make another effort to convert them. This heavenly-inspired advice was enthusiastically taken up by the newly-arrived papal legates, *Peter of Castelnau* and *Raoul*, who travelled up and down the country barefoot and in the scanty garb of apostles, but with little better success than attended the efforts of those who had preceded them. *Peter of Castelnau* was assassinated, and there were good reasons for suspecting *Raymond VI.*, Count of Toulouse, of complicity in the deed. First of all, he was the recognised protector of the Albigenses; next, he had had a violent dispute with *Peter*; and, finally, the crime was committed by two of his officers, whom he kept at his court and in his service after their guilt had become known.

Innocent, after hearing of this outrage, commissioned *Arnold*, Abbot of *Cîteaux*, to preach a fresh crusade against them, which *Simon*, Count of *Monfort*, an intrepid and faithful Christian warrior, directed and brought to a successful conclusion. The campaign, which extended from the year 1209 to 1213, was one almost uninterrupted series of attacks and assaults on cities and strongholds, nor did the crusaders give over their work until the standard of the Cross rose in triumph from one end of Languedoc to the other.

Raymond, reduced to extremities, promised obedience to the Church, surrendered seven of his strongholds as pledges of his fidelity, did public penance, and expressed his willingness to take part in the crusade against those by whom he had been heretofore regarded as a leader and a protector.

The crusaders then directed their efforts against *Roger*, the powerful Viscount of *Béziers* and *Carcassonne*, and the Viscount of *Foix*. Their advance was irresistible. *Béziers* and *Carcassonne* were taken

by storm (A. D. 1209), and numbers of the inhabitants, without distinction of faith, age, or sex, put to the sword.¹

The vassals of Count Raymond were next attacked. The count himself, notwithstanding his undisguised anger at the conduct of the legates, who demanded from him an immediate cession of the conquered territory, made application to Pope Innocent for its restitution, and the latter, being far more intent on the suppression of the heretics than on the disposition of their estates or the gratification of those who championed the Catholic cause, readily yielded to his request.

During the siege of Lavour, in 1211, Raymond was discovered again rendering aid to the Albigenses, and a new crusade was in consequence undertaken against him. At the battle of Muret, in 1213, both he and his powerful ally and brother-in-law, *Peter II.*, King of Aragon, sustained an overwhelming defeat, and with this disaster ended the sanguinary and cruel crusade.

Monfort, who was styled "the gallant champion of the Cross and the invincible defender of the Catholic faith, was declared the lawful lord of the territory thus acquired, by the council of Montpellier, and the fourth council of Lateran (A. D. 1215) confirmed the title.

When the sanguinary and unheard-of cruelties committed in this crusade came to the knowledge of Innocent, he was borne down with grief. It was a source of sorrow to him that such deeds of violence should have been indulged in by those professing themselves the champions of the faith,² and it was no alleviation to his feelings to know that the partisans of error had been equally guilty of them.

§ 237. *Remarks on the Rigorous Measures employed against these Sects.*

Unsatisfactory efforts have been made to show by historical testimony that the *origin* of all these sectaries may be traced back, step by step, to the Greek Paulicians, or, as some say, to the Manichæans,³

¹ It is pretended that the abbot Arnold cried out on this occasion: "*Slay all; God will know His own*;" but even the chroniclers who relate anything derogatory to the character of the prelates attending the Catholic army are silent on the subject. Only the credulous *Cæsarius of Heisterbach*, who has put a thousand fables in circulation, makes mention of this. Cf. *Bonn Periodical*, new series, Year IV., no. 1, pp. 161-164. † *Kaufmann*, *Cæsar* of Heisterbach, being a contribution towards the history of civilisation during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, 2nd ed., Cologne, 1862.

² † *Hurter*, *Innocent III.*, Vol. II., p. 692, says: "Although great excesses may have been committed in the south of France against humanity and justice, in the course of these six years, and although the forces sent thither to re-establish the authority and the faith of the Church carried on instead a war of indiscriminate rapine, still Innocent cannot be held responsible for either. His orders were not carried out, and he was led by false reports to take measures which he would never have taken had he known the true state of affairs."

³ Notwithstanding the denial by the author of this opinion, it is not without very plausible arguments in its favour, which we give, as related by *Blunt* (*Dict. of Sects, Heresies, and Ecclesiastical Parties*, art. *Albigenses*): "From Bulgaria, where Paulician Manichæism (Paulicians) had been established since the seventh century, the heretical

a knowledge of whose doctrines they gained from the writings of St. Augustine. But, be this as it may, it is certain that the immediate and direct source of these heresies is to be sought in the peculiar character of certain individuals, and in their exceptional relations to the Church. Heretics have at all times sought to justify their pretended zeal by alleging that the clergy failed to satisfy the religious

ideas slowly permeated Europe. So general was this infiltration in the eleventh century, that there is hardly a western or northern country in which we do not find a disturbance traceable to this source. But the cold and phlegmatic temper of these regions was fatal to the oriental mysticism of Mani, upon which the new heresy was originally founded; while feudal and oligarchical institutions were ill-suited to the democratic spirit of the Paulicianism, from which it was immediately derived. In England, Northern France, and Germany, the Manichæan revolt was easily subdued; but in Southern France, Provence, and Italy, the case was different. In these last-named countries, Manichæism in its earlier stage seems, in a great measure, from different causes, to have escaped notice. . . . Italy, too, was favourably situated for the dissemination of the heresy, in consequence of its proximity to Bosnia and the other provinces which bounded the home of Paulician Manichæism, and the increasing intercourse brought about by the Crusades materially assisted this dissemination. Here the last of the three great waves of Manichæan opinion, which, in the third, the seventh, and the eleventh centuries respectively, threatened to desolate Christianity, beaten back from the rest of Europe, for the most part was poured. Here the heresy, elsewhere overpowered, was consolidated and developed, until, in the middle of the twelfth century, it burst out into that form to which the famous title of 'Albigensian' has been attached. There were many circumstances—traditions, situation, climate—predisposing the south of France to admit the influence of a heresy like Manichæism. Septimania, which included Languedoc and Provence, and therefore the greater part of the Tolosan suzerainty, had, during four centuries of its early history, submitted without reluctance to the domination of Arian Goths or infidel Saracens. During the centuries immediately preceding the Manichæan revolt, the inhabitants had been accustomed to the demoralising spectacle exhibited by the flourishing courts of the infidel princes of Spain. The Paulician Manichæism, which had broken out first in Northern Europe, in the neighbourhood of the emporia of the Eastern trade, at a short interval had appeared in Italy, that province of the Western Empire nearest to the Bulgarian frontier. The outbreak, though, as has been mentioned, for the time successively crushed in the North, in the South had the effect, not only of exciting many new leaders of heretical opinion, but of awakening the dormant Manichæism of Central Italy. The connection between Italy and Provence was of long standing; and Languedoc, united, for a time, at least, under the same lordship, was further connected by a community of participation in the Romanesque institutions and language. It was in the independent cities of Italy that the dying institutions of Paganism had lingered longest; it was in such towns that Manichæism was earliest revived. And that this revival was a genuine rehabilitation of a dead heresy is evidenced by the fact that the old tenets which had been discarded by the Paulician heretics, from the seventh to the tenth centuries, are found flourishing in Provence and Italy in the twelfth. But, if Italy was foremost in the revival of Manichæism, it is with the suzerainty of Toulouse that its connection was most famous and fatal. . . . Nor was the Church in these provinces capable of any considerable resistance, for the influence of their clergy was then at the lowest point that it has anywhere reached in the history of Christianity. A luxurious country, civilized beyond its age, almost wholly independent of the French king at Paris (in the preceding century it had absolutely ignored his existence), Languedoc enjoyed an almost licentious freedom, at a time when the rest of Europe was held in the strongest grasp of an almost universal military despotism. It was in this country, so predisposed by circumstance to receive the poison, that the streams of heretical opinion were appointed to meet. Southward, from Trèves, Cologne, Besançon—westward, from below the Pennine Alps—northward, from Tuscany and the States of the Church—the flow of heretical opinion converged upon Toulouse. The most fruitful and important district of the Tolosan count was the Albigeois, or that surrounding Albi, a town on a tributary of the Garonne, and the modern capital of the department of the Tarn; and it is from this territory that the name 'Albigensian,' now so famous, has, by a somewhat obscure process, been derived." (Tr.)

wants of the people, and, it must be admitted, the charge had at times a very substantial foundation. But beyond this they had no adequate ground of complaint, and no justification of their conduct. Ignorant, and superciliously proud, they affected a contempt of the mysteries of faith, and manifested a fierce hostility to whatever was connected with the Church. Arnold of Brescia, in Upper Italy, and the Troubadours in Southern France, a class of men ever ready to sneer at bishops and priests, prepared the way for these fanatical sectaries.

When one reflects how universally and how severely the action of those who had *Priscillian* condemned to death was criticised,¹ it is difficult to account for the harsh measures employed against the Albigenses. But a moment's reflection on the *characteristics* and tendency of their teaching will go a good way in supplying the motives of their severe treatment. The consequences of their spiritual tenets reached out until they embraced all the relations of political, social, and commercial life, and were subversive of them all. They declared marriage fornication, thus sundering the most sacred of *social bonds* and sloping the way to the most revolting immorality; they set fire to churches built by the generous devotion of the faithful and endeared to them by a hundred ties; they sought out and destroyed objects of Christian worship which every Catholic regarded with mingled feelings of love and reverence; and so universal and complete was their vandalism that *St. Bernard*, on visiting the country, said he found "the churches empty of people, the people without priests, . . . the sacraments dishonoured, and Christians dying unconverted, impenitent, and without the last rites of the Church."² It would have required a heroic exercise of patience in Catholics of any age to remain indifferent or peaceful spectators of such outrages, and patient endurance was not a characteristic of those sturdy and uncompromising ages of faith. Again, these sectaries, instead of working side by side with the Church in removing the evils and correcting the abuses, the presence of which she recognised and deplored, seemed only intent on her overthrow and destruction. Hence the Catholic Church, being in those times universally regarded as the one and only source of salvation, and even slight deviations from her teaching as denials by implication of the entire deposit of faith, it is not surprising that the Head of Christendom, in view of the threatened danger to the Church, and out of solicitude for the salvation of souls, should, after trying every possible means which paternal kindness and Christian charity could suggest, have finally proceeded to extremities against the enemies of the Church and of social morality. Moreover, the *secular power*, then intimately united with ecclesiastical authority, believing that the very foundations of the State were threatened by these sectaries, actively

¹ See Vol. I., p. 531.

² Cf. *Hurter*, L. c., Vol. II., p. 663, and *Hefele*, Cardinal Ximenes, 2 ed., Tübing., 1851, p. 241 sq.

co-operated with the Church in putting them down. This close alliance of Church and State will explain why, in the Middle Ages, *heresy was regarded by the latter as a political offence*; and further, why, in the Sicilian code of Frederic, which was certainly not conceived in a spirit friendly to the Church, the severest penalties should have been enacted against heretics. But we do not wish to be understood as saying or implying that the reasons brought forward in defence of the *political* code of those times punishing heresy with death, are at all sufficient to justify such severity according to our ways of thinking. We simply wish to make clear to the reader how, in the Middle Ages, when the two powers were expected by the people to work in harmony together, a policy was pursued towards heretics so different from that of earlier times, and how, as time went on, a *personal surveillance* was exercised over them, which finally led to the establishment of the *Inquisition*—an institution which has been the object of more misrepresentation and erroneous judgment than any other known to history. We shall have occasion to speak of this in detail further on. We will only say, in passing, that the Inquisition was first put in operation against the *Stedingers*, a politico-religious sect of Frieslanders occupying the territory now included in the present duchy of Oldenburg, who, under pretence of opposing the tyranny of the nobles and clergy, excited the people to rebellion, refused to pay the tithes or to render obedience to bishops, and went about massacring priests. They were denounced as Albigenes by *Conrad of Marburg*, a secular priest, whom Gregory IX. appointed inquisitor-general, with authority to proceed against them. But Conrad, having employed unnecessary severe measures, excited the indignation of certain nobles, by whom he was murdered. Grave, and, it would seem, well-founded doubts have recently been started as to the justice of the high character heretofore given to this man, who was also the confessor of St. Elizabeth.¹ Like *Dorso*, a Dominican lay-brother, and *John*, a layman, both of whom boasted of their gift of discovering heretics, Conrad, sheltering himself behind the stringent laws against errorists, pursued them with the savage violence of a fanatic. Gregory IX., on learning, very much to his surprise, how this inquisitor had conducted himself, said: "The Germans have always been a fierce race, and hence they have now unrelenting judges."

§ 238. *Amalric of Bena—David of Dinanto—Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit—Apostolic Brethren.*

The sect founded by *Amalric of Bena*,² a theologian and dialectician

¹ On Conrad of Marburg, cf. the Life of St. Elizabeth, by Count Montalembert (German transl. by Stædler, pp. 332, 561-567). *Henke*, Conrad of Marburg, *ibidem*, 1861. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, V. 902-915. *Schumacher*, The Stedingers, Bremen, 1865.

² So called from his native town, in the diocese of Chartres. Cf. *Engelhardt*, *Amalric Bena* (Essays on Ch. H., nro. 3). *Conc. Paris.*, Acta (*Martène*, Thesaurus anecd., T.

of Paris, presents characteristics quite different from those of the sects just described. Led astray by the writings of *Scotus Erigena* and the teachings of the Arabic Paripatetics, he spread among his numerous auditory the doctrines of *out-and-out Pantheism*, following close in the wake of the abbot *Joachim*.

While professor of logics and exegetics at the University of Paris, Amalric was not noticed to put forward any strange opinion, except that all Christians are *personally* members of Christ, *in that* they have borne with Him the sufferings of the Cross. Taken in itself this doctrine was susceptible of many interpretations, and might possibly have been explained away, but when placed beside the other teachings of Amalric, and taken as part of his system, it was downright Pantheism, and as such, was condemned by the University of Paris in 1204. Having been in consequence deprived of his professor's chair, he personally appealed to Pope Innocent III., by whom his teaching was also condemned and he himself ordered to return to Paris and recant his errors (A. D. 1207). He died of grief in 1209.

After the death of Amalric, it was discovered he had left quite a large following behind him, among whom the most conspicuous in the advocacy of his doctrines were *William*, a goldsmith of Paris, and *David of Dinanto*. From the teaching of these men, it soon came out that the underlying principle of Amalric's system was the Pantheistic proposition: "*All things are one, and, conversely, one in all; this all is God; ideas and God are identical*;"¹ thus denying the doctrine of the three Divine Persons in the Trinity, and substituting instead a sort of allegorical symbolism. "We are to understand," it was said, "by the term '*Father*,' that period of the world's history in which the life of the senses was paramount, as is exemplified throughout the Old Testament and in the forms of Jewish worship; by the term '*Son*,' the period during which spirit and matter were in equilibrium, when men turned their thoughts in upon themselves and strengthened the faculties of the soul, but were still unable to completely triumph over the senses and the influences of the world without; by the term '*Spirit*,' the age of man when the purely spiritual and intellectual shall achieve a glorious triumph over matter, and rule supreme. When this age shall have dawned, the sacraments of the New Testament, instituted by Christ—viz., Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist—will lose their efficacy, cease to be necessary or useful, and pass away. Everyone shall then be immediately inspired by the Holy Spirit, without the aid of supplementary contrivances or '*outward practices*,' and in this way work out his salvation. This

IV., p. 163 sq., in *Mansi*, T. XXII., p. 801 sq.) *Staudenmaier*, Philosophy of Christianity, Vol. I., p. 633 sq. *Krönlein*, De genuina Amalrici a Bena ejusque sectatorum ac Davidis de Dinanto doctrina, Gisse, 1842. The same, in Theolog. Studies and Criticisms, 1847, nro. 2. *Stöckl*, Vol. I., pp. 288-293.

¹ *St. Thomas Aquinas* draws a distinction between the teaching of Amalric and that of David. The former, he says, considered God the *principium formale* of all things; the latter taught that He was the *materia prima*. Summa, Pars. I., Quæst. III., Art. VIII. (Tr.)

inspiration," Amalric added, "is the result of '*interior recollections.*' Prophets, apostles, and poets were all equally inspired, and differed only as to their several objects of inspiration. Sanctification is but the consciousness of the presence of God—the filling of the soul with the thought of 'all in one and one in all.' Sin is but the shackles that time and space have flung about man. In the last age, when matter shall fade into spirit and all external things pass away, the external *cultus*, from the nature of the case, shall also cease. Whoever," this impious madman went on to say, "whoever lives in the Holy Spirit cannot stain his soul with the guilt of sin, even if he should be a fornicator; each of us is Christ, each of us the Holy Spirit."

David of Dinanto started from a principle widely different from that of Amalric. According to the teaching of the latter, God was the *formal principle* (*principium formale*) of all things, the *material source* (*materia prima*) according to that of the former. David was also more hostile than Amalric to the Christian religion, inasmuch as he sought arguments to support his system in the writings of Pagan philosophers. It was not long until the poison of *false philosophy* thus introduced through the medium of Amalric's system permeated all the *heretical systems* then in vogue, such as the Cathari, the Albigenses, and others.¹

The teachings of this sect were condemned by the synod of Paris, in 1209, and the organisation in consequence hopelessly broken.

It is more than probable the sectaries known as the *Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit*,² holding partly Montanistic and partly Pantheistic theories, were the legitimate issue of the Amalricians. The name was intended to be representative of their doctrine, which they professed to find in the following words of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans (viii. 2, 14): "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God;" and in those of St. John's Gospel (iv. 23): "The true adorers shall adore the Father in spirit and in truth." Starting from these two texts, they claimed, first, exemption from all external laws and ordinances, and next, freedom from sin, and in consequence believed themselves to be children of God. Their system was a sort of *mystical pantheism*, somewhat analogous to that of the Paulicians. They held that everything is a direct emanation from God, and applied to themselves the words of Christ; "I and the Father are One." As many, they said, as have brought this doctrine home to themselves are no longer under the dominion of sense (John, iv. 23), cannot be defiled by contact with the outer world, and have therefore passed into a higher state of existence, and have no more need of the sacraments. Drawing

¹ Cf. *Staudenmaier*, *Philosophy of Christianity*, Vol. I., p. 629 sq.

² See the detailed Bibliography in *Engelhardt's Ch. Hist.*, Vol. IV., p. 151.

a broad and clean distinction between matter and mind, amounting to a complete sundering of the two, they maintained that the soul could not be stained by sensual excesses, and accordingly some of them gave the fullest swing to their passions, and freely indulged in the grossest impurity.

They were singular in their dress, led a vagabond life, and, while professing a strict observance of the vow of poverty, lived on the labour of others. Wandering from village to village and from town to town, they sang out as they went along: "Bread for God's sake" ("Brot durch Gott"); and as their number steadily increased, they grew daily more importunate, and their professional character as beggars better known. They were called, in consequence of their pertinacious appeals, *Beggars* ("Beghard" and "Beguts"), and in France, "*Turlupins*," probably from their wolfish or predatory habits. Owing to the considerable number of women, who constantly accompanied them, they were called ironically by the Germans "*Sisterers*" (*Schwestriones*), and early accused of immoral practices. They were most numerous at Cologne, whence they spread along the banks of the Rhine and through France and the Netherlands. About the middle of the thirteenth century, they carried their doctrines into male and female convents, particularly in Suabia, calling upon monks and nuns to throw off the rule of their respective orders and commit themselves to the guidance and influence of the Free Spirit. Stringent measures were now taken to suppress them.¹

The *Apostolical Brethren* were a kindred sect. They were founded by Gerard Segarelli, a fanatical young man of Parma, who had been dismissed from a Franciscan convent. Like many of the heresiarchs who went before him, he believed himself called upon to revive the apostolical era of the Church. He entered upon his self-appointed mission in 1261, and, accompanied by a number of followers, who, though not permitted to marry, were attended by women called "Sisters," went up and down the country, begging, singing, and announcing that the kingdom of God was at hand. The scope and aim of their teaching were for some time kept secret, but gradually came out, when it was discovered that they were communistic, subversive of society at large, hostile to the Church, but directed chiefly against the Papacy. Both Church and State undertook their suppression,

¹ "Their professed object," says Ullmann, Evangelical Prelate in Heidelberg (Reformers before the Reformation), was to restore the pure primeval, the divine life of freedom, innocence, and nature. . . . To bring this about in defiance of the imposing power of the Church, the only way open to them was by secret and clandestine meetings. Accordingly they constructed for themselves remote, and often subterraneous habitations, which they called 'Paradises,' and where, by night, and especially on the nights of festivals, persons of both sexes used to assemble. On such occasions one of their 'apostles' came forward, and, taking off his clothes and exemplifying in his own person the state of innocence, delivered a discourse on the free intercourse of the sexes, which the law of marriage, contrary to nature, had supplanted. The sequel, if we may credit the reports (Mosheim says there is no reason to doubt their truth—*de Beghardis et Bequinabus*.—Tr.), was of a kind which forbids description." (Tr.)

and in 1300, their fanatical leader, Gerard, was burned to death at Parma.

Gerard's death did not put an end to their sect. They found a new leader in *Dolcino*¹ of Prato, in the county of Novara, an Italian of considerable culture and remarkable energy of character, and some military talent. He introduced himself to public notice by a circular letter, addressed to all Christendom, in which he proclaimed that a "new age was dawning on the Church, and that he and his followers were the latter prophets who were to immediately precede the great Judgment Day" (A. D. 1303). The duration of the kingdom of God on earth, he said, was divided into four periods, each having its distinctive characteristics. The *first* embraced the time spent by Christ on earth, and was distinguished by piety, as exemplified in Jesus; the *second*, the interval from the death of Christ to Constantine, during which Christians were poor and chaste; the *third*, the centuries from Constantine to his own coming, during the first three or four of which the Christians were moderately good, but after the time of Charlemagne, they grew avaricious, and wealth corrupted the Church; St. Bernard and the Mendicant Orders made strenuous but ineffectual efforts to correct these abuses, but the latter ended by succumbing to their influence; the *fourth*, his own age, when virtue and chastity were to reign supreme, the power of Rome and of Pope Boniface VIII. to be overthrown, and Christianity to be restored in all its primitive purity.

It was rather unfortunate for Dolcino that he was often under the necessity of putting off this happy consummation of things; but, as he was equal to any emergency, the delays were not a source of insuperable annoyance to himself, whatever they may have been to his followers.

¹ Histor. Dulcini and additamentum ad hist. Dulc. (*Muratori*, T. IX., p. 423.) *Dante*, Div. commed., inferno, Canto XXVIII., v. 55 (not v. 25), places *Dolcino* by the side of *Mohammed*, probably because they both defended their doctrines sword in hand. The poet commences his narrative with these words:

" Chi poria mai pur con parole sciolte
Dicer del sangue e delle piaghe appieno,
Ch' i' ora vidi, per narrar più volte?"

And the importance of the rebellious war thus carried on by them is shown then (v. 55 sq.), when Mohammed bids the poet, on his return to the light:

" Or di' a fra Dolcin dunque che s'armi,
Tu che forse vedrai il sole in breve,
S'egli non vuol qui tosto sequitarmi,
Sì di vivanda, che stretta di neve
Non rechi la vittoria al Noarese,
Ch' altrimenti acquistar non saria leve."

" Now say to Fra Dolcino, then, to arm him,
Thou, who perhaps wilt shortly see the sun,
If soon he wish not here to follow me,
So with provisions, that no stress of snow
May give the victory to the Novarese,
Which otherwise to gain would not be easy." (Tr.)

Mosheim, Hist. of the Order of Apostolicals, Helmstädt, 1748. *Schlosser*, Avelard and Dolcino, Götha, 1807. *Krone*, Fra Dolcino and the Patareni, Lps., 1844.

After going about for some time in Tyrol and Dalmatia, he returned to Piedmont, and, having gathered together his followers at Novara, formally declared war against Rome (A. D. 1304). After fighting several battles, Dolcino and his followers were driven to seek refuge on Mount Zebello, where those who escaped death by famine perished by the sword of the crusaders sent against them under the lead of the Bishop of Vercelli (A. D. 1307). Both Dolcino and his female companion, Margaret, whom he called his spiritual sister, were taken prisoners, and, after having borne severe torture, the former was executed and the latter burned to death. From this time forth the *Apostolicals* ceased to exist as an organised sect, though small communities were to be found scattered here and there, in Germany and in the south of France, as late as the opening of the fourteenth century.

The errors of these sectaries are very closely allied to the teachings of *Joachim*, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of *Floris*, in Calabria, from whose writings they were probably derived. He was born in 1130, and died in 1202.¹ He was an enthusiastic student of the Old Testament prophecies, which are the subject of many of his writings and discourses. He treated them in such way as to make pointed application of them to himself, and people came finally to regard him as a prophet. His writings under the title of "*Prophecies of the Abbot Joachim*" are well known to every student of mediæval history. He also wrote a treatise on the Trinity, in which he controverted the teaching of Peter Lombard, saying that the latter, in maintaining that there are Three Persons in the Trinity, was really contending for a Quadrinity rather than a Trinity. He thus fell into an error very nearly akin to Tritheism. His teaching was condemned in the second canon of the fourth Council of Lateran (A. D. 1215). The apocalyptic tone of Joachim's writings led many of his followers into the wildest fanaticism.

Gerard, a Franciscan friar (C. A. D. 1254) and an intimate friend of John of Parma, for a time general of the Franciscan order, but subsequently deposed, collected three works of Joachim into one, under the title of the "*Everlasting Gospel*," with a doctrinal preface and some interpolations, here and there, of his own.² This, he said, was the gospel to which reference was made in the Apocalypse (xiv. 6), and which St. Francis, the founder of his order, who was mentioned in the same place as "the angel," was commissioned to proclaim to the world. Its leading idea is very nearly like that already

¹ It is not certain that the treatise "*Evangelium Æternum*" existed in the Middle Ages. Cf. *Engelhardt*, Dissertations on Eccl. Hist., Erlangen, 1832, pp. 1-150. "Joachim and the Everlasting Gospel." On the other hand, we have from Joachim: *De concordia utriusque Testamenti, Libri V.*, Venet., 1519, 4to; *Exposit. Apocal., psalterium decem chordarum* (on the Trinity), Venet., 1527, 4to.

² *Introductorius in evangel. æternum*, whereof but fragments in *Argentré*, *Collect judicior. de novis errorib.*, Par., 1728, T. I., p. 173, and in *Eccard.*, T. II., p. 849; *Postills super apocal.*, epitomised in *Baluz.*, *Miscell.*, Lib. I., p. 213 sq.

set forth by the Montanists.¹ The Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity are supposed to typify the *Three Ages of the World*, or the three periods of the history of mankind. In the first age, embracing the interval from the creation of the world to the coming of Christ, the *Father* made Himself known to the *Jews* through the Old Testament and in manifestations of His power and majesty. In the second, the *Son* revealed Himself in the Gospels, gave in His own person a perfect example of humility, and imparted to man the fulness of wisdom and truth. To this dispensation of the Son, during which the *Roman Church* put forth her greatest energy, were to succeed the "*Last Days*," when the *Holy Ghost* would crown all that had gone before with perfect love and joy and freedom. For it was said that, inasmuch as the teaching of Christ and His apostles related to an earthly kingdom, and could not therefore lead man to his highest attainable end, Christianity as hitherto understood was speedily passing away, to be replaced by a spiritual religion of the heart, in which a contemplative love would supersede the sacraments and all outward means of grace. This sublime religion, with its higher life and superior knowledge was to be the characteristic of the *Third Age of the World*, which was to open exactly in the year 1260. This age, it was added, was the only *purely spiritual age*—the first being that of the *flesh*, and the second that of the *flesh and the spirit*. The *false mysticism*, so prominent a feature of all these sectaries, received its highest development in the famous and learned *Master Eckhart of Paris* (A. D. 1300-1329). His sermons are often almost *unintelligible*, but the drift of them is plain enough, which is to allegorize all the historical portions of the Scriptures in such way as to bring them into harmony with his own *pantheistic theosophy*.² Efforts have been made to clear his otherwise great name of this heretical blot; but, since he was the first of those who were intimately connected with the sect known as the *Friends of God*,³ it is not clear how he can be acquitted of the dangerous doctrines laid to his charge. Moreover, he was formally condemned by Pope John XXII., in a bull issued in 1329, after Eckhart's death. But, whatever be his faults, he has the incontestable merit of having thrown the German language into *scientific form*.

¹ *Tertull.*, De virgin. veland., c. 1. Cf. ad uxor., Lib. I., c. 2.

² *Staudenmaier*, Philosophy of Christianity, Vol. I., p. 641; a more critical view in **Greith*, German Mystics among the Friars and Preachers, Freiburg, 1861, p. 60 sq., and in *Bach*, Master Eckhart, the Father of German Speculation, Vienna, 1864. Cf. Tübg. Quart. 1865, nro. 1. *Lasson*, Master Eckhart, Berlin, 1868.

³ Cf. *Blunt's* Dict. of Sects, etc. art. Friends of God. (Tr.)

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

Holstenii, Codex regular. monasticar., etc. The works of *Helyot*, *Schmidt*, *Biedenfeld*, and **Henrion* (German by Fehr, Vol. I., p. 748). There is also found a full and very interesting picture of religious life at this epoch in *Hurter*, *Innocent III.*, Vol. III., p. 427-616; Vol. IV., p. 1-312. See also *Cesare Cantù*, Vol. VII., p. 149 sq., and compare *Raumcr*, Hist. of the Hohenstaufens, Vol. IV., pp. 320-436, and also *Schröckh*, Ch. H. Pt. XXVII.

§ 239. Introduction.

THE fresh, vigorous life which had penetrated the religious orders towards the close of the preceding epoch still continued to animate them in the present, and to make their influence felt throughout the whole Church and in every phase of her development. The spirit of penance having been revived in the Western nations during the eleventh century, by the reformatory zeal of Gregory VII., was kept alive by the labours of the monks, who were to be seen in the life and bustle of the world, now fearlessly preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ before princes and bishops, now acting as mediators between hostile parties and adjusting their difficulties, and at all times and everywhere proving themselves the friends and protectors of the poor. The cloister was alike the refuge of penitent sinners and the home of science, to which quiet and retirement are so congenial. Here schools were founded and flourished, the arts cultivated, and artisans and mechanics taught their various crafts and trades. A cloister therefore, was, on a small scale, the seat of a university—a sort of polytechnic institute and agricultural college.¹ Moreover, the monasteries were governed by rules exhibiting such consummate wisdom that their forms of government were in a measure adopted as models for political institutions just emerging into life and taking definite shape. So generally acceptable was monastic life to all classes, and so rapid and wide-spread its growth, that *Innocent III.* felt himself called upon to forbid the founding of new orders, and left to restless and aspiring men only the choice of entering whichever of those already existing they might find most congenial to their tastes. Still his prohibition did not prevent the founding of many new congregations, whose members went earnestly to work to counteract the influence of heretics, those dangerous enemies of Church and State

¹ "The mere enumeration of the cloister libraries fills one with surprise and admiration. About the close of the eleventh century, the library of the monastery of Croyland, containing three thousand volumes, perished by fire. In 1248, the library of the abbey of Glastonbury contained four hundred volumes, among which were several of the Roman poets and historians. The catalogue of the library of Prifling is not so rich in classical works, but among them a Homer is mentioned. About the same epoch, the cloister of Benedictbeuren boasted of the possession of a Lucian, a Horace, a Virgil, and a Sallust; and the monastery of St. Michael, near Bamberg, had among its collection the greater part of the Latin poets and the works of many other writers of Pagan and Christian Antiquity." *Hurter*. Vol. III., p. 582; cf. *Cantù*, Vol. VII., p. 754.

then as in all ages, and, as the event proved, achieved by their labours a most triumphant success.

The secret of the strength and influence of the religious orders and congregations lay in the severity of their rules, their strict observance of them, and in the holiness of their founders. But unfortunately a spirit of laxity *soon* crept in, and the conspicuous contrast between their vow of poverty and their great wealth and vast possessions foreboded, and in matter of fact brought on, their speedy decline. Once introduced, the taste for refined and sensual enjoyments rapidly spread; the monastic state, heretofore so sacred and honoured in the eyes of all, was regarded with indifference or excited contempt; and monks became either secretly vicious or openly scandalous.

THE CONGREGATION OF CLUGNY (cf. § 199).

This congregation, the most celebrated of the past epoch, was also the most renowned of the present. Its members wore a black habit of the simplest possible cut. The discipline of the monastery had been very dangerously relaxed during the abbacy of one *Pontius*, who died in 1122; but his successor, the learned and virtuous *Peter the Venerable* (A. D. 1122-1156), again restored it to its primitive rigour, and extended the reputation and the authority of the mother-house of Clugny until it had under it two thousand monasteries,¹ chiefly in France. All these monasteries, which, as we have already remarked, were generally built on *picturesque and commanding heights*,² were subject to the rule and under the government of Clugny, and recognised its abbot as their supreme monastic head. He was invariably chosen from the monks of his own convent, whence also the priors of the other convents were, as a rule, taken. A *General Chapter* assembled annually at Clugny, to enact laws and provide for the interests of the congregation. This congregation now, as in times past, continued to send forth popes and bishops to govern the Church, and in return the order enjoyed the protection and prospered under the influence of the pontiffs, but more particularly in France than elsewhere. But excessive wealth, as usual, blighted the life and blasted the growth of this great and noble order, and Clugny declined in consideration and influence, and finally gave place to rising congregations more fitted by their constitution and the fresh vigour of their youth to cope with the perils of the age.

¹ *Wilkins*, Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Clugny, being the biography of a monk, Lps., 1857.

² In the Middle Ages everything had, so to speak, its special and distinctive type and its own appropriate names. Each order and congregation had a traditional *location* and a peculiar *style of architecture*. The sites preferred by each of the great orders is expressed in the following verses:

“Bernardus vallis, montes Benedictus amabat
Oppida Franciscus, celebres Ignatius urbes.”

§ 240. *The Cistercian Order.*

Relatio qualiter incepit ordo Cisterciens. (*Auberti Mirai*, Chron. Cisterc. ord. Coloniae 1614).—*Henriquez*, Regula, constitut. et privil. ord. Cist., Antwerp., 1630. *Holstenius-Brockie*, L. c., T. II., pp. 365-468. *Helgot*, Vol. V., p. 346 sq. *Hurter*, Vol. IV., pp. 164-206. *Henrion-Fehr*, Vol. I., p. 101 sq.

Robert, abbot of Molesme, growing dissatisfied with the relaxation and sloth into which excessive wealth had plunged the Benedictine order, and still more so with the resistance which the monks offered to his measures of reform, founded, in 1098, a new congregation at Cîteaux, near *Dijon*, in the bishopric of Châlons-sur-Marne. The pious abbot had a host of difficulties to contend against and overcome. The spirit which animated the new congregation of Cîteaux was as different as possible from that which swayed the monks of Clugny, and an absolute *self-denial*, a severe simplicity in all that pertained to external worship, a full and unqualified *submission to the authority of the bishop of the diocese*, a complete renunciation of all worldly affairs, and, in fact, everything about them, down to the *white habit*, which had been substituted for the black, rendered the contrast more conspicuous and pronounced.

Robert died 1108, and in 1119 his order was thrown into definite shape and its organisation perfected by the adoption of the *Charter of Love* (*Charta Charitatis*), which directed that every act of its members should be done by the law of charity. It was approved in the same year by Calixtus II. Its rule was so severe that three abbots succeeded one another before any accession was made to the original twenty, and even some of these were frightened away by the austerity it enjoined.¹ But, for all this, contemporaries recognized in the life led by the inmates of Cîteaux the perfect antitype of the apostolic age, and when *St. Bernard* became one of their number, in 1113, the order had acquired a reputation which raised it far above the most illustrious congregations of that day.

Nearly three years later, he founded a new monastery of the same order in a wild and desert valley enclosed by mountains, in the diocese of Langres. The valley had formerly been the asylum of robbers, and was called the Valley of Wormwood (*Vallis Absinthialis*), but after it had been cleared, it received the name of the Clear Valley (*Clara Vallis*), and the new house was in consequence called *Clair-veaux*. Bernard was at this time only five-and-twenty. He was consecrated abbot by *William of Champeaux*, the learned Bishop of Châlons (1115).²

¹ *Dalgairns*, St. Stephen Harding, founder (?) third abbot!—(Tr.) of the Order of Cîteaux, Mentz, 1855.

² *Bernardi*, Opp. (letters, speeches, poems, practical exegetics, ascetical writings). Best edition that of *Merlo Horst*, revised by *Mabillon*, Paris, 1667-1690, 6 vols. in fol. 1719, 2 vols. f.; Venet., 1726, 2 vols. f. in *Migne*, ser. lat. T. 182-185. A beautiful reprint of the edition of Mabillon by the Frères de Gaume, Paris, 1839-40. His life was written by three of his contemporaries—*William*, abbot of Saint-Thierry, *Gaufred*, and *Alanus ab Insulis*, monks of Clairvaux (*Mabillon*, Acta SS. ord. S. Bened., T. I. and IV.) Among moderns, see *Neander*, St. Bernard and His Age, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1848; *Ratisbonne*, Vie de saint Bernard, Paris, 1843. See above, p. 387.

St. Bernard was born, in 1091, at *Fontaine-Duëmois*, near Chatilly in Burgundy. He was of noble parentage, his father being a respectable knight. His mother, Aleth, as so frequently happens in the case of great men, was at special pains to instil into his tender mind those sentiments of piety and religion which, when assiduously cultivated in early life, are rarely, if ever, lost sight of in after years, and never cease to exercise some influence for good. Previously to Bernard's birth, his mother had learned in a vision that her son would one day be the keeper of the house of the Lord, and, according to her custom, as soon as she was able to go abroad, she brought him to the altar and consecrated him to God.

Bernard was early sent to school, where he soon distanced his companions in speculative studies and dialectical skill, and from his most tender years manifested a grave and peaceable disposition, and a decided tendency to a life of solitude and contemplation. He used to say in after life, when thrown among the noise and bustle of the world, that his mind had been nurtured and his soul inspired by long residence among the grand old trees of the forest. After the death of his mother, the young man was drawn into the society of youths, whose morals were such as are usually associated with that season of life when the passions are strong and fiery and the mind ill-balanced, and was for a time in danger of being led into unseemly excesses. But by the aid of the lessons taught him in early life by his pious mother, he quickly recovered himself, broke loose from all worldly ties, and, gathering about him thirty young men of kindred dispositions and aspirations, entered the monastery of Cîteaux (A. D. 1113). Having, with the exception of a short interval, severely chastened his passions and disciplined his conscience through life, he was now prepared to take in and bring home to himself, as far as is given man to do, the most sublime teachings of the Church. Equally distinguished by great learning and practical good sense, and by a deep and sincere humility and a dislike of any sort of honour, this wonderful man had a remarkable tact in meeting and overcoming, when he could not set aside, difficulties; and his eloquence, backed by his ascetic appearance, his self-denial, and his numerous miracles enabled him to carry out successfully the most difficult undertakings.

Bernard was the type of his age. Who knew so well as he how to meet the various forms of fanaticism of that age when the incoherent vagaries of an unchastened imagination and a stubborn and indocile reason mingled, like the remembrance of some hideous dream, with the intellectual awakening then going on? Enamoured of the Church and of the high ideal he had formed of her, he knew better than any other the disorders by which she was afflicted, and fearlessly attacked them wherever found, whether among the clergy or the laity, in popes, in bishops, or in princes, and having thus rebuked their shortcomings, gave them salutary advice as to their future conduct. To him did Innocent II. owe his recognition as pope, and Eugene III. the great influence which he enjoyed; on his recommendation the Knights

Templars, already somewhat relaxed, received the sanction of the Holy See, and to his sweeping eloquence and energy is due the organisation of the *Second Crusade*; and, finally, to his zeal and apostolic labours many fanatical heretics owed their conversion and return to the Church. What a number of projects did this one man undertake and successfully carry through single-handed! By a life of self-denial and meditation, he rivalled the perfection of the most renowned anchorites of the East, and in the energy and activity he displayed in consulting for the temporal and eternal welfare of his fellow-man, was not surpassed by any prince or bishop of his day. This powerful representative of the spiritual element, this angel of peace among men, this arbiter between kings and nations, did not long survive his friend, Pope Eugene, whom he followed to the tomb August 20, 1153. No sooner had the news of his death got abroad than petitions came pouring in from all countries, praying for his canonisation, and he was accordingly placed upon the calendar of saints in 1174.

The monastery of Clairveaux was a model of monastic life, and so great an authority and influence did the order acquire through the reputation of Bernard that its members were led to call themselves *Bernardines*. Before his death his order had spread to every country of Europe, and numbered two thousand establishments.¹ From all quarters—from every part of France, from Italy and Spain, from Germany and Switzerland, from England and Ireland, and from Denmark and Sweden—came applications for monks formed at Clairveaux to found monasteries in these distant lands on the model left by Bernard. There in that desert valley, at the foot of solitary mountains, did the turmoil of the world cease, and in those tranquil cells did countless souls find peace and rest, and many a broken heart solace and repose. “Ah, how much happier am I,” writes a monk of Cîteaux, “in cultivating wisdom, here in one of our humble huts, than in living with my friend amid the magnificence of great cities!”

The chronicles of this order are crowded with the lives of saints. From it went forth great statesmen and rulers of the Church. To it does agriculture owe a large debt of gratitude, and the lower classes much of the amelioration of their condition. Its influence was everywhere felt; and even religious, usually very tenacious and jealous of their own rules and traditions, sometimes reformed their own monasteries on the model of Clairveaux. It was thus that *Suger*, the celebrated monk and statesman, reformed the monastery of *St. Denys*, of which he was abbot.

§ 241. *The Order of Grammont (Grand Mont.)*

Historia brevis prior. Grandimontensium; Historia proluxior prior. Grandimontensium et Vita S. Stephani, ord. Grand. institutoris, by *Gerhard*, the seventh prior of Grammont (*Martène et Jurand*, Collect. ampliss., T. VI., p. 113 sq., 125 sq., and 1050

¹ *Dubois*, Hist. of the Abbey of Morimond, and of the principal equestrian orders of Spain and Portugal, Münster, 1855, from the second French edition of Dijon, 1852.

sq.; *Mabillon*, Annal. ord. S. Bened., T. V., p. 65); the statutes of the order in Martène, de antiq. eccles. ritibus. *Helyot*, Vol. VII., p. 470 sq. *Hwyter*, Vol. IV., p. 137 sq.

Stephen of Tigerno, in Auvergne, was born in 1046. His parents had long and earnestly sought God to bless them with a son, and when Stephen was born to them, great pains were taken to have him properly brought up and educated. When twelve years of age, he accompanied his father on a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Nicholas of Bari; but, falling sick on his return, he was placed under the care of his countryman, Archbishop Milon of Benevento, who had him suitably educated for the ministry. During a visit to a monastery in Calabria, the young man's thoughts took another direction, and, being strongly impressed by the quiet, order, and beauty of monastic life, returned to France and founded the new order of *Grammont*. It received the special approbation of Gregory VII. (A. D. 1073), who, in writing to Stephen, told him "to found as many houses as there are stars in the heavens, and to beg of St. Benedict to obtain for him spiritual graces rather than temporal blessings." In compliance with the wish of the Pope, Stephen at first adopted the Benedictine rule for his community; but later on, when his religious came to ask him to what order they belonged: "To that of the Gospel," he replied, "which is the basis of all rules. Let this be your answer to such as inquire of you. As for myself, I shall not suffer that I be called either monk, canon, or hermit. These titles are so high and holy, and imply so large a measure of perfection, that I should not presume to apply them to myself."

His own austerity, and that which he required in those about him, soon drew to his side a number of followers, with whom he settled first at Mount *Muret*, Limoge; but, having been forced to give up this place, he fixed his abode permanently at Grammont, a few (five) miles distant.

Stephen of Tigerno died February 8, 1124, leaving to his brethren only the legacy of poverty and an abiding trust in God. His spiritual children proved themselves worthy followers of their holy founder. The first written Rule of the order is attributed to both Stephen of Lisiac, the fourth, and to Gerard, the seventh prior (A. D. 1188), and enjoins the most strict observance of the vow of poverty, forbidding the community to *receive or hold any estates or possessions whatever*. "Never," says the Rule, "is one so secure of the divine love as when living in poverty. It is therefore necessary to observe it most scrupulously." And, to put the observance of it beyond all doubt, the Rule further prescribed, "*that the administration of all temporal affairs shall be entrusted to lay-brothers*." But it was precisely this precaution against the laxity to which excessive wealth usually leads that, in course of time, disturbed the peace of the order, and seriously injured the good name which the holiness of so many of its members had merited for it. Monks and lay-brothers fell to quarrelling with each other, and the latter, having possession of all the wealth of the monastery, administered it to the detriment of the former. In 1317,

Pope John XXII. reformed the rule, and raised Grammont to the rank of an abbey, having under it thirty-nine priories.

§ 242. *The Carthusians.*

The Life of *St. Bruno* (Bolland., Acta SS. m. Octob., T. III., p. 491 sq.) *Mabillon*, Ann., T. V., p. 202; ejusdem Acta SS. O. S. Bened., T. VI., P. II., præf., p. 52. See also the awful legend de vera causa secessus St. Brunon. in eremum (*Launoi*, Opp., T. II., Pt. II., p. 324 sq.) *Dubois*, La grande chartreuse, Grenoble, 1846. The statutes of the order of Carthusians first ordered by *Guigo de Castro*, author of the Vita S. Hugonis Grandinopolitani, in *Surius*, and the *Bollandists*, Ad. I. m. April. Cf. *Hélyot*, Vol. VII., p. 424 sq. *Hurter*, Vol. IV., p. 149 sq. *Henrion-Fehr*, Vol. I., p. 78 sq. Historical and Political Papers, Vol. VIII., p. 328 sq.

Bruno, a priest of *Cologne*, and afterwards canon and master of the cathedral-school at *Rheims*, where *Urban II.* was one of his pupils, was the founder of this order. Disgusted with the worldly life of *Manasseh*, the archbishop, who on one occasion so far forgot himself as to say that "the archbishopric of *Rheims* would be a fine thing if one were not obliged to sing Mass to enjoy its revenues," and, frightened by some singular occurrences attending the death of one of the canons,¹ he, in company with a few others who shared his sentiments, retired into the diocese of *Grenoble*, where they were warmly received by *Hugh*, the bishop. In a wild and desolate valley, called *La Chartreuse* (*Carthusium*), situated within a few miles of the city of *Grenoble*, he and his dozen companions settled down and laid the foundation of an order more severe in discipline than any then existing. They built a monastery in which to meet for religious and devotional exercises, and lived in small cells scattered about it. Their rule prescribed perpetual silence, total abstinence from flesh-meat, and the wearing of hair-cloth garments. But, while devising bodily austerities, *Bruno* did not neglect to inspire his brethren with his own love of knowledge.² Their time was divided between religious exercises, manual labour, and the transcription of the Bible, ancient authors, and other important works, thus securing for themselves the best title to the grateful remembrance of posterity. They rigidly excluded all appearance of pomp and magnificence, and, even in the service of the altar, permitted the use of only a silver chalice. The order flourished in spite of the severity of the rule, and even a band

¹ This shocking legend is probably allegorical, and contains some pointed reference to the disorders laid to the charge of *Manasseh*. It states that one of the canons, having died, was lying confined in church during the recitation of the office of the dead. When the canons had come to the words of the fourth lesson—"Responde mihi"—the dead man thrice raised his head, repeating, each time: "By the just judgment of God am I accused, found guilty, and condemned." The authenticity of the legend has been vehemently denied by *Launoy*, Archbishop *Antoninus*, *Gerson*, and especially by *Mabillon*, Museum Ital., T. I., Pt. II., p. 117 sq. On the other hand, it is defended by *Don Duceaux*, last prior of the Carthusian monastery of *Bourbon-le-Gaillon*, in *Normandy*, in his biography of *St. Bruno*. See *Henrion-Fehr*, Vol. I., p. 79, in the note. † *Tappert*, *St. Bruno*, *Luxemburg*, 1872.

² Cf. *Alb. Miræus*, Bibliotheca Carthusiana, sive illustrium S. Carthus. ordin. scriptorum, auctore *Theodor. Petrejo* (acced. origines omn. per orbem Carthusianorum), Coloniae, 1609.

of devoted women took up the idea and founded a corresponding community for females, who were called Carthusian nuns.¹

The deep spiritual life which distinguished the monks of Chartreuse gave their influence much weight in the great controversy on investitures. The austere Bruno was invited (A. D. 1090) by Urban II., his former pupil, to come to Rome; but the holy man soon grew weary of the active life of a court, and, after refusing the bishopric of Reggio, retired to Torre, in *Calabria*, where he founded a new Carthusian monastery and ended his days in 1101.

The Carthusian monks preserved unimpaired, perhaps longer than those of any other order, the spirit of their founder, the primitive severity of their rule, and their characteristic love of contemplative life. Even amid the splendour with which the order was afterwards surrounded, these remained free from all external contact, and the traditional austerity of the monks lost nothing of its severity.²

Guigo, the fifth prior of the mother-house of Chartreuse († A. D. 1137), composed a valuable work for his order entitled the "*Monk's Ladder*," in which he gives a striking picture of an ascetical life. "There are," says he, "four stages of growth in holiness, nearly, if not quite, inseparable from each other, viz., *reading, meditation, prayer, and contemplation*. By reading, one is drawn to meditation, and this, accompanied by prayer, leads to the domain of pure contemplation. Reading conveys the food to the mouth, meditation breaks and grinds it; prayer creates and tastes, but contemplation is enjoyment itself. As in certain pleasures of sense the spiritual element in man becomes so intimately interwoven with the corporal that matter for the time wholly predominates, so also in contemplation every movement and impulse of the flesh are so completely under control of the soul, and so responsive to its workings, that matter and spirit are entirely one, move on in the fullest harmony, and the spiritual element rules supreme. Some hasten to Jerusalem, but do ye push on still further, nor cease until ye have acquired patience and humility. Ye may find the Holy City in this world, but the home of these virtues is beyond."

In 1141, it was first proposed to convoke a general chapter of the order at the Chartreuse of Grenoble, over which the prior of this house presided, and at which the priors of all the other monasteries were present. It was here agreed that the general chapter had the right and the duty to legislate for the whole order, and to look after the general good of its various establishments.

§ 243. *The Premonstratensians or Norbertines.*

Norberti Vita by the Jesuit Papebroch (*Bolland.*, Acta SS. m. Jun., T. I., p. 804) *Hermannii monachi*, De miraculis S. Mariæ laudes III., 2 sq. (*Guiberti*, Opp. ed. d' Achéry,

¹ They were first established at Salette, on the Rhone, in France, about the year 1229. (Tr.)

² Cf. *Hennion-Fehr*, Vol. I., pp. 90-94. Description of the Carthusian Establishments.

p. 544.) *Hugo*, Vie S. Norbert., Luxemb., 1704, 4to. Bibl. Ord. Præm. per *J. le Paige*, Par., 1633; primaria instituta canonic. Præmonstr. in *Martène*, De antiq., eccles. ritib., T. III. Cf. *Helyot*, Vol. II., p. 206 sq. *Hurter*, Vol. IV., p. 200 sq. *Henrion-Fehr*, Vol. I., p. 148 sq. *Görlich*, the Premonstr. and their abbey of St. Vincent, at Breslau, 2 pts., Bresl., 1836-1841. *Winter*, the Premonst. of the twelfth century, being supplements towards a history of the introduction of Christianity into the country of the Wends, Berlin, 1865. *The same*, the Premonstratensians in North-eastern Germany, Gotha, 1868.

The founder of this order, *Norbert*, a descendant of the noble house of Gennep, was born at Xanten, on the Lower Rhine, in the duchy of Cleves, between the years 1080 and 1085. Being a man of good parts, and having a large fortune in his own right, the highest ecclesiastical offices were open to him, and during the early years of his priesthood he was chaplain to the emperor Henry V., and, still later, canon at Cologne. While indulging hopes of worldly ambition and of a brilliant future, an event occurred which changed the whole course of his life. In 1114, while out taking a ride for pleasure, he was overtaken by a storm and dashed to the ground by a stroke of lightning which fell near him. On recovering himself, he began to think seriously of the sudden death he had just escaped, and, interpreting the circumstance as a warning, he at once entered upon a more serious course of life. After having distributed his goods to the poor, he attempted to reform the canons of several cathedrals; but failing here, he went up and down France and Germany preaching penance. He was everywhere received with marked demonstrations of respect. Shepherds would leave their flocks to make known his coming to hamlet and town, and as he drew near, the church-bells would ring out to announce his presence to the inhabitants. Hastening to the church, he would celebrate Mass, after which he would preach to the people. His grave and manly eloquence always produced a lively and lasting impression. Young and old yielded to its persuasive influence, and knights prepared for deadly combat, when accosted by Norbert, would lay aside their arms, become reconciled, and embrace as friends. All were emulous of the honour of entertaining this man of peace as their guest.

In the year 1119, Norbert visited Pope Calixtus II., who was then holding a council at Rheims, and was by him authorised to found a new order. In the following year he withdrew, for this purpose, to an unhealthy and desert valley in the forest of *Coucy*, near Laon, which he named *Prémontré* (*Pratum Monstratum*), or "the indicated meadow," from the fact that it had been pointed out to him in a vision. Acting under the instructions of Bartholomew, Bishop of Laon, Norbert put off the garb of a penitent and assumed the *white* habit. The *constitutions of St. Augustine*¹ formed the basis of the Rule adopted by this new order of reformed canons, who, while living

¹ The Rule in its present form did not originate with *St. Augustine*. It is a compilation from his two sermons *On the Morals of the Clergy*, and from his one hundred and ninth letter to the *Nuns of Hippo*. Particular statutes were added to this compilation later on.

strictly the lives of monks, united to the habit of contemplation and study, preaching and the care of souls.¹ The order was confirmed by Pope Honorius II. in 1126.

Norbert, although reasonably zealous in advancing the prosperity of his new foundation, never boasted of any special excellence possessed by it or endeavoured to lay its obligations on others. To the pious and aged Theobald, Count of Champagne, who wished to enter the order and make over to it all his possessions, he replied : "Far be it from me to interrupt the work God is accomplishing through you. Bear in mind that by taking this step the good you are now doing as a prince would have to be left undone."

When, in 1126, Norbert went to preach at the diet of Spire, he was, as if by a divine inspiration, elected to the vacant archbishopric of Magdeburg. He at first stoutly refused to accept the proffered honour ; but, finally yielding, made his entrance into his metropolitan city in the garb of a beggar, the poverty of his garments contrasting strangely with the rich apparel of those composing his retinue. As time went on, his austerity became equally hateful to clergy and people, and he was obliged to fly the city. He died in 1134, while returning from Italy, where he held the office of chancellor, and his death, while calling forth the most lively demonstrations of regret, hushed every expression of ill-will against him. He was called by St. Bernard and Peter the Venerable the holiest and most eloquent man of his age.

§ 244. *The Carmelites and the Order of Fontevrault.*

Joan. Phocas (1185), *Compendiaria descriptio castror. et urbium ab urbe Antiochia usque ad Hierosolym.* (Leon. Allatii Symmicta., Venet., 1733 f.) *Jacob. de Vitriaco*, *Hist. Hierosolym.*, c. 52 (Bongars., Pt. I., p. 1075). *Alberti*, *Regula in Holstenius.*, T. III., p. 18 sq. *Dan. a Virg. Maria*, *Speculum Carmelitar.*, Antwerp, 1680, IV. T. f. *Helyot*, Vol. I., p. 347 sq. *Hurter*, Vol. IV., p. 211 sq. *Freiburg Cyclopæd.*, Vol. II., p. 362 sq.

The founder of the Carmelites was one *Berthold*, a monk and priest of Calabria, who, with a few companions, erected, in 1156, a few huts on the heights of Mount Carmel, not far from the cave which the prophet Elias had blessed by his presence. The huts were soon demolished to give place to a monastery. Mount Carmel, from its connection with the names of Elias and Eliseus,² had been for centuries inhabited by anchorets desirous to perpetuate the memory of these prophets, and hence the Carmelites claimed Elias himself as their founder.³

¹ There arose a discussion between monks and canons as to which of the conditions of life was the more honourable and meritorious. For arguments in favour of the latter, see *Lamb.*, Abb. S. Rufi ep. ad Ogerium (*Martène*, *Thesaur.*, T. I., p. 329 sq.) For the former, *Abaelard.*, Ep. III., *Ruperti Tuit.*, Sup. quæd. capitula reg. Ben. (Opp., T. II., p. 965.)

² 3 Kings, xviii. 19 sq.; 4 Kings, ii. 25; iv. 25.

³ *Papebroch* has got at the truth of this affair in some of his treatises. (*Bolland.*, *Mens. Apr.*, T. I., p. 774 sq.)

Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, at the request of *Brocard*, the second abbot, gave a Rule to the order (A.D. 1209). It was very severe, and enjoined, among other austerities, absolute poverty, the complete seclusion of the monks in separate cells, and total abstinence from flesh meat.

The order was approved, in 1224, by *Honorius III.* Driven from their monastery by the encroachments of the Saracens, the Carmelites wandered into Europe, where, giving up the life of anchorets, they received from Pope *Innocent IV.* estates for their use, and by his authority changed their name to *Brothers of our Lady of Mount Carmel.*

According to a pious legend, *Simon Stock*,¹ an Englishman, the sixth general of the order, received from the Blessed Virgin the scapular (*scapulare*), so called from being worn upon the shoulders, with the promise that whosoever should have it on when dying would escape eternal punishment.

In 1245, the Carmelites became one of the *Mendicant orders*, but after Pope *Eugene* had so modified their Rule (A. D. 1431) as to adapt it to the climate and changed circumstances of the West, they split into two divisions—one of which called themselves the *Conventuals*, or the *Shod*, and the other the *Observants*, or the *Unshod*. They subsequently coalesced with similar orders of nuns and with numerous *confraternities of the Scapular*, who specially aimed at honouring the Blessed Virgin, and devoted themselves to works of charity.

Very similar to these was the order of *Fontevrault*, whose members dedicated themselves in a special sense to *the honour and glory of the Queen of Heaven*.² They were founded by *Robert of Arbrissel* in 1094. Robert in his youth entered enthusiastically into the religious and scientific movement of his age, and having gone through his course of studies with great credit to himself, at Paris, became a professor of theology in that city, and was distinguished by his correct and ascetical life. The Bishop of Rennes, who was himself identified with the movement in favour of reform, made the young professor his coadjutor (A. D. 1085).

In his new position Robert showed great capacity, and was extremely zealous in his efforts to reform the morals of the clergy, to enforce the rule of celibacy, and to suppress simony. But after the death of this bishop, he gave up his efforts in despair, and took a professorship in the city of Angers, which, however, he soon threw up, and consecrated himself to a life of *penance and self-denial* in the forest of *Craon*. Roots and herbs were his food, and his couch the bare ground. His retreat was soon invaded by many desirous of sharing his mode of life, and they finally became so numerous that, as he himself informs us, he was obliged to make three divisions of them, distributing them in the neighbouring forests. He next had a number of

¹ *Launoy*, Diss. V. de Simon. Stockii visu, de Sabbathinæ bullæ privil. et Scapularis Carmelitar. sodalitate (Opp., T. II., Pt. II.)

² *Mabillon*, Annal., T. V., p. 314 sq. *Bolland.*, Acta SS. mens. Febr., T. III., p. 593. *Helvyot*, Vol. VI., p. 98 sq.

small cells built at *La Roe* (A. D. 1093), and gave their occupants the rule of St. Augustine for their guidance. Urban II. ordered him to preach the Crusade, and his words of burning eloquence fired all hearts. His preaching seems to have had a strange and magnetic influence. Young and old of both sexes, after listening to him, gave up their vicious habits, confessed their sins, and entered upon a new life.¹

In the year 1100 he founded two houses at Fontevrault (*Fons Ebraldi*), not far from the town of Candès, in Poitou—the one for men and the other for women—which were soon too small to accommodate the crowds that flocked thither, and new ones had to be erected. The order was approved by Pope Paschal II. in 1106, and again in 1113.

Following the example of our Divine Saviour, who, when dying, committed St. John, the well-beloved disciple, to the care of His mother, Robert placed all his convents, both of men and women, in the keeping of the Blessed Virgin, and made them all subject to the *Abbess of Notre-Dame-de-Fontevrault*.² Finally, he assigned them the difficult and delicate mission of reclaiming vicious women and leading them back to a life of virtue; and to this work, with a disregard for his own good name bordering on recklessness, did he devote the best energies of his life. He died in 1117.

“How happy are you,” said the faithful interpreter of the sentiments of his age, on beholding a young maiden enter the cloister, “how happy are you in that you have given up the sons of men and now chosen as your bridegroom the Son of the Most High! You shall be dear to Him in proportion as your apparel is poor and your virginity spotless. You have done well to trample under foot the fleeting riches and insidious treasures of the world. From this time forth have no part with it; offer yourself, wholly and without reserve, as a sacrifice to your heavenly Bridegroom.”³

§ 245. *Anthonists, Trinitarians, and Humiliati.*

There is no disease so loathsome, so repugnant to man’s nature, or so offensive to his senses, that Christian charity may not be found warm and courageous enough to minister to such as are stricken with it. Hence, in those terrible days when appalling epidemics swept over Europe, scourging and desolating whole provinces, religious associations sprung up whose special purpose it was to minister to the corporal and spiritual wants of the sick and the pest-stricken. Besides the terrible plague of the *leprosy*, which had been brought into Europe from the East, there was another known as the *Sacred Fire*, or *St. Anthony’s Fire*, which carried off multitudes after they had suffered the most frightful pains; and those who were fortunate enough not to succumb to it were left either mutilated or incurably lame for the remainder of their days.

Among those attacked by this disorder was one *Guerin*, the son of

¹ The biography of Bishop Balderic, in *Bolland.*, D. 25 mens. Feb.

² *Dissertationes de subjectione virorum etiam sacerdotum ad mulierem, etc.*, Paris, 1612; ed. II. as *Clypeus Font. Ebraldi. ordinis*, Paris, 1692, 3 T. Conf. *Schels*, *The Modern Religious Communities*, Schaffhausen, 1857, p. 74 sq.

³ *Petr. Bles.*, ep. 55.

a wealthy nobleman by the name of *Gaston*, who had also been stricken by it. Both had recourse to *St. Anthony*, and obtained their recovery. Out of gratitude for this blessing, the two made a pilgrimage to *Didier-la-Mothe*, where the saint was particularly venerated, and there consecrated their entire fortune to the foundation of an order whose work was to consist in serving and caring for those who were stricken with this and similar maladies. They were approved, in 1096, by Pope Urban II., after which they took the name of *Anthonists*, or *Hospitalers*. Their habit was black, having an Egyptian cross (T) on the breast. The order, which was at first composed entirely of laymen, but subsequently, by permission of Boniface VIII., included canons, observed the rule of St. Augustine, under the direction of a superior called a Master (*magister*).¹ There was also another society of laymen and ecclesiastics devoted entirely to the laudable and laborious work of serving lepers.

"These brothers," says James of Vitry, a contemporary († C. A. D. 1240), "by forcing themselves to it, endure, amidst filth and offensive odours, such intolerable hardships for Christ's sake, that it should seem no sort of penitential exercises imposed by man upon himself could for a moment be compared with this holy martyrdom, so precious in the sight of God."

John of Matha, a theologian of Paris, but a native of Provence, and *Felix of Valois* had simultaneously the same dream, and as Innocent III., in interpreting it, directed their thoughts towards the redemption of Christian captives taken by the Saracens, he may be regarded as the founder of the order of *Trinitarians*² (A. D. 1198), and did, in fact, draft its Rule. It was called, from its object, *Ordo de Redemptione Captivorum*, but its members were more generally known as *Trinitarians*. They wore a white habit, having a red and blue cross on the breast. They were well received in France, where they had originated, were the recipients of large sums of money to be devoted to the objects of the order, and had large accessions to their number, among whom were many distinguished by ability and profound learning.

In the year 1200 the first company of ransomed captives arrived from Morocco, and one may easily imagine their joy on again regaining their freedom and beholding once more their friends and native land.

The members of this order were sometimes called *Mathurins*, from the title of the first church occupied by them in Paris. They spread rapidly in Southern France, through Spain, Italy, England, Saxony, and Hungary, and foundations of a similar kind were also opened for

¹ *Bolland.*, Mens. Jan., T. II., p. 160.—*Kapp*, De Fratib. S. Antonii, Lps., 1737, 4to.

² *Bonaventura Baro*, Annal. ordin. S. Trin., Rom., 1684; regula, in *Holsten.*, T. III., p. 3 sq. See *Helyot*, Vol. II., p. 366 sq. *Hurter*, Vol. IV., p. 213 sq. *Henrion-Fehr*, Vol. I., p. 132 sq. **Dr. Gmelin*, The Trinitarians or White Spaniards in Austria, and their activity in behalf of the liberation of Christian slaves from Turkish captivity (Austr. Quart. of Theol., 1871, nro. 3.) The same, Bibliography for a history of the order of Trinitarians, Serapeum, 1870.

women. *Cerfroid*, in the diocese of Meaux, where the first house of the order was opened, became the residence of the General (*minister generalis*). There was a fine field for their labours in Spain, where the Moors were constantly at war with the Christians.

Another order having the same object in view, but differing somewhat in its constitution, was founded by *Peter of Nolasco*, a distinguished Frenchman, and *Raymond of Pennaforte*, in 1218, and, in consequence of a vision, placed under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin, and called the Order of the Blessed Virgin of Mercy (*Ordo B. Mariæ de Mercede*). Its members bound themselves by vow to give their fortunes, to serve as soldiers, and, if necessary, to make a sacrifice of their very persons, as Peter actually did in Africa, for the redemption of Christian captives. Hence their members were divided into *Knights*, who wore a white uniform, and *Brothers*, who took orders and provided for the spiritual wants of the community. *Gregory IX.*, admiring the heroic devotion of these intrepid men, approved the order.

The *Humbled* (*Humiliati*)^r occupied, as it were, an intermediate position between the world and the cloister. They were at first composed of a small number of families which Henry II., at the opening of the eleventh century, drove from the city of Milan and conducted as exiles into Germany, and of other gatherings drawn together for devotional purposes.

On the return of the Milanese exiles to their native city, they continued, from choice, the mode of religious exercise they had adopted from necessity while abroad; and so popular did these little communities become, that within a very short time they were to be found scattered in every considerable town throughout Lombardy. One of the primary rules of the society being that each member should earn his bread by the labour of his hands, its ranks were chiefly recruited from the mechanic class, and almost exclusively from those engaged in the preparation of wool and in the manufacture of woollen fabrics. Their dress was simple and modest, and their intercourse with each other kindly and characterised by the fear of God. Each member worked, not for himself, but for the interests of the society, which looked after and provided for the wants of all. Thus the youthful, the vigorous, and the strong compensated for the weak, the infirm, and the aged. All feelings of discontent were banished, and satisfaction and harmony filled the breast of every member of these little communities. Priests and monks soon joined their ranks. The society was daily growing in numbers, its movements became more complex and difficult, and the need of some steadying, some governing influence was evident. Accordingly *Innocent III.* gave it the Rule of St. Benedict, but *Gregory IX.*, in consideration of the sustained manual labour which the members were obliged to perform,

¹ *Tiraboschi*, *Vetera Humiliator. monum. Mediol.*, 1766 sq., 3 T. 4to. *Hurter*, Vol. IV., p. 235 sq.

materially modified the articles regulating fasting. A Grand Master was appointed in 1246. Their habits of industry and their purity of morals gained them universal esteem, and sometimes raised them to high positions of public trust and honour. But, like so many other societies, this too, after having reached a position of influence and power, lost sight of the spiritual in its anxiety for its temporal and sordid interests, and mixed in the political intrigues of the day. St. Charles Borromeo attempted to reform its members, but they resisted, and, in return for his kindness, four of their number formed a plot to take his life. Bursting into the room of the saint while he was engaged in prayer, one of these assassins fired upon him, but his life was miraculously preserved, the bullet not even penetrating his surplice. The Humiliati were suppressed by Pope Pius V. in 1571.¹

§ 246. *The three great Military and Religious Orders.*

Tacitus informs us that among the early German tribes cavalry was the principal element of military power. During the centuries of feudalism, and especially during the age of the Carlovingians, the large feudal proprietors serving on horseback formed a separate and distinct class from the burghers. The Church employed every means at her disposal to put an end to the absurd conflicts between knight and knight and the barbarities of tournaments, and during the period of the Crusades succeeded in giving to chivalry a higher, a more humane, and a more noble direction. From this time forth those admitted to the order of knighthood had first to go through a severe course of military training similar to that of a modern cavalry officer, and, having given proof of their *perfect skill in the use of arms*, were further required to have *a record of untarnished Christian conduct*. And in fact, after the beginning of the first crusade, such as had proved their skill and dexterity in the use of arms, and had led honourable and Christian lives until they reached man's estate, were assigned a higher place in their own order (*milites equites*) than they would otherwise have obtained, thus forming a sort of select body of men, before being admitted into which it was necessary to go through certain preliminary ceremonies and take a public and solemn oath. Inasmuch as the happy issue of the first crusade was attributed to the prudence and gallantry of the knights, they were thenceforth surrounded with the glorious prestige which an event of so vital importance would naturally give. The recital of their chivalrous deeds kindled in the breasts of those who had remained at home a desire to emulate their prowess, and occasioned those brilliant displays of chivalry which furnish so vast a scope to the imagination and so prolific a theme to the poet. What the Isthmian and Nemean games were of old to Greece, chivalry became now to the West. While the religious enthusiasm evoked by the Crusades continued to inspire the

¹ As a memorial of their white uniform, the Benedictine nuns who succeeded them in the monastery of St. Cecilia, in Rome, still wear a *white habit*. (Tr.)

knights, their record was honourable and their lives virtuous and useful; but, once this enthusiasm had passed away, the glory of chivalry soon followed, or still existed only in the empty pageantry of rude and senseless combats.

The *military orders*, combining in their constitution the elements of *religious and military life*, added to their three monastic vows a fourth, by which they bound themselves to carry on a ceaseless warfare against the unbeliever. As the feudal system was founded on the right of primogeniture and entail, by which the eldest son and his direct descendants were the exclusive and sole heirs to the fief, the younger sons of a knight were forced to seek elsewhere a field for their energies, and in the order of knighthood found a position at once in keeping with their rank and sanctified by religion.

In the year 1048, certain merchants of Amalfi were permitted by the Caliph of Egypt to build a hospice in Jerusalem for the reception of pilgrims coming from Europe to visit the Holy Sepulchre, and by the side of it a church, which they placed under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin. The hospice soon became too small for the increasing number of pilgrims, and a second was added. Those who first served in the hospice were called the *Hospitaler Brothers of St. John the Baptist*. When the Seljuk Turks succeeded the Egyptian and Arabian Saracens in Palestine, they plundered the hospice and cast Gerard, the first superior, into prison, where he remained until released by Godfrey de Bouillon, after the conquest of Jerusalem, in 1099. *Raymond of Puy*, the successor of Gerard, drew up a body of statutes for the order, by which he added to the original duties of *offering hospitality and serving the sick* that of fighting against the infidels and defending the Holy Sepulchre (A. D. 1118). By these statutes the Brothers were divided into three classes—*Knights, Chaplains, and Serving Brothers*—the last-named being fighting-squires, who attended the Knights in their expeditions. They were governed by a *Grand Master*, Commanders, and Chapters of Knights. The various hospices established in the maritime cities of Europe as resting-places for pilgrims were called *Commanderies*. The order was subsequently divided into eight languages—viz., Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, England, Germany, and Castile—each of which had a number of grand priories, and under these again were many commanderies. The order was approved by Pope Innocent II., who permitted them to wear on their breasts a *white cross of the Maltese form* (✠), and to have a red one emblazoned on their standards.¹ The Knights of St. John have always borne a reputation in every way worthy of their high calling.

¹ *Willelmus Tyr.*, Lib. I. 10; XVIII. 4 sq. *Jacob. de Vitriaco*, Hist. Hieros., c. 64; *statuta ord. in Holsten.*, T. II., p. 444 sq.; *privilegia in Mansi*, T. XXI., p. 780 sq. (*Vertot*), Hist. des Cheval. hospital. de St. Jean., Par., 1726, 4 T., 4to; 1761, 7 T. *Hurter*, Vol. IV., p. 313 sq. *Gauger*, The Order of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or the Maltese, according to unpublished and authentic documents, Carlsruhe, 1844. *Winterfeld*, Hist. of the Chivalric Order of St. John, Berlin, 1859. *Alfred von Reumont*, The Last Times of the Order of St. John (Suppl. of Ital. Hist., Vol. IV.)

On the conquest of Jerusalem, in 1187, the Hospitalers retired to Margat, in Phœnicia, whence they were driven by the advance of the Saracen arms, first to Acre, in 1285, thence to Limisso, in 1291, where Henry II., King of Cyprus, assigned them a residence. In 1310, the Knights, under the grand master, Foulkes de Villaret, assisted by a number of crusaders from Italy, captured Rhodes and seven adjacent islands from the Greek and Saracen pirates, and thence carried on a successful war against the infidels. In 1523, they were forced to surrender Rhodes to the sultan, Soliman, and retired first to the island of Candia, and afterwards to Viterbo. In 1530, Charles V. assigned them the island of *Malta*, where, under the grand master, *La Valette*, they made a glorious defence against the sultan, Soliman, by whom they had seven years before been driven from Rhodes.

After the Reformation, the influence of the Hospitalers rapidly declined, and in 1798 they, under the grand master, D'Hompesch, surrendered Malta to the French. They still exist in Russia and Spain, but since 1801 only deputy grand masters have been appointed, who reside in the latter country.

At the very time when the Hospitalers took upon themselves the duty of combating the infidel, *Hugh de Payens* ("magister militiæ") Geoffrey de St. Omer, and seven other French knights added to their ordinary vows that of religion (A. D. 1118). Baldwin II., King of Jerusalem, gave them his own palace, situated on the site of the ancient Temple of Solomon, for a residence, and the abbot and canons of the church and convent of the Temple of Jerusalem added another building, whence the members of the order were called "Poor Soldiers of the Temple of Solomon," afterwards abbreviated into *Templars*. But, owing to the small number of members, the order was in danger of becoming extinct before it had got fairly under headway. To prevent the failure of the enterprise, some of the Knights passed over to France and presented themselves before the *Council of Troyes* (A. D. 1127), begging the ratification of the rule that had been drawn up for their government. Thanks to the kind offices of *St. Bernard*, Pope Honorius II. assigned them the duty of defending pilgrims from the attacks of the brigands who infested the highways.

They were obliged by their Rule to attend daily the recitation of the office, or, if absent on military duty, to say a certain number of Our Fathers. They were to abstain from flesh four days in the week, and from eggs and milk on Fridays. Their habit was a *white mantle with a red cross* of eight points, of the Maltese form (✠), on the shoulder.¹ Aided by the ample donations which poured in upon

¹ *Willelm. Tyr.*, XII. 7. *Jac de Vitriaco.*, C. 65. *Bernardi*, Tract. de nova militia s. adhortatio ad milit. Templi; regula in *Holsten.*, T. II., p. 429 sq.; in *Mansi*, T. XXI., p. 305 sq. *Münster*, Statutes of the Order of Templars, Berlin, 1794, 1 vol. *Du Puy*, Hist. des Templiers, Paris, 1650; Brux., 1751, 4to. *D'Estival*, Hist. crit. et apolog. des cheval. du Temple, Paris, 1789, 2 vols., 4to. *Helyot*, Vol. VI., p. 25 sq. *Wilcke*, Hist. of the Templars, Lps., 1826-1834, 3 vols. *Addison*, History of the Knights Templars, London, 1842. As to the polemics which sprang up when this order was suppressed, see § 266.

them from every country of the West, they were enabled to render eminent services to the Church and to successfully combat the Turks and Saracens. Their war-cry was "Beau séant," and their banner, which bore the same name, was parted per fess sable and argent. Their badges were the *Agnus Dei* and a representation of two knights mounted on one horse, indicative of the original poverty of the order.

When Ptolemaïs had been wrested from the Christians (A. D. 1291), they established themselves in the island of *Cyprus*, and shortly after retired to Europe and settled on the immense estates which they had acquired in consequence of their members being, as a rule, drawn from the most distinguished representatives of the nobility. In every country of Europe where they existed, they had their governor, called the *Master of the Temple*, or of the Militia of the Temple. They had settlements in England from a very early period.¹

Paris became the centre of the order, where they resided in a magnificent and spacious palace, called "Le Temple," until their tragic end under Philip the Fair, in 1310.

Although the *Hospitaller Brothers* gave all possible attention to pilgrims, irrespective of their nationality, their good-will was frequently of little service, from the difficulty they found in making themselves understood; and this was particularly the case when they came in contact with Germans. To remedy this defect, a number of pious persons founded a *German hospice*, in 1128, and placed it under the direction of the grand master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem (A. D. 1143). But even this arrangement was found inefficient, as in many instances, and notably during the siege of Acre, the Germans were neglected. Touched with pity for their sufferings during this siege, certain merchants of Bremen and Lübeck extemporised a hospital by throwing up a few tents made out of the sails of their vessels, under which the sick and plague-stricken were temporarily sheltered and cared for. This was the humble beginning of the national hospice founded later on at Jerusalem, and to which the already existing branch was affiliated. The house was served by German hospitaler brothers. Such was the origin of the *Order of Teutonic Knights* of St. Mary of Jerusalem. *Henry of Walpot* was made their first grand master, in 1190. Only Germans of noble birth were admitted to membership, the founders having been probably ennobled before being enrolled. The members were at first all laymen, but priests were afterwards admitted as chaplains. There were also added, about 1221, a class of half-brothers, similar to the serving brothers of the Templars and Hospitalers. The habit of the order was a *white mantle, with a black (fess) cross*.²

¹ The first was in London, on the site of Southampton buildings, Holborn; but from 1185 their principal seat was in Fleet-street, still known as the Temple. The round church which bears their name was dedicated by Heraclius, Patriarch of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, in 1135, and the chancel was consecrated in 1240. (Tr.)

² *Jac. de Vitriaco*, C. 66. *Hennig*, Statutes of the Teutonic Order, Königsberg, 1806. *Petri de Duisburg* (about 1236), *Chron. Pruss. sive Hist. Teut. Ord.*, ed. *Hartknoch*, Jenæ,

So important were the services rendered by the order that it obtained the approval of *Celestine III.*, and received many marks of favour from Henry, King of Jerusalem, and from the clergy and nobility of his kingdom. After the capture of Damietta by the Crusaders, in 1219, to which the Teutonic knights materially contributed, large tracts of land in Prussia were given to the Order, and the duty assigned them of protecting the Christians of those countries against the attacks of their pagan neighbours. To them do the cities of Thorn, Culm, Marienwerder, Rheden, Elbing, Königsberg (A. D. 1232-1255), and many others owe their origin.

After the fall of Acre, the first seat of the order, the grand master removed to Venice, and thence, in 1309, to *Marienbourg*, on the Vistula. In the course of the thirteenth century the Knights conquered Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and other adjoining territories. Warriors from every quarter of Europe, in that and the following century, gathered under their standard, among whom were Henry IV. of England, accompanied by three hundred knights and men-at-arms. Their vast conquests, including the territory lying between the Oder and the Baltic, with a population of between two and three million, raised the Order to the rank of a sovereign power. Its decline commenced in the fifteenth century, and its fall was hastened partly by internal discussions and partly by the attacks of neighbouring states, particularly Poland and Lithuania.

Albert of Brandenburg, who was chosen grand master in the hope that he might reconquer the territories that had been taken from the order by Sigismund of Poland, ended an unsuccessful war against that prince by passing over to Protestantism and forming the territories of the order in East Prussia into a duchy, to be held by himself and his successors. Those of the Knights who remained faithful to the Church and to their order chose *Mergentheim*, in Suabia, as their residence, and their grand master was recognised as a spiritual prince of the empire.

By the peace of Presburg (1805), the Emperor of Austria came into possession of the rights and revenues of the grand master, and when the order was abolished by Napoleon, in 1809, the lands belonging to it, lying in the several kingdoms of Europe, passed to their respective sovereigns. The order still continues to preserve a nominal existence in Austria.¹

The *Brothers of the Sword* in Livonia (1202) were an order very similar to the Teutonic Knights, to whom they were affiliated in 1237.

1679, 4to. *Duelli*, Hist. Ord. equit. Teut., Viennæ, 1729 f. *Voigt*, Hist of Prussia until the Fall of the Teutonic Order, Königsberg, 1827 sq., 9 vols. + *Watterich*, Establishment of the Teutonic Order, Lps., 1857.

¹ Vide *Chambers' Cyclopædia*, art. Teut. Knights. We here state, on good authority, that the Archduke Maximilian, who died recently, at the age of eighty-four, seriously thought of applying the remaining revenues of the Order to the founding of a bishopric at Troppau for Austrian Silesia. Negotiations were going forward in Rome, but William, the son and successor of the archduke, in the office of grand master, refused to surrender the property. (Tr.)

Belonging to the same class were the orders of St. Jago, Alcantara, and Calatrava, in Spain and Portugal.¹

§ 247. Mendicant Orders—*St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi.*

Vita St. Dominici, by his successors, *Jordanus* and *Humbertus*, the fifth general (*Bolland.*, M. Aug., T. I., p. 358 sq.) *Constitt. fratr. ordin. Prædicator.*, in *Holsten.*, T. IV., p. 10 sq. *Ripoli et Bremond*, Bullar. Ord. Præd., 1737 sq., 6 T. f. *Mamachi*, *Aliorumque ann. Ordin. Præd.*, Rom., 1754. *A. Touron*, La vie de saint Dominique de Guzman, etc., Paris, 1739. † *Lacordaire*, Les Ordres religieux et notre temps, Paris, 1839. The same, Vie de Saint Dominique (Germ., Landshut, 1841; 2nd ed. carefully revised, Ratisbon, 1871). *Caro*, Vie de Saint Dominique (Germ., Ratisbon, 1854). *Hurter*, Vol. IV., pp. 282-312). Vita St. Francisci, by *Thom. de Celano*, 1229, then complemented, in 1246, by *Leo Angelus* and *Ruffinus*; above all, by *Bonaventura* (*Bolland. m. Octbr.*, T. II., p. 683 sq.) Opp. St. Franc., with several supplements, especially the *Vita a Bonaventura* ed. by *Von der Burg*, Cologne, 1849. *Regula* in *Holsten-Brockie*, T. III. Cf. *Luc. Wadding*, Ann. Minor. until 1540, Lugd., 1625 sq.; 8 T. f. to 1564; Romæ, 1731, 19 T. f. † *Vogt*, St. Francis of Assisi, Tübg., 1840. *E. Chavín de Malan*, Hist. de St. François d'Assisi (1182-1226), Paris, 1841 (Germ., Munich, 1842). *Dawignac*, St. Francis of Assisi (German by *Clarus*, Innsbruck, 1866). *Hurter*, Vol. IV., pp. 249-282.

This period, so prolific in institutions of every sort, also gave birth to the Mendicant orders, a species of spiritual chivalry still more generous and heroic than that of which we have just treated, and unique in history. Their mission was a difficult one, but they accomplished it well. Many causes combined to call them into existence. In proportion as the Church grew wealthy her discipline relaxed, and dangers menaced her on every side; the shortcomings of the secular clergy were conspicuous and numerous, and the bulk of the people much preferred to their perfunctory services the ministrations of men animated by the apostolical spirit and leading the lives of ascetics; the Cathari, the Albigenses, the Waldenses, and such rigorists, counting upon the laxity of the secular clergy on the one hand, and the discontent of the laity on the other, were daily growing more dangerously aggressive in the assertion of their own claims; and, finally, the monks were now taking a greater share than heretofore in the education of youth and the care of souls. All these causes concurred to call forth a new order of men, who, while surpassing the sectaries in austerity, self-denial, and penitential exercises, removed by this very fact the objections of heretics, provided amply for the religious wants of the people, and constituted an organized and effective religious chivalry to resist the assaults of those enemies of the Church who could be met in no other way. When their effectiveness became apparent, directly monastic activity took a wider range, and, after the pattern of the military orders, included the functions of the monk and the priest. The problem thus presented to the Church was taken up at the opening of the thirteenth century, and thrown into practical shape by two men equally eminent in intellectual endowments and spiritual gifts. While each solved it in his

¹ *Pott*, De gladiferis s. fratribus milit. christ., Erlang., 1806.

own way, they were both attached to each other by the closest friendship.¹

Dominic, a member of the powerful house of *Guzman*, was born in the year 1170, at Callaruega (Calahorra, in Old Castile), a village in the diocese of Osma. While pursuing his studies in the university of Valencia, he was distinguished by a spirit of charity and self-sacrifice, and by his example exercised a salutary influence on those about him. After spending four years at this seat of learning, he was ordained priest by Diego, Bishop of Osma, and soon after admitted among the canons regular.

Dominic's mind was constantly occupied with projects for alleviating human misery. Diego, being a man of severe character, and ardently devoted to the good of the Church, found in Dominic one after his own heart. He took the young priest with him on a mission which he made to the south of France in the interest of his king, and, while there, the two saw and fully appreciated the danger to the Church from the sectaries, who were then spreading rapidly in that country, and both resolved to spend their energies in checking the advance of heresy. In 1203, they made a second journey to Southern France, and found there the Cistercian monks whom Pope Innocent III. had despatched to convert the sectaries. Observing their pomp and magnificence, which contrasted strangely with the abstemious life and poverty of the heretical leaders, Diego stated in the council of Montpellier, convened to consider this affair, and to which he had been invited, that if they would successfully accomplish their mission, they must put aside all the state and circumstance of a *triumphant church*, and set about converting the heretics in the simplicity and poverty of apostles. His advice was followed; the missionaries put away everything inconsistent with poverty, travelled barefoot from place to place, and occupied themselves in preaching and disputing with the sects. Diego directed their movements, and, after labouring three years in this way, returned to Spain, and died on his journey homeward (1205 or 1206). He was thus prevented from carrying out a project he had much at heart—of organising an efficient corps of missionaries to labour in this field; but his idea was taken up and realised by Dominic, whose experience, acquired during a long residence among the sectaries, gave him special qualifications for the work. When the Bishop of Osma was about to return to Spain, he placed the missionaries under the direction of Dominic. One by one they deserted their posts, and the faithful Spanish priest was left to labour almost single-handed. Undeterred,

¹ As the legend runs, Dominic and Francis, while still unknown to each other, chanced to be in Rome at the same time. Dominic, while engaged in prayer one evening, had a vision, during which Christ appeared to him in the guise of an angry judge. Presently the Blessed Virgin presented to her Divine Son two men, who pleaded with Him to stay His justice and spare a degenerate world. One of these mediators he recognised as himself, but the other was unknown to him. Seeing Francis the next morning, in a church at prayer, Dominic at once recognised him as the person seen in the vision, and from this time forth the most tender friendship existed between them.

he went resolutely on in his work, hoping almost against hope. His peaceful disposition, his spirit of prayer, his charity, forbearance, and patient temper formed a consoling contrast to the *bloody crusade* which had recently been set on foot against the Albigenses. After spending ten years in this toilsome and thankless mission, labouring only for love of God and the profit of souls, he set out for Rome, in 1215, with his plans fully matured, and submitted to Pope Innocent III. the project of giving to the Church a new method of defence, in an Order which should combine the contemplative life of the monk with the active career of a secular priest. By a canon passed this very year, at the council of Lateran, the foundation of new orders had been prohibited; but, in view of the great want of preachers and pastors to supply the negligence of slothful and worldly priests, Innocent gave his sanction to Dominic's project, provided he would manage to bring it under some of the existing Rules. Dominic accordingly selected the Rule of St. Augustine, introducing a few changes, with a view to greater severity, taken from the Rule of the Premonstratensians. That the members of the new order might be free to devote themselves entirely to their spiritual labours, they were forbidden to accept any property requiring their active administration, but were permitted to receive the incomes of such as was administered by others. Property, therefore, might be held by the Order as a body, but not administered by its members. Pope *Honorius III.* confirmed the action of his illustrious predecessor, and approved the Order in the following year, giving it, from its object, the name of the *Order of Friars Preachers* (*Ordo Prædicatorum, Fratres Prædicatorum*). He also allowed the members to hear confessions, and enter upon the care of souls wherever they might be.

After Dominic had transferred his residence from France to Rome, he was nominated, by the Pope, *Master of the Sacred Palace* (Magister Sacri Palatii) and chief of the staff of censors, and the office is to this day held by a member of the Order.

Dominic founded, in the year 1206, an order of Dominican *nuns*, who were first established at the convent of Our Lady of La Prouille, near Toulouse, and, after removing (1218) to the convent of San Sisto, in Rome, spread very rapidly. They followed the same *Rule* as the Friars, and were specially bound to habits of industry.

A *third* Dominican order, called the Knights of Christ, came into existence in 1224, and was approved in 1279. Its name was subsequently changed into that of the *Penitents of St. Dominic*, and its members were known as the *Tertiary Dominicans* (*Tertius ordo de militia Christi*). They took no vows, and lived pretty much as other people of the world, excepting that they kept certain fasts and performed certain devotions.

Corresponding to these, there were also female *Penitents of St. Dominic*. They were chiefly confined to Italy. Many of them became nuns, and their most illustrious representative is St. Catherine of Siena.

The chief object of the Dominicans was to preach the word of God, and thus secure the salvation of souls. Preaching and teaching were their special offices, but not to the entire exclusion of other duties.

A postulant was required to remain one year in the novitiate, after which nine years were to be given to the study of philosophy and theology, thus fitting himself to fill creditably the professor's chair in the university, or to occupy the Christian pulpit with profit to his hearers.

St. Dominic, meeting St. Francis one day, proposed to him to affiliate the two orders, to which the latter replied: "By the grace of God, many differences exist among various orders as to constitution, austerities, and other matters, to the end that each may serve as a pattern to the others and excite in them a desire to emulate and copy what is good in it; and if one be not content with us, he may go to you."

While Dominic was unsuccessful in his attempt to affiliate the two orders, he was nevertheless led to adopt the fundamental idea of St. Francis, and at a general chapter, held at Bologna, 1220, declared the members of his own community *Mendicant Friars*. The dress of the Dominicans is a *white* garment and scapular, resembling in form that of the Augustinians, with a black cloak and a pointed cap.

Francis of Assisi, the son of a wealthy merchant named Bernardini, was born in the year 1182, in Assisi, in Umbria. His baptismal name was John, but from his habit of reading the romances of the Troubadours in his youth, he gradually acquired the name of Il Francesco, or the Little Frenchman. Of a sprightly and vivacious temperament, he was gay and fond of display in his early life, indulging freely in pleasures, which, however, were never of a character to compromise his dignity or taint his honour as a Christian gentleman. His hand was ever open to the poor and the needy, and his bounty in this respect was so generous that it not unfrequently bordered on extravagance. He early took part in the exercises of chivalry, and engaged in the profession of arms. When about twenty-four years of age, he fell dangerously ill, and, while suffering from this attack, gave himself up to a train of religious thought which led him to consider the emptiness and uselessness of his past life, and the weighty responsibility that would lie upon him for the future. He was for some time distracted, not knowing on precisely what object to spend his energies. He frequently had visions, but knew not whether to interpret them literally or in a spiritual sense. In one of these he beheld a vast armoury, filled with all manner of weapons, over each of which was a cross, and, on inquiring to whom they belonged, was answered: "To thee and thy soldiers." Taking the answer as a presentiment of future greatness, he was about to take military service with a certain count, when, after walking about in the fields one day, he stepped into a church rapidly going to ruin, where he heard a

voice, saying: "Go, rebuild my house, which, as you see, is fast falling to ruin." Taking the words in their literal sense, he went about collecting money to put this and other churches in repair, but he soon learned that the instruction referred to the spiritual and not to the material edifice.¹

On one occasion, while assisting at Mass (A. D. 1208), he heard these words of our Lord read from the Gospel: "Do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff;"² and, applying them to himself, cried out: "This is my sole wish, the one desire of my heart." Henceforth the most abject *poverty* was to him the most abundant *wealth*. He now conceived the idea of founding a society whose members should go about through the whole world, after the manner of the apostles, preaching and exhorting to penance. Francis was treated by his townsmen as an enthusiast and a madman, and, to escape his father's anger, retired to a cave, where he spent a month together in prayer and meditation, and came forth again, more determined than ever, to follow out the course upon which he had entered. After a time, the sympathy of the better classes went out to him, and his great sanctity, his supreme contempt of the world, his sincere humility, his undivided love of God, and his close following of the example of poverty set him by the Saviour of the world, excited the admiration and commanded the respect of all. His zeal gradually excited emulation, and prompted others to aspire after the same perfection. His first associates were his townsmen, Bernard Quintavalle and Peter Cattano, and others soon followed. Their habit consisted of a *long brown tunic of coarse woollen cloth, surmounted by a hood of the same material, and confined about the waist with a hempen cord*. This simple but ennobling dress was selected because it was that of the poor peasants of the surrounding country.

Through the recommendation of Guido, Bishop of Assisi, and Cardinal John of St. Paul, Francis obtained an audience of Pope Innocent III., to whom he submitted his Rule (A. D. 1210). "But, said the Pope, "where are you to get means to carry on this work?" "I put my trust in my Lord Jesus Christ," answered the saint. "He who promises glory and life eternal will not fail to provide the necessities of the body here below." "Go then, my dear son," replied the Pope, "and in the measure that God deigns to give you His light and strength, do you preach penance to all. If He be pleased to add to your numbers and to increase grace in your heart, send us word, and we shall then the more securely grant you fresh favours."

Apart from the characteristic prudence of Innocent III., he was slow to give his sanction to the foundation of a new order; first, because he had forbidden any increase of the existing number, and,

¹ Licet principalior intentio verbi ad eam ferretur (ecclesiam), quam Christus sanguine suo acquisivit, sicut eum Spiritus Sanctus edocuit et ipse postmodum fratribus revelavit. Bonaventura, Vita St. Francisci, c. ii. (Tr.)

² Matt. x. 9, 10.

secondly, because in that age every enthusiast thought himself called upon to set up a new community. Francis, prostrating himself, took the oath of obedience to the Holy Father. Still later on, he sent his companions, two-and-two, in all directions, saying to them in taking leave: "Go; always travel two-and-two. Pray until the third hour; then only may you speak. Let your speech be simple and humble, that it may bring him who hears it to praise and honour God. While announcing peace to all, be sure that it reigns in your own hearts. Never give way to hatred or anger, nor go aside from the path on which you have set out. You are called to lead back to the right road those who have gone astray, to heal the bruised, and to cheer the sorrowful. *Poverty* is the friend and bride of Christ, the root whence the tree draws life, the corner-stone of the temple, the queen of virtues. Should our brethren forsake it, then will our Order speedily go to pieces; but if they love it, if they remain faithful to it and give a pattern of it to the world, then will the world respect and support them."

With St. Francis, *absolute poverty* was not only a practice, it was the essential principle on which he based his Order. Not only were the individual members forbidden to have any personal property whatever, but neither could they hold any as an Order, and were *entirely dependent for their support upon alms*. And so rigorously was this rule enforced that even the clothes they wore, the cord with which they were girded, and the breviary out of which they said their office were regarded as common and not personal property.¹ Hence the chief difference between mendicant and other monastic orders consists in this, that, in the former, begging takes the place of the ordinary vow of personal poverty. In the other Orders, poverty was a passive, with the Franciscans an active principle. In a journey made by Francis to Spain, and in a voyage to Syria and Egypt, he followed out in practice what he taught in theory, begging his support along the way.

In 1223, Pope Honorius III. approved the Order of Franciscans (*Fratres Minores*), to which, as already stated, Innocent III. had given a verbal sanction in 1210, and the Fourth Council of Lateran in 1215 whither, as Helyot informs us, St. Francis went to obtain the recognition of the Fathers. Pope Honorius gave them, at the same time, permission to preach and hear confessions anywhere in the Catholic world. But it was expected that they would preach not so much by *word of mouth* as by the *light of their example*.

When Francis made his voyage to Syria, he journeyed on to the *Holy Sepulchre*, where he left some of his brethren, who by consent of the Sultan, before whom the saint preached, and with the approval of Clement VI. (A. D. 1342), have ever since remained the *faithful custodians* of that great *Catholic shrine*.

The gentle spirit pervading the Rule of St. Francis entitles it to

¹ *Milman's Latin Christianity*, Vol. IV., p. 264. (Tr.)

a place among the most highly prized monuments of Christian ascetical literature. It prescribes that no one under the age of fifteen, or who has not passed a year in the novitiate, shall be admitted into the Order. It includes the three monastic vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty—the last requiring that the postulant shall not actually possess goods at the time of admission, and shall be incapacitated to possess them at any future time. It cautions the brethren against whatever may border on hypocrisy or a narrow-minded devotion, and exhorts them to be always cheerful, to rejoice in the Lord, to be ever ready to serve friends and enemies indiscriminately, to treat with equal kindness men of good and evil repute, and to make no distinction between the poor and the wealthy. Such, according to their founder, should be the character and conduct of Franciscans.

St. Clara of Assisi, the pupil and friend of St. Francis, had founded, in 1212, a female community, similar to the Order of Minorites. In 1224, Francis drew up a Rule¹ for them and superintended the direction of their convent of St. Damian, in Assisi. They were called, after their foundress, the *Order of St. Clara* (*Ordo Sanctæ Claræ*), but went at first under the name of the Order of Poor Women (*Ordo Dominarum Pauperum*). They were also known as the *Second Order* of St. Francis. Although St. Francis was himself their spiritual director, he would never consent that any of his friars should serve this or any other convent of women.

There was also a *Third Order* of St. Francis (*Tertius Ordo de Pœnitentia Tertiarii*), established in 1221, comprising members who continued to live in the world, were not bound by the vows, and observed the spirit rather than the letter of the Rule. This gave an opportunity to many pious laymen, who could not sever family ties, to live a semi-religious life, and formed a link by which the Order was immediately connected with the outer world. These men were also called the *Tertiaries*.

Among the other great gifts of St. Francis was that of preaching. "His words," says St. Bonaventura, "penetrated, like glowing fire, to the inmost depths of the heart." Upon one occasion he was to preach before the Pope and cardinals, and had prepared a carefully-written discourse. When he had ascended the pulpit, his memory played him false, and he was unable to go on. Frankly avowing what had happened, he dismissed all thoughts of his manuscript, invoked the assistance of the Holy Ghost, and his soul found utterance in words that went home to every heart, as St. Bonaventura says, like coals of glowing fire.

St. Francis, like all great souls, was a *sincere lover of nature*.² He looked upon it as a bond connecting his soul with all created things.

¹ *Holstenius-Brookie*, T. III., p. 34 sq.; the Rule of the Third Order, *ibid.*, p. 39 sq.

² "Having," says *Goerres*, "subdued sin in himself, the consequences of original sin likewise disappeared. Nature even became his friend and obeyed the behests of his will. Between him and animals there was that confiding and frank intercourse which, as ancient traditions tell us, existed before the Fall."—(*The Catholic*.)

He was wont to call the birds of the air and the beasts of the field his brothers and sisters. His hymns, which are among the earliest metrical specimens of the Italian language, are exceedingly simple, sometimes sublime, and always replete with the tenderest expressions of divine love. They are classed among the very best productions of Christian poetry.¹ His prose is often more poetical than his poetry, abounds in figures and personifications, and is written with ease and elegance.

The Church of Sta-Maria degli Angeli, called "*Portiuncula*," or the Little Inheritance, given to the Franciscans by the Benedictine Abbot of Subiaco, in the restoration of which St. Francis laboured with his own hands, became the central house of the Order. It was here that the General Chapter was held in 1219, ten years after the foundation, called the Chapter of Mats, because the multitude, being so numerous that no house could contain them, was provided for in booths scattered here and there in the fields. The chapter was attended by five thousand friars, who, of course, did not represent the full number of members, as many were obliged to stay away to look after the interests of the different houses at a distance. Before the Order had existed a half a century, it numbered thirty-three provinces, eight thousand convents, and close upon two hundred thousand members of every degree.

The Church of St. Mary of the Angels, or *Portiuncula*,² has always remained very dear to the Order. As has been said, St. Francis shared the labour of the workmen who set it to rights when it was going to ruin, and here he was accustomed to retire and give himself up to prayer and religious contemplation. To this church the Holy See, in 1223, granted the indulgences known as the "*Indulgences of the Portiuncula*," which, on being extended to all the churches of the Order, gave rise to a special feast, celebrated on August 2nd. It was further granted to the faithful, for all coming time, to gain these indulgences whenever ("*toties quoties*") prepared to carry out the requisite conditions.

So intimate and intense was the sympathy of St. Francis with *the sufferings endured by the Saviour while on earth*, that the latter appeared to him, under the form of a seraph, and imprinted upon his person the marks (*stigmata*) of the *Five Wounds*.³ This was on September 17th, in the year 1224, two years previous to his death, and during this interval his soul was constantly on fire in an ecstasy of divine love, and his flesh the victim of a ceaseless martyrdom. The scene

¹ Goerres, St. Francis, considered as a Troubadour. (The Catholic, 1826, nro. 4.) *Ibid.*, Transl. of his poems by Schlosser, and, above all, the *Sun-rise*. The Canticles in Germ. and Ital. (by Schlosser), Frankfort on the Main, 1842; 2nd ed., Mentz, 1854; and Schlosser, The Church and her Hymns, 2nd ed., Freiburg, 1863, Vol. II., pp. 360-412. Hase, Francis of Assisi, Vol. VIII., p. 609 sq.

² Cf. *Freiburg Cyclopæd.*, Vol. VIII., p. 609 sq.

³ Raynald., Ad an. 1237, nro. 60. Wadding, Ed. Rom., T. II., p. 429. Goerres, Christian Mysticism, Vol. II., p. 240. **Freiburg Eccl. Cyclopæd.*, Vol. XII., pp. 1158-1162.

of the event is Monte Alverno, which has ever since been enshrined in the traditions of the Friars Minor.

When Francis felt the approach of death he had himself carried on a bier to the church, where he was, by his own orders, laid on the bare ground and covered with an old habit, which the custos or guardian of the convent threw over him. While lying here he exhorted his brethren to love God, to cherish poverty, and practise patience, and closed by giving them his last blessing. He then had the Passion of our Lord according to St. John read to him, and, after reciting the one hundred and fortieth Psalm, yielded up his pure angelic soul to God, October 4, 1226. He was canonised in 1228 by Pope Gregory IX.

In 1304, Benedict XI. established the feast of Stigmata (*festum stigmatum Sancti Francisci*), and his successors—Sixtus IV., Sixtus V., and Paul V.—extended the celebration of it to the whole Church, on September 17th.

The leading events in the life of St. Francis have been transferred to mural paintings and canvas in the Church of the Portiuncula by some of the most celebrated artists.¹

The constitutions of the two Mendicant Orders are substantially the same. The supreme government of each Order is vested in a *General* (*minister generalis, magister ordinis generalis*), who resides at Rome. Under him, again, is a Provincial, who presides over the brethren of a province; and, finally, among the Franciscans is a *Guardian* (*Custos*), who is at the head of a single convent; and among the Dominicans, the officer having similar duties to perform is called a *Prior*.

The supreme legislative authority of each Order is vested in the *General Chapter*, and in the *Provincial Chapter* for each province. These bodies each appoint four *Definers* (*Definidores*), whose office is to give counsel to and exercise a supervision over the Provincial or the General, as the case may be.

Previously to his death, Dominic threatened severe imprecations against anyone who should attempt to endow his Order.² He died August 4, 1221. The last words of this virginal patriarch to his spiritual children were: "Love one another, be humble, and never give up the practice of voluntary poverty." He was canonized by Gregory IX., July 12, 1234. The grateful Bolognese took a pride in adorning the tomb of the noble Guzman, and the most distinguished artists, from *Nicholas of Pisa* to Michael Angelo Buonarrotti, have paid the tribute of their genius to the worth and virtue of this great saint, and their splendid creations have largely contributed to immortalise both him and themselves. Even the austere *Dante* praised, in felicitous and vigorous verse, these two founders of the Mendicant

¹ *Piccolomini*, Solemn Translation of the Relics of St. Francis of Assisi, Landshut, 1814, particularly pp. 67-86.

² The Order received permission to accept endowments in 1245. (Tr.)

Orders, representing them as the veritable heroes, the pride and glory of their century.¹

§ 248. *Influence of the Mendicant Orders—Opposition raised against Them.*

When the Mendicant Friars, strong in the special privileges accorded them, and still more so in the warm and living spirit of faith inherited from their holy founders, set about the work of gaining souls to Christ, it seemed as if the youth, the vigour, and the enthusiastic devotion of the early Church had been revived. They were everywhere received with universal respect.² Their *generals*, as was fitting, took up their residence at *Rome*, and lent the influence of their Orders to the support of the Papacy. The greatest source of their power was the teaching office, which the Dominicans, in particular, were not slow to turn to good account. Early appreciating that the most efficient means of rising in public favour was to gain distinction in *scientific* pursuits and secure *professors' chairs in the universities*, the Dominicans applied for positions in the University of Paris, in 1230, and, through the good offices of the bishop and chancellor, obtained the chairs of theology heretofore occupied by secular priests. The first two who taught here were *Roland* and *John of St. Giles*.

The Franciscans made similar applications, and their great theologian, *Alexander of Hales*, was also provided with a chair in the university.³ In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the members of the Mendicant Friars were in the foremost rank of theologians. *St. Thomas*, among the Dominicans, and *St. Bonaventure* and *Duns Scotus*, among the Franciscans († A. D. 1308), were the glory of their respective Orders and the light and strength of the Church.

The Dominicans were also distinguished by their love and cultivation of the fine arts, and the unprecedented zeal put forth by them in *missionary* labours. Members of their Order might be found in every country of Europe and in Asia and Africa. The first European vessel that touched the shores of *Greenland* brought a number of Friars Preachers, and at the opening of the seventeenth century the Dutch were not a little surprised to find there the Dominican convent mentioned by Captain *Nicholas Hane* in 1280.

While purity of life, disinterested zeal, and single-minded earnestness were securing to the Mendicant Friars an almost exclusive control of spiritual affairs and opening a wide field for their eminent

¹ "L'un (Francis) fu tutto serafico in ardore,
L'altro (Dominic) per sapienza in terra fue
Di cherubico luce uno splendore."

Dante, Parad., canto xi., v. 38-40. (Tr.)

² *Matt. Par.*, Ad an. 1243 and 1246. Cf. Emm. Roderici nova coll. Privilegior ap. t. Regular. mendicant., Antwerp, 1623 f.

Dulzè, Hist. Univers. Parisiens., T. III., p. 833 sq., 244 sq.

talents, they excited the envy and hostility of secular priests, who forfeited by neglecting the privileges they might have retained; of the old monastic orders, who saw themselves distanced by their younger brothers; and particularly of the arrogant men about the universities; who could not endure to see their influence and positions passing from them, and themselves outdone in their peculiar sphere by their more successful and industrious competitors. This opposition soon found expression in open and violent attacks upon the Friars; and, to make matters worse, the two Orders, while pursuing parallel lines of action, were often at variance with each other on points of scholastic theology and others of a trivial character.¹ Of all the assailants of the Mendicant Orders, *William of St. Amour*, who likened them to Pharisees,² was the most violent and dangerous. His attacks were repelled by *St. Thomas Aquinas* and *St. Bonaventure*, who made noble defences of their respective Orders,³ totally routing William. The Friars reaped the fruits of the victory gained by their champions.

§ 249. *Divisions among the Franciscans.*

When Francis was about to set out on his second voyage to Syria and Egypt, he entrusted the government of his Order to his vicar, *Elias of Cortona*, who, being little inclined to austerity, had already become the representative of a party desiring a mitigation of the Rule. Francis treated him with considerable kindness, thus preventing an open rupture. After the death of Francis, Elias was elected General, and successfully carried out his plans.

A second party, represented by *Anthony of Padua*, favoured a strict adherence to primitive severity. Anthony appealed to Pope *Gregory IX.*, had Elias deposed, and, being himself appointed General, ruled the Order in the spirit of its founder.

The issue between the two parties turned upon the interpretation of the vow of *poverty*. The more rigid held that the members, neither individually nor as a community, should hold property, and that neither their estates, their monasteries, nor even their churches, should be held by them in fee-simple. In order to overcome this

¹ *Matt. Paris.*, Ad an. 1239, gives us an account of the animated discussion between the two Orders on the question of precedence.

² *Guilielmus*, De periculis novissimorum temporum, 1256 (Opp. Constant., 1632, 4to); better, the Paris edition, by J. Alethophilus (Cordesius). Cf. *Natal Alexander*, Hist. Eccles. sæc. XIII., c. 3, art. 7. *Richard Simon*, a rather slashing critic, calls William's book "a tissue of false and malicious torturing of the Scriptures against the Mendicant Orders."

³ *St. Thomas*, Contra retrahentes a religionis ingressu; contra impugnantes Dei cultum (Opp. ed., Paris, T. XX.)—*Bonaventura*, Lib. apolog. in eos, qui ordini Minor. adversantur; de paupertate Chr. ctr. Guil.; expositio in regulam fratrum minor. (Opp. Lugd., 1668, T. VII.) Cf. *Raumer*, Hist. of the Hohenstaufens, Völ. III., p. 615 sq. Cf. Coll. cath. contra pericula imminencia ecclesiæ per hypocrisis etc. (*du Pin*, Bibl. des auteurs eccles., T. X.)

difficulty, a distinction was made between *right* of property and the *simple use* of it; and it was said the right might be vested in the Pope, while the members of the Order would enjoy its fruits. Anthony held that anything short of an absolute renunciation of the world was perilous. He did in 1231. There is a magnificent church erected to his memory in *Padua*, after the design of Niccolò of Pisa. In architectural beauty, it rivals the Church of St. Francis, at Assisi, and his tomb, in artistic decoration, that of St. Dominic, at Bologna. It is yearly visited by troops of pilgrims.

Meantime, the contest between the two parties went on. Elias was once more elected General, and again deposed. He died April 22, 1253.¹ So violent was the opposition of the rigorists that they broke completely with the Pope and allied themselves to his enemy, Frederic II. *St. Bonaventura*, while siding with those of the "stricter observance," shunned their excesses, and, by his prudent conduct and the influence of his great name, secured the triumph of his party for years after his death. Popes Innocent IV. and Nicholas III. approved his moderation; and the latter, by the bull "*Exiit qui seminat*,"² issued in 1277, put a milder interpretation upon the primitive Rule, substantially following the distinction given above. The defeated party, carried away by unseemly passion, assailed the Pontiff and the Roman Church, and, after the manner of the sects, contrasted the wealth and magnificence of the Church then with the poverty and simplicity of the apostolic age. They foretold that a new order of things would be presently inaugurated, and made special reference to the prophecy of the abbot *Joachim of Floris*, in Calabria (†1202), concerning the three ages of the world. The same idea was further developed by the two Franciscan rigorists, *Gerard*, in his "Introduction to the '*Everlasting Gospel*'" (C. A. D. 1254), and *Peter John Oliva* (†1297), both of whom said that the age of the *Holy Spirit* was to be established through the labours of St. Francis and his true disciples.³

The favour shown to the rigorists by Pope Celestine V., who affiliated them to the community of Celestines, put a period to the quarrel, but after his resignation it broke out afresh. Boniface VIII.⁴ treated the incorrigible faction with considerable severity and dissolved their community (1302). A complete separation of the two parties was now effected, and each went under a distinct name. The less rigid called themselves "*Fratres de Communitate*," or "*Conventuals*," while those of the stricter observance called themselves "*Observantists*," or "*Spiritualists*," and were styled by their opponents "*Zealots*" (*Zelatores*), and treated as sectaries.

¹ *Roderici*, *Collectio nova privilegior. apost. Regularium mendicantium et non mendicantium*, Antwerp, 1623, fol. p. 8 sq.

² Cf. *Wadding*, L. c., T. V., p. 73.

³ Cf. *Wadding*, L. c., T. V., pp. 314-338.

⁴ *Ibid.* ad an. 1302, nros. 7, 8; an. 1307, nro. 2 sq.

§ 250. *Other Orders and Confraternities.*

In the year 1233, *Bonfiglio Monaldi*, by his powerful exhortations, prevailed upon a number of *Florentine* merchants to give up the world and dedicate themselves to a religious life. This they bound themselves to do, by solemn vow, on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Renouncing all earthly possessions, they retired to *Monte Senario* and embraced a mortified life. Here they built a church, and by the side of it a number of cells, where they dwelt and spent their time in performing devotions in honour of the sufferings of the Queen of Heaven, whence they were called *Servites* of the Blessed Virgin (*Servi B. M. V. Servitæ*). Their habit consisted of a black tunic, over which they wore a scapular. Alexander IV. confirmed the Order in 1255, and Martin V. was among its most generous benefactors. They also devoted themselves to the cultivation of science, and thereby secured a wide influence. Among their members were *Paolo Sarpi* (1623), the intemperate historian of the Council of Trent, and the celebrated archæologist, *Ferrari*¹ († 1626).

In the years 1244 and 1252, Innocent IV. brought together into one community all those persons who, scattered here and there in various countries, but notably in Italy, had been leading solitary and eremitical lives. This manner of life had been steadily increasing in popularity since the opening of the eleventh century. He commanded them to adopt the Rule of St. Augustine.² Thereupon, Alexander IV., acting on the suggestion of the superiors of all the Augustinian convents then holding a conference in Rome, placed the various congregations of Augustinians under one head.

Lanfranco Septala of Milan became the first General of the *Augustinian Hermits*. Subsequent Popes granted them many privileges, one of which was the office of papal sacristan, to be held perpetually. Pius V. named them the Fourth Order of Mendicants, the Carmelites being the third.

The prevailing tendency to interior life, and, in part also, the *false* pietistic notions of religious life, and, finally, the desire to provide for young females and widows left defenceless by the Crusades, inspired a number of pious ladies in the Netherlands and Germany, at the beginning of the twelfth century, to form associations for the double object of stimulating devotion and performing works of charity. The members of these associations did not take monastic vows, and led a life midway between the world and the cloister. Their cause was advanced chiefly by *Lambert le Begues*, a priest of Liège, who spent a considerable fortune in founding houses where virtuous widows and unprotected maidens might lead a religious life. According to one interpretation, they were called after him,

¹ Cf. *Pauli Florent.*, Dialog. de orig. Ord. Serv. (*Lamii*, Delic. eruditor., T. I.)

² Bullar. Rom., T. I., p. 100. Cf. *Bolland.*, M. Febr., T. II., p. 744. *Henrion-Fehr*, Vol. I., p. 379 sq.

Beguines, or *Beghines*; but, according to another, their name is derived from the Low German word *beghen*, signifying to beg or to pray. They devoted themselves chiefly to works of charity, served the sick, comforted the suffering, and led exemplary lives. But these houses, having neither constitution nor rule, soon became the centres of indiscreet zeal and fanaticism. They were often the objects of persecution, and eventually affiliated to the *Third Order of St. Francis*.

By the side of these arose a third society, called the *Beghards*, composed of youths and adults.¹ They took Alexius for their patron saint, and accordingly called themselves *Alexian Brothers*, but the designation was soon changed into that of *Lollhards*, signifying *those who sing in a low voice*. They were so named from their habit of chanting in low key and dolorous tone while carrying the dead to sepulture. They were industrious and pious, faithful in their attendance upon the sick and needy, assiduous and watchful in their care of the young, and much esteemed by nobles and princes. Unfortunately, like the Beguines, they fell into excesses, and adopted a sort of mystical pantheism, which issued finally in a downright heresy.²

TRUE PICTURE OF MONASTIC LIFE.

After having seen what the religious orders, obedient to the inspirations and graces of the Holy Spirit, undertook and accomplished, we shall read with feelings of respect and admiration a description of a well-ordered *monastery*, written by one who was himself a true *monk*, and, in endeavouring to ascertain his calling, observed closely the routine of cloister life and the habits of the monks. "I dwelt,"³ says Guibert, Abbot of Gemblours, writing to Philip, Archbishop of Cologne, "I dwelt for eight months in the monastery of Marmoutiers (*Majus Monasterium*, or St. Martin's, near Tours). While there, I was treated not as a guest simply, but as a brother. In this abode of peace there is neither hatred, quarrelling, nor ill-feeling. The wise observance of silence effectually prevents them. A simple look from the superior warns one of his duty. Those entrusted with offices are men of tried virtue. It would be difficult to find anywhere greater devotion in the recital of the Divine Office, a more profound veneration in the celebration of the Divine Mysteries, or a sweeter affability and a more watchful attention in serving guests. Fidelity, calmness, and an easy grace are everywhere visible; nothing is wanting, and yet nothing is superfluous. The strong help on the weak, inferiors are respectful to those above them, and superiors watchful and solicitous for the welfare of those in their charge. Here, indeed, do head and members constitute but one body. When an abbot is to be elected, the monks prepare to make a good choice by long and earnest prayer. The abbot-elect takes an oath to maintain inviolably the Rule of the house, and never to take a meal outside the common dining-room, or except at fixed hours. This provision contributes largely to the temporal prosperity of the monastery. Three poor men, representing Jesus Christ, take their meals daily beside the abbot. The present abbot combines prudence and humility, and has every qualification requisite to fit him to preside over so numerous a community. All are servants of Christ, and none takes account of his nobility of birth or the exalted position once filled by him in the world. The flesh is subdued and its humours corrected by vigils and fasting. One has a lion-like strength, and is not carried away by prosperous nor cast down by adverse fortune; another, borne up on the wings of grace,

¹ *Mosheim*, De Beghardis et Beguinabus, ed. Martini, Ips., 1790. *Hallman*, History of the Origin of the Beguines and a clearing up of the confusion introduced into this subject through the falsification of documents (by Vilvorder), Berlin, 1843. See also *Tüb. Quart.*, 1844, pp. 504-513. *Bonn Periodical*, new series, Year IV., n. 4, p. 161 sq.

² Vide supra, § 238.

³ Cf. *Hurter*, T. III., pp. 599-601.

eagle-like, soars heavenward, and all combine with the prudence of the serpent the simplicity of the dove. Everything that strikes the eye bears the tokens of consummate wisdom. Whether in church or in the workshop, everything is done orderly and at a fixed time, for these wonderful men never permit themselves to forget that the eye of God is constantly upon them. To nature is given only what is absolutely indispensable; the remaining time to the worship of God. One might call them an army, drilled and equipped and ready for battle, the clash of whose arms resounds from early dawn to the sixth hour. Files of monks may be seen prostrating themselves before the altar. No sooner is one Mass over than another is begun. It were useless to attempt to compute the quantity of alms distributed at the monastery, or the number of souls saved from purgatory by the prayers of the monks. Their time is divided between reading and chanting. They break silence only on certain days, and then but for a short time, lest the strain of its perpetual observance should prove too severe a test, and speaking go on in private. Nothing is taken to eat outside either the refectory or infirmary. Guests are lodged and entertained in a separate building. While the meal is being taken, the monks are more intent to gain profit from the reading than upon what they are eating. The greater part of what has been served remains for the poor. The dormitory is constantly lighted, and the beds, which are in view of all, are hard and coarse. The lamp left burning through the night has also a mystical meaning, signifying that those there gathered together are to be children of light and not of darkness. Hence has our Saviour showered upon them abundant blessings; for, besides their magnificent church and possessions of every sort, the monastery has two hundred cells, built outside its walls, dependent on it. The quantity of precious manuscripts one sees laid away on the shelves affords ample proof of the virtues that are here cultivated and flourish. These holy practices are in a large measure due to the counsels, the exhortations, and wise instructions given daily, but particularly on great festivals, by able preachers of the word of God, and contributing much to the profit and edification of all. I have heard them giving encouragement and comfort to each other, and keeping each other constantly in mind of the way to gain heaven. Had I not been obliged to return home, I should never have quit them, so great was the pleasure I experienced in being in their company. But, if I am far from them in body, my thoughts are ever with them."

Such is life in the cloister; now for a picture of the monk. The following one is drawn from life: "*Brother Robert*, of St. Marianus of Auxerre, was respectably well versed in the sciences, an eloquent preacher, and surpassed by none of his contemporaries in his knowledge of history. He was so completely at home in the Holy Scriptures, that he could quote the exact words of any part of them when occasion required. In this respect, his ability and erudition were simply a marvel. His countenance was calm and sweet, his manners gentle and amiable—fit expressions and tokens of his purity of soul. The straightforward honesty of his nature never permitted him to suspect dishonesty in others, always replying, when there was a temptation to do so, in the words of Seneca: 'Confidence alone makes others one's friends. Many, from fear of being imposed upon, teach others to deceive, thus creating evil by causing it to be suspected where it does not exist.' A sincere lover of justice, Robert hated iniquity, following in this the saying of the wise man: 'One can never sufficiently detest what is abominable.' On the other hand, he was always the friend of the sinner, how great soever his iniquity, and did his best to convert him to a better way of life, well knowing that mercy is characteristic of true and harshness of simulated virtue. To the penitent he was always compassionate and tender, and the unfortunate never appealed to him in vain. He strove to unite all hearts in the bonds of peace, and was severe on the *sowers of discord*, because, as the wise man saith, such are the abomination of the Lord. He was, moreover, sincere in his speech, faithful to his promises, zealous for the service of God, temperate and economical, a prudent adviser and wise confessor. Of these many and excellent virtues, combined in one man, we should be especially zealous to appreciate and imitate his *humility* and his *chastity*, for while in the body, he lived as one out of it, and, dying, took his virginity with him to the grave."

But if, among all human institutions that have come into being in the course of ages, there has not been a single one perfectly answering our ideal of purity, nor even an ideal, saving a few solitary exceptions, that has ever been completely realised for any considerable length of time, why need it excite any surprise, if, out of so many thousands of monasteries, there have been found some forming a painful contrast to the beautiful picture just drawn?

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE.

§ 251. *Transformation of Cloister and Cathedral-Schools into Universities.*

Meiner's Hist. of Superior Schools, Göttingen, 1802 sq., 4 vols. (but little satisfactory). Excellent historical research in *Savigny's* Hist of Roman (Civil) Law during the Middle Ages, Vol. III., pp. 152-419, 2nd ed. (the Universities); rectified on several points by *Buss*, Difference between the Catholic and Protestant Universities of Germany, Freiburg, 1846. *Rawner*, Hist. of the Hohenstaufens, Vol. VI., p. 437, sq. (Science and Art.) *Hurter*, Vol. IV., p. 571 sq. *E. Dubarle*, Hist. de l'univ. depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, Vol. I., Paris, 1829. The art. "*Universities*," in the Freiburg Ecclcs. Cyclopæd. *Döllinger*, The Universities, once and now, Munich, 1867. *Newman*, On University Education.

DOWN to the age of Gregory VII., owing to the difficulties of the times, it had been found impossible to make any real progress in scientific studies in Germany. Some earnest efforts, at one time full of promise, were in the event barren of substantial results. By the end of the tenth century, the last traces of Charlemagne's genius, which had been gradually fading away, were wholly effaced. The great establishments devoted entirely to study began to rise only in the eleventh century. They speedily grew in favour, and so rapid was their development that the famous cloister-school of Bec, in Normandy, presided over by *Lanfranc* of Pavia, was thronged with eager pupils, and was regarded as a great seat of learning. So numerous were the pupils of *Anselm* of Canterbury (†1109), that they were compared to an army, and, later on, troops of young men followed *Abelard* into his desert retreat to listen to his lectures.

To Gregory VII., in a great measure, is due the credit of this re-awakening of the human mind. The victory achieved by him was in reality the triumph of mind over matter, of freedom over tyranny, of law and order over violence and brute force. Thanks to the labours of monks, who, having preserved for centuries, now multiplied copies of the ancient classics, the facilities for prosecuting literary studies were more numerous and accessible than in any former age. In the cloister-schools and cathedral-schools, excellent masters were provided to impart gratuitous education to all comers, and forbidden to receive any compensation for their labour. So rapid was the advance of the intellect, and so great the demand for mental training, that schools of inferior note were soon transformed into *universities*,¹ without, however, at once embracing in their scope the full curriculum of

¹ Not at first in the sense of a *universitas literarum*, but as *corporations*, *universitas doctorum et scholarium*. These institutions were designated generally by the word "*schola*;" still later, by the term "*studium generale*."

scientific studies. Some taught more, some fewer branches, and each had its speciality. At *Salerno*, it was medicine; at *Bologna* (1200), jurisprudence; and at *Paris* (1206), canon law, dialectics, and theology.¹ The mutual interdependence of the four leading branches of science² was recognised and appreciated. A beautiful tradition represented as brothers the three great masters of that age, viz., *Peter Lombard*, the renowned theologian; the great canonist, *Gratian*; and *Peter Comestor*, the author of the popular "*Historia Scholastica*." An analogy was instituted between the four professional sciences and the body and soul of man. The centre around which they all moved, and towards which they all gravitated, was the *Divine Logos*, the Word begotten from the beginning, the source and *medium of all knowledge*.³ It was in this sense that theology was called the queen of sciences. The method pursued in *theology* was, aside from the use of the books of the Old and New Testament, to read and explain passages from the writings of the Fathers bearing on the particular dogma in hand. In *jurisprudence*, the Pandects were used; in *medicine*, Hippocrates and Galenus; and in *philosophy*, Aristotle, or the *Isagoge* of Porphyrius. These were taken up, explained, and commented on. After the twelfth century, the commentaries took the form of the so-called *Summæ*, of which there are examples in the various branches of science. Thus, in theology, there are the *Libri IV. sententiarum Petri Lombardi*, and the *Summa Thomæ Aquinatis*; in canon law, the *Decretum Gratiani*; in medicine, the *Regula Salernitana* and *Summa Thaddæi*; and in jurisprudence, the *Summa Azonis*, which were all

¹ In addition to these three universities, we have to count the following, which sprang up, one after another: 1. In *Italy*—Vicenza, 1204; Padua, 1222; Naples, 1224; Vercelli, 1228; Piacenza, 1246; Treviso, 1260; Ferrara (1264), 1391; Perugia, 1276; Rome, 1303; Pisa, 1343, and re-established in 1472; Pavia, 1361; Palermo, 1394; Turin, 1405; Cremona, 1413; Florence, 1438; Catania, 1445. 2. In *France*—Montpellier (1180), 1289; Toulouse, 1228; Lyons, 1300; Cahors, 1332; Avignon, 1340; Angers, 1364; Aix, 1409; Caen, 1430 (1450); Bordeaux, 1441; Valence, 1452; Nantes, 1463; Bourges, 1465. 3. In *Portugal* and *Spain*—Salamanca, 1240; Lisbon (translated to Coimbra), 1290; Valladolid, 1346; Huesca, 1354; Valencia, 1410; Sigüenza, 1471; Saragossa, 1474; Avila, 1482; Alcalá, 1499 (1508); Seville, 1504. 4. In *England*—Oxford, 1249; Cambridge, 1257. 5. In *Scotland*—St. Andrews, 1412; Glasgow, 1454; Aberdeen, 1477. 6. In *Burgundy*—Dole, 1426. 7. In *Brabant*—Louvain, —. 8. In *Germany*—Vienna, 1365; Heidelberg, 1386; Cologne, 1388; Erfurt, 1392; Ingolstadt, 1401; Würzburg, 1403; Leipsig, 1409; Rostock, 1419; Greifswalde, 1456; Freiburg, 1457 (opened April 26, 1460); Basle, 1460; Treves, 1472; Tübingen, 1456; Mentz, 1477; Wittenberg, 1502; Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, 1506. 9. In *Bohemia*—Prague, 1347. 10. In *Poland*—Cracow (1347), 1400. 11. In *Denmark*—Copenhagen. 12. In *Sweden*—Upsala, 1477. 13. In *Hungary*—Fünfkirchen, 1367; Ofen (Buda), 1465; Presburg, 1467. 14. In *Ireland*—Dublin, 1320 (1591, 1592).

² Cf. *Bonaventura*, *Reductio artium liberalium ad theologiam* (German transl. in "The Cath. Magazine of Science and Practical Life," Vol. I. (Münster, 1845), pp. 219-235. Cf. also **Staudenmaier*, *On the Nature of Universities and the organic connection of the Sciences taught in Universities*, Freiburg, 1839 (p. 22 sq. treats of St. Bonaventure's work, just quoted). *Hettinger*, *The Organisation of the Sciences taught in Universities, and the Places assigned there to Theology*, Würzburg, 1865, pp. 51-52. In effect, the ancient Greeks and Romans already acknowledged a certain connection of all the sciences: "Est illa Platonis vera vox, omnem doctrinam harum ingenuarum et humanarum artium uno quodam societatis vinculo contineri" (*Cicero*, *De Oratore* III. 8.)

³ John, i. 4, 5.

used as hand-books of their several subjects, and commented on in the universities by eminent professors.

A precise knowledge of the studies then pursued at the universities, and of the progress made during this period, may be gained from the writings of *Vincent of Beauvais*, *Albertus Magnus*, and *Roger Bacon*.

All the university *constitutions* were modelled after those of *Paris* and *Bologna*. The constitution of the University of Paris was *monarchical* and *aristocratic* (*schola magistrorum*); that of Bologna, more or less *democratic* (*universitas scholarium*). The students were divided into *nations*, each presided over by a *procurator* (*consilarii* or *procuratores nationum*), elected by the *deans*. These, again, presided over subdivisions of the students, according to provinces or dioceses. The procurators chose the *Rector*. Universities were *ecclesiastical in their origin*, and, as a rule, grew out of ecclesiastical foundations. Hence their charters of foundations were granted by popes and emperors (*cum privilegiis pontificiis et cæsareis*). The former have, in every age, encouraged the founding of universities, and done their utmost to increase their number.

"The pearl of knowledge," said Popes Calixtus III. and Pius II., "makes man like to God, leads him to investigate the secrets of nature, is an aid to the high-born, and raises one of humble birth to places of honour and distinction. While everything else decreases by being distributed, knowledge gains strength in proportion as it is diffused." Hence, institutions of learning received then, as in every age, special care and exceptional privileges from popes. They provided them with chancellors, and, in order that the clergy might be able to frequent their schools, released the latter from the obligation of residence, and appointed them to benefices. Innocent III. prescribed that the University of Paris should have eight professors of theology, each of whom was required to have spent eight years in the study of the other sciences, and five years in the study of theology, before taking his chair. The inhabitants of university cities were inhibited by papal censures to demand extortionate prices, and, on the other hand, the perpetuity of the universities was guaranteed to the cities.

To still further promote study, *colleges* or *halls* and *burses* or *convictoria* were founded, in connection with the university, for the double purpose of providing poor scholars with the means of support, thus enabling them to prosecute their studies without anxiety, and of keeping a watch over their moral conduct and religious training.¹ One of the oldest of the sixty-three colleges attached to the University of Paris, was that founded in 1250 by *Robert of Sorbonne*, aulic chaplain to St. Louis. It was especially intended for students of

¹ Quod omnis labor universitatis in cassum abeat, nisi provideatur collegio bursæ, ut ibidem tam pietas quam eruditio plantetur (Protocolla senatus Univers. Freiburg., T. VII., p. 194).

theology (*ad commune hospitium pauperum scholarium et magistrorum in theologia*), and hence the theological faculty of the university was afterwards called "*The Sorbonne*."

To show the great consideration in which these seats of learning were held in those days, it is sufficient to state that they were consulted in every important *affair of Church and State*, and that their judgment was generally accepted as decisive, as is shown by the action of the Synod of Gerstungen (1085), and the weight attached to the proceedings of the professors who met on the plain of Roncaglia.¹

§ 252. *Scholasticism and Mysticism.*

Staudenmaier, John Scotus Erigena, Vol. I., pp. 366-482. *Mähler*, Miscellanea, Vol. I., p. 129 sq. *Bossuet-Cramer*, Pts. V.-VII. *Ritter*, Hist. of Christian Philosophy, Vol. III. *Hauréau*, De la philosophie scholastique, Paris, 1850, 2 vols. *Kaulich*, Hist. of Scholast. Philos., Prague, 1862, Vol. I. *Stöckl*, Hist. of the Philos. of the Middle Ages, Vols. I., II. **Ueberweg*, Hist. of the Ages of the Fathers and of the Schoolmen, 3 ed., Berlin, 1868. †**Mattes*, the articles, "*Mysticism*," and "*Scholasticism*," in the *Freiburg Eccl. Cyclopæd.*, Vols. VII., IX. (French transl., Vol. XV., p. 458, and Vol. XXI., p. 328.) *Kleutgen*, Philos. of Past Ages. For a knowledge of scholastic Terminology, see *Zame McInis*, Lexicon, quo veterum theologorum locutiones explicantur, ed nova, Colon. 1855; and Lexicon Peripateticum, ed. 4to, Bononiæ, 1856. (Tr.)—**J. J. Goerres*, Christian Mysticism, Ratisbon, 1836 sq., 4 vols. *Schmidt*, The Mysticism of the Middle Ages at the Epoch of its Origination, Jena, 1824. *Helfferich*, Christian Mysticism in its Development and Monuments, Hamburg, 1842, 2 vols. Cf. *Theol. Review* of Freiburg, Vol. IX., p. 254, sq. *Noack*, Christian Mysticism. Königsberg, 1853, 2 pts. *Neander*, Ch. Hist., Vol. V., p. 472-710. Torrey's transl. of the same, Vol. IV., p. 411 sq.—Besides the works on the history of Christian literature, by *du Pin*, *Ceillier*, *Oudin*, *Cave*, and *Busse*.

Christian life among the Germanic nations, whether regarded in its internal growth or external development, began with Charlemagne. The tide of immigration had indeed ceased, but not until every trace of Roman civilisation had been submerged. When danger was no longer to be apprehended from foreign enemies, the people began to cultivate the peaceful arts and to enter upon intellectual pursuits. Having no Pagan models to copy, they were left to follow their own genius and the peculiar bias of their national characteristics, except in so far as their minds had been influenced by *ancient Christian traditions*. The mental productions of these people, therefore, were at once *Germanic* and *Christian*, and issued eventually in *Scholasticism* and *Mysticism*, the seeds of which had long since been sown.² Thus, while the intellectual efforts of the Germans had all a common origin, they manifested themselves under two different and distinct aspects,—the one *speculative* and the other *contemplative*. A clear apprehension of truths was the characteristic of the former; their *intense contemplation*, of the latter. *Scholasticism*, therefore, is the *speculative theology of the Germans*.³ Based upon the teachings of the Church.

¹ See above, pp. 365-396.

² See above, p. 126.

³ The appellation *Scholastic* and *Scholasticism* are etymologically the same, as the word *scholasticus*, which was applied to the head master of cathedral and cloister-schools, and hence the studies there pursued were called, generally, *scholastica*. The two appellations were retained during the Middle Ages, with this single modification: "*Theologia scholastica*" meant *speculative* theology, or theology scientifically demonstrated, while

it employs the methods of philosophy to throw those same *teachings into scientific shape*, and, after the manner of Origen, to create a *system* of Christian philosophy. It is but a repetition, under changed circumstances, of the tendency prevalent during the first centuries of the Church's history. Hence the orthodox scholastics, following the traditions of the Alexandrian school and the teachings of St Augustine, adopted as their rule the following principle: "*Faith precedes science, fixes its boundaries, and prescribes its conditions.*"¹

In contradistinction to the speculativeness of the *Fathers* of the Church, Scholasticism has the following characteristics: 1. Being exclusively confined to the domain of *theology*, it starts with the principle, not only that the idea of God is the basis of every other branch of knowledge, but that all other sciences are subservient to it and dependent on it. 2. Being the direct exponent of the positive teaching of the Church, it includes within its scope, besides theological questions in the strict and limited sense, every other department of human science, not excluding the fundamental principles of philosophy, the sources of knowledge, and the limits of human reason and its relation to the phenomena of nature. The history of the controversy on Realism and Nominalism is an example of this statement. 3. The *dialectical* method, and particularly the syllogistic form, are more prominent in the treatment of dogmatic truths, thus manifesting a tendency to throw the whole deposit of faith into a scientific *system*. This last characteristic of Scholasticism will also help us to understand, on the one hand, why the *philosophical* writings of the greatest schoolmen—as, for instance, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and others—were no more than *commentaries on Aristotle*, the founder of the dialectic system; and, on the other, why such schoolmen as Hugh of St. Victor and St. Bonaventure became the representatives of *two* different methods of treating the dogmas of the Church.

Much has been said, by various critics, of the influence exercised by the writings of Aristotle and Plato on Scholasticism,² but from the

theologia positiva meant no more than a simple statement or exposition of the traditional teaching of the Church. (A *scholasticus* was originally a teacher of rhetoric in the public schools of the Roman Empire.) (Tr.)

¹ Guitmund, scholar of Lanfranc's, and subsequently Archbishop of Aversa, says: "Non enim præcepit tibi Christus: *Intellige*, sed crede. Ejus est curare, quomodo id, quod fieri vult, fiat: tuum est autem non discutere, sed humiliter credere quia quidquid omnino fieri vult, fiat. Non enim intelligendum prius est, ut postmodum credas, sed prius credendum, ut postmodum intelligas. Nec. Propheta Jesaias vii. 9, dixit: nisi intellexeritis non credetis, sed nisi credideritis, non intelligetis." (De corp. et sang. in Max. bibl., T. XVIII., pp. 445, 446.) Just so says *Anselm* in his new formula, *credo, ut intelligam*, as we shall see further down, § 253. The same assertion is made by *Alexander of Hales*: "In logicis ratio creat fidem, in theologicis fides creat rationem, fides est *lumen animarum*: quo quanto magis quis illustratur, tanto magis est perspicax ad inveniendam rationem." St. Thomas Aquinas reasons in the same manner, de veritate cath. fidei ctr. gentes, Lib. I., c. 7, whose heading runs thus: "Quod veritati fidei christ. non contrariatur veritas rationis;" and after this, it is said: "Quamvis autem prædicta veritas fidei christianæ humanæ rationis capacitate excedat, hæc tamen, quæ ratio naturaliter indita habet, huic veritati contraria esse non possunt."

² In his history of Christian philosophy, Vol. III., p. 91 sq., *Ritter* expresses himself in the following terms: "*Tennesson* (Hist. of Philos., Vol. VIII., p. 705) has shown how

above statements we may conclude that this influence was confined substantially to modes of thought and *logical processes* of reasoning borrowed from these great philosophers because of their special adaptability to the exposition of Catholic truth. In transferring these old methods into a new system, Christian writers were careful to emphatically reject the errors of both Plato and Aristotle. For example, Albertus Magnus confuted the Aristotlian dualism and coeternity of God and matter, and the Aristotlian tenet that the faculty of understanding, the "active intellect" ("νοῦς ποιητικός," "*intellectus agens*"), is one and the same in all men—an intellectual substance existing apart from man, and independent of him.¹

Of course no systematic studies in speculative science or Scholasticism could be undertaken by the Germans until the period included between the sixth and eighth centuries, when the works of Greek philosophers, and particularly of those who flourished during the age of the Fathers, had been *collected* and rendered accessible through synoptical tables of their most important subjects, compiled by churchmen like Boëthius, Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, Tájus of Saragossa, Ildephonse of Toledo, Venerable Bede, and John Damascene, or, in any complete sense, until the ninth and eleventh centuries, during the controversies on Adoptionism, Predestination, and the Eucharist, when many *special questions* in both theology and philosophy were deeply studied and ably discussed by eminent scholars like Alcuin, Gottschalk, Paschasius Radbertus, and Berengarius, not to speak of the host of minor celebrities ranged on either side. Towards the close of the eleventh century, all these isolated efforts were combined and took shape, consistency, and aim under *Anselm* of Canterbury, with whom the *first period* of Scholasticism opens, and closes with *Peter Lombard* († 1164) and *Hugh of St. Victor* (1142). In this interval many of the doctrines and definitions of the Church were arranged into *groups*, demonstrated speculatively, and, in a measure, *methodically*. During the *second period*, which includes the thirteenth century, and was the most flourishing age of Scholasticism, the most distinguished ornaments of the schools were Dominicans and Franciscans. These were Alexander of Hales, the "Irrefragable Doctor;"

many erroneous ideas have been spread on this subject." "A striking proof of the above assertion," he says, "is found in the doctrine that God created all things out of nothing—a doctrine which St. Thomas and Duns Scotus fancied they had found in Aristotle." "One would be tempted to ask himself seriously whether Tennemann had ever read these two authors. The same may be said of *Braniss* on whatever he advances concerning the process of the development of philosophy in ancient times and during the Middle Ages (Breslau, 1842, p. 400), and concerning the influence of Aristotle on the philosophy of the Middle Ages, and concerning rightly appreciating or misunderstanding Aristotle." Cf. especially † *Clemens*, *De scholasticorum sententia, philosophiam esse theologiæ ancillam, commentatio*, Monasterii, 1856.

² Themistius and Thomas Aquinas, in a former age, and Trendlenburg, Brandis, and others, in our own, have shown that Aristotle did not hold the νοῦς ποιητικός to be an intellectual substance, or the Deity, or some other superhuman intelligence existing apart from man, and independent of him, as the text would imply. See the *Psychology of Aristotle*, and especially his doctrine on the ΝΟΥΣ ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΟΣ p. 165-168, by *Francis Brentano*, Mentz, 1867. (Tr.)

Albertus Magnus, the "Universal Doctor;" Thomas Aquinas, the "Angelic;" Bonaventure, the "Seraphic;" and Duns Scotus, the "Subtle." During this period, Aristotle was more deeply studied and more fully understood than heretofore, thus leading the way to the pre-eminence in dialectical skill and fondness for method and system which so distinguished the schoolmen. During the *third* period, embracing the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the revival of Greek and Roman classical literature was fascinating all minds and being carried to excess, Scholasticism declined and partially retreated from the field it had so long occupied, to give place to the *Humanists*.

The representative men of every age have respected the schoolmen as the leaders in a great intellectual movement, and the world is coming *at last* to judge them with something like fairness. Only the prejudiced and those to whom thought is laborious, and by whom speculation is regarded as dangerous, have presumed to deny to Scholasticism its great scientific importance. Quite different has been the judgment of Bossuet, Leibnitz, Hegel, and all great thinkers, whether within or without the Church. Many features of Scholasticism were severely criticised at an early day; and, while one would not wish to see it restored in its original form, he cannot help but regret that its principles, its accurate methods of thought, its loyalty to truth, its culture and learning, its chivalric enthusiasm, and its dauntless courage, have not now their hold on men's minds, and are not now as popular as then.

What has been said of Scholasticism may be applied with equal truth to the *Mysticism*¹ of the Middle Ages. Christian Mysticism was based chiefly on the Gospel of *St. John*,² supplemented by the writings of *Didymus*, and *Macarius the Elder*, and particularly by those of *Denys the Areopagite*.³

Like the *Neo-Platonists*, the mystics held that to arrive at a *practical, holy, and intimate union with God*, self-denial and mortification of the senses are necessary. Besides corporeal austerities and the shutting out of external objects of sense from the mind, the next step to this union is the practice of *contemplation or consideration*. Once Mysticism had reached the dignity of a *science*, it employed the same dialectical methods in use among the schoolmen.

It is well here to draw attention to a distinction between Christian Mysticism and Neo-Platonism, which, though frequently overlooked, is absolutely essential to a correct understanding of either. The

¹ "*Mysticism*" is derived from *μύειν*, to shut in, to shut the eyes as a sign of interior life.

² Neander, *History of the Establishment and Government of the Church by the Apostles*, 1 ed., Vol. I., p. 670, says: "*St. John* was less inclined to draw out his ideas in full than *St. Paul*, who was a dialectician, and had been brought up in the school of Gamaliel. In *St. John* the *intuitive* element predominates. He is distinguished by the great ideas to which interior life and habits of contemplation give birth, rather than by a rational tendency to look into details." And again, p. 699: "In as far as that tendency of the Christian mind which, in opposing cold rationalism and sectarianism, issued in *Mysticism*, is true, *St. John* is its representative."

³ See Vol. I., p. 396, and Vol. II., p. 126.

former, starting from the fact of original sin, seeks always to restore the likeness of God in the soul and its union with its Maker; while the latter, ignoring original sin and regarding the soul as a portion of the Divine Nature, professes to endeavour to free it from the trammels of the body and have it again absorbed in the Godhead. Hence, while the principles of the one are thoroughly orthodox, those of the other are the rankest sort of Pantheism.

Scholasticism is to Mysticism what science is to practical life. The former asks the question, *What is the true?* and directly sets about a discussion of theoretical principles; the latter puts the question, *What is the good?* and straightway attempts to carry out in practical life the teachings and promptings of faith, and to effect a *union with God.*

Apart from the various divergencies of opinion on minor points, as to the best method of reaching this intimate union, all mystical writers and masters in the spiritual life are agreed that *three* stages are essential—viz., *purification*, or the freeing of the soul, by ascetical practices, from the shackles of sense; *illumination*, or the interior and spiritual life, which the soul, once set free from the trammels of the body, and rising superior to the influence of the world, is able to lead; and *perfection*, or *union with God*, in which the soul becomes completely absorbed in thoughts on God and witnesses this near approach to the Divinity by outward manifestations, as ecstasies, miracles, prophecies, and the like.

Again, while Scholasticism is chiefly occupied in scientific pursuits, the gift of preaching is the characteristic of Mysticism. Hence, all mystics, from St. Bernard to Thomas à Kempis, have been distinguished either as pulpit orators or *spiritual* writers. Gerson, being not less acquainted with Scholasticism than Mysticism, was quite competent to pass judgment on their scope and relations to each other. "In Scholasticism," he says, "intellect is predominant, and is concerned about truth (*potentia intellectus circa verum*); in Mysticism, the affections are more prominent, and embrace what is good (*potentia affectuum circa bonum*)." The same thought is expressed by Thomas à Kempis in the "*Following of Christ*:" "*I had rather feel compunction,*" he says, "*than understand the definition thereof.*"

Scholasticism was always regarded as superior in rank to Mysticism, their relations to each other being expressed by comparing the former to the sun and the latter to the moon. The contrast presented in the character and scope of these two phrases of mental development was but the necessary outgrowth of the tendencies of the age. To Mysticism is to be attributed the grand movement of the Crusades. To it do we owe Gothic architecture and similar creations. It has taken shape and form in the venerable old Gothic churches. Are they not an expression of that deep and pervading sentiment of the human soul which struggles with a holy and yearning enthusiasm to mount up to the throne of the Most High? "The same spirit breathes in the pointed cathedral arch and in the pages of the '*Fol-*

lowing of Christ.' But it required Scholasticism to preserve the equilibrium of Mysticism, which, from its very nature, was in danger of being carried to excess. Making little account of anything but practical life, it not unfrequently mistook the true character of science, and lapsed into error more easily and more frequently than did Scholasticism. The latter, for analogous reasons, was equally in need of the presence and influence of Mysticism; for, from the very outset of its history, it manifested a tendency to estrange itself from active life. It has also left its impress on Gothic architecture, for what are those mighty minsters set upon immovable foundations and sustained by solid pillars, their graceful columns and bold arches rising away into the space above, and losing themselves at last in endless ramifications and countless figures, almost imperceptible to the eye, yet executed with the most conscientious accuracy and delicacy, but the image of the *Scholastic system*? Like those noble old cathedrals, it, too, is set upon the solid foundation of the Scriptures, is sustained by the authority of the Fathers, employs in its development all the resources of a bold and acute reason, which, rising to the higher regions of thought, is lost amid the details of theses and antitheses, terms and syllogisms, distinctions and conclusions, questions and answers, sections and articles, all displaying a rich luxuriance of intellect and a precision of finish, but, to the unpractised eye, looking like a hopelessly entangled mass. Both the theologian and the architect—the former employing signs, the latter symbols—in raising a great and faultless work to the honour and glory of God, must be equally conversant with the rules of art and the principles of science; and, to make the analogy complete, neither loses sight of the Pagan element. Countless fantastic figures mark its presence in architecture, and in Scholasticism it is manifest in the ideas borrowed from one *Pagan philosopher*, and in the dialectical methods imported from the other."¹ Hence, the true theologian combines depth of feeling with clearness of conception and accuracy of thought. Such are, in matter of fact, the characteristics of the great minds of the Middle Ages, in whom Scholasticism and Mysticism were, so to speak, in equilibrium, and who are represented by men like *St. Bernard* and *St. Thomas Aquinas*, but still more decidedly by *Hugh of St. Victor* and *St. Bonaventure*.

§ 253. *St. Anselm of Canterbury.*

Bolland., Acta SS. mens. April, T. II., p. 866. *Mochler*, Complete works, Vol. I., p. 32-176. *De Remusat*, Anselm of Canterbury, Germ. transl. by *Wurzbach*, Ratisbon, 1854. *Hasse*, Anselm of Canterbury, Lps., 1844 sq., 2 pts. **Stöckl*, Hist. of the Philos. of the Middle Ages. Vol. I., pp. 151-208. *Ribbek*, Anselmi doctrina de Spiritu sancto, Berol., 1838. *Ueberweg*, L. c., 3 ed., p. 124 sq.

Anselm of Canterbury was born at Aosta, in Piedmont, in 1033. Attracted by the reputation of *Lanfranc*, he went to study at the

¹ *Staudenmaier*, Christian Dogmatics, Freiburg, 1844, Vol. I., p. 235.

abbey of *Bec*, in Normandy, in 1060. Three years later he became prior, and, in 1078, abbot of this monastery, the most celebrated school of the eleventh century. Lanfranc, who had in the meantime become Archbishop of *Canterbury*, died in 1089, and four years later (1093) Anselm was appointed his successor. He died in 1109.

Anselm was equally distinguished as a churchman and a scholar. His energy of character and strength of will are manifest in his contest with William Rufus and Henry I. on investitures, and his writings are ample evidence of his ripe scholarship and dialectical skill. He may be regarded as the father of Scholasticism. He was a close student of the writings of *St. Augustine*, and, after the Holy Scriptures, looked to them for a solution of the difficulties that met him in his investigations.¹ His fundamental principles may be summed up as follows: "Man is created in the image of God, but this image is only in outline, and must be filled up before one can arrive at a knowledge of himself. But for this work, man, being a dependent being, requires some external motive to spur him on. Such is *revelation* which is accepted on faith. Faith, he said, precedes *science*, and gives birth to it; and hence the title of one of his works: "*Fides quærens Intellectum*." And his very first work is called "*Monologium sive Exemplum Meditandi de Ratione Fidei*." He is a votary of Truth, and, in speaking of it, does so with a religious reverence. But, while devotedly loyal to faith, Anselm is not unmindful of the claims of reason. Hence he holds it to be a sacred duty to *reduce the truths of faith to scientific form*, the neglect of which would expose Christians to the opprobrium of being inferior to the Pagans.² Accordingly, he set to work to demonstrate *the attributes of God* and of the *Three Divine Persons*, by a method at once dialectical and speculative. Starting out to prove *the existence of God*, and finding that the usual arguments, drawn from the marks of design and the endless variety, order, and gradation of everything in the universe—thence concluding that there must be a self-existent cause of all this, one supreme and infinitely perfect God—were insufficient for his purpose, he professed in his "*Proslogium*," or "*Fides quærens Intellectum*," a later work, to put forward a demonstration so convincing as to dispense with every other. This is *ontological* in character, and concludes the existence of God from the fact that the human mind has an idea of a *Being*

¹ His writings are: *Monologium* (de divinitatis essentia); *proslogium* (de existentia Dei, Brixæ, 1854); *cur Deus homo* (ed. *Laemmer*, Erlang., 1858); *de fide Trinit. et de incarnatione Verbi*; *de processione Spiritus S.*; *dialogus de casu diaboli*, *de conceptu virginali*, *de originali peccato*, epp., Lib. III., *Meditationes XXI.* (Opp. omn. ed. *Gerberon*, Paris, 1675), (Paris, 1721, 2 T. f.) *Migne*, Ser. lat. T. 138-159, *Billroth*, *De Anselmi prosl. et monol.*, Lips., 1832.

² Anselm says: "Non tento, Domine, penetrare altitudinem tuam, quia nullatenus comparo illi intellectum meum, sed desidero aliquatenus intelligere veritatem tuam, quam credit et amat cor meum. *Neque enim quero intelligere, ut credam, sed credo, ut intelligam*; nam et hoc credo, quia, nisi credidero, non intelligam (*proslog.* c. 1.)—Sicut rectus ordo exigit, ut profunda christianæ fidei credamus, priusquam ea præsumamus ratione discutere, ita negligentie mihi videtur, si, postquam confirmati sumus in fide, non studemus, quod credimus, intelligere." (*Cur Deus homo*, c. 2).

infinitely supreme, than which no higher can be conceived of. Even the atheist, while denying the objective existence of God, must admit that he has a mental conception of such a Being. Now, continues St. Anselm, inasmuch as it is impossible to conceive of this Being at all without conceiving of Him as existing, it follows that the idea of Him does not alone exist in the mind (*in intellectu*), but has an objective reality also (*in re*). Hence it is further concluded that whatever there is in the world of the *beautiful*, the *good*, and the *true*, is but a reflection of Him who is all beauty, goodness, and truth.

This method of concluding from a mental conception to its objective reality was assailed by *Gaunilo*, a monk of Marmoutiers, who said that if the argument were valid, it would equally follow that *because one conceives of an island situated in mid-ocean, it must necessarily be there*. Anselm replied by distinguishing between ideas logically inseparable and such as are connected by an effort of the imagination. The former have necessarily an objective reality, *because to conceive of a being as absolutely necessary is all one with saying that it exists as one conceives of it*.¹

But the most important of Anselm's works, and the one which has exercised the greatest influence on posterity, marking an epoch in Christian philosophy, is his "*Cur Deus Homo*," in which he demonstrates the necessity of the *incarnation of the Son of God*. Anselm also takes up and discusses with much ability and depth of thought, but yet without *forming a system*, the doctrine of original sin and the harmony between free-will and the foreknowledge of God, in his work entitled "*De Concordia Præscientiæ et Prædeterminationis*."

In giving an exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity, Anselm called attention to the fact that ideas have a real existence. This opinion was vehemently assailed, and occasioned the

CONTROVERSY ON REALISM, NOMINALISM, AND CONCEPTUALISM.²

The principles in question in this controversy, instead of involving, as has been asserted, no more than a mere quibble about words, lie at the very foundation of human science, inasmuch as on its issue depends the possibility or impossibility of any demonstration whatever within the scope of knowledge accessible to man. Hence it gave rise to a number of conflicting theological tendencies which, had they not been kept under control, might have led either to idealistic pantheism or brutal materialism. This medieval controversy was but an expression, more or less full, of thoughts which at all times, whether ancient or modern, when the spirit of philosophic inquiry has been abroad, have occupied men's minds. The Eleatic philosophers, and Heraclitus, Plato, and Aristotle were no less disturbed by them than Spinoza, Leibnitz, Hegel, and Herbart. The question at issue was a fundamental problem of science, and may be briefly stated as follows: Have universal ideas, or such as comprehend the genus and differential note, an actual existence independent of the conceptions of them formed in individual minds, or is the converse the case—that is to say, are universal ideas mere abstractions, creations of the intellect, expressed in words (*nomina*) representing substantive realities, but not such

¹ *Gaunilo*, Lib. pro insipiente; Anselmi apolog. ctr. Gaunilon. respondentem pro insipiente.

² *Kleutgen*, Philosophy of Past Ages, Münster, 1861. Vol. I., p. 252 sq. *Stöckl*, History of the Philosophy of the Middle Ages, Vol. I., pp. 128-151.

themselves? The *Nominalists* held the latter, the *Realists* the former opinion. While it may be assumed that this question would, in any event, have come up to the schoolmen for discussion and solution, it is nevertheless true that it may be historically traced back to Boëthius, the forerunner of mediæval philosophers, and through him to Porphyry. The latter, in his introduction to the writings of Aristotle on *Categories*, on which Boëthius wrote a commentary, speaking of the five *Universals* (γένος, εἶδος, διαφορά, ἴδιον, συμβεβηκός = genus, species, differentia, proprium, accident), says, at the very outset, that it is not his purpose to enter the field of metaphysics, because of the difficulty and obscurity of the fundamental question of this branch, viz., "Have genus and species (*genera et species*) a substantive existence of their own, or are they mere abstractions of the intellect (*in solis nudis intellectibus posita sunt*)? And, further, assuming that they have a substantive existence, are they corporeal or incorporeal? Are they inherent in other objects, or do they subsist of themselves?"

The discussion thus declined by Porphyry was entered upon by Boëthius, who, though possessing considerable ability for the task, was not altogether free from misconceptions of its true bearings. He closes by remarking that the two phases of the question pointed out by Porphyry may be traced back to *Plato* and *Aristotle*, the former of whom, he says, *genera et species cæteraque non modo intelligi universalia, verum etiam esse atque propter (præter?) corpora subsistere putat; Aristoteles vero intelligi quidem incorporalia atque universalia, sed subsistere in sensibilibus putat.*

Boëthius did not decide in favour of either view; but, from the fact that he quoted, commented upon, and criticised Aristotle, he seemed to give a preference to Nominalism. *Scotus Erigena* endeavoured (*de divis. nat.* l. 51) to harmonise the conflicting views of *Plato* and Aristotle; but, for obvious reasons, little or no attention was paid to what he had said on the subject by the schoolmen, who preferred to follow the question back to its origin.

Plato, as is well known, in accounting for the multiplicity of concrete substances, whether in regard to their essence or their supreme genus, assumes the prototypal idea as a basis. With him, ideas (εἶδος) are prototypes and patterns (παράδειγματα), which the "Demiurge," the "Maker of the Universe," has before His mind in drawing order out of chaos. In this view only, ideas possess truth and unity. They exist in "the great mind of Zeus" anteriorly to their antitypes, are independent of finite matter and form, and are self-subsistent, both as to their being and meaning. The concrete world of matter and form is only a partial (*participans*) manifestation of the prototypal idea, and will ever remain inadequate to its full expression.

To *Plato's* deductive method, *Aristotle* opposed a thorough-going induction. Starting with concrete realities as they come before the eye in nature, or before the mental vision in the facts of history, science, and art, he separated and classified them according to their categorical notes. Denying the transcendentalism of *Plato*, he held that ideas are inherent in things, or exist primarily in the concrete (*universalia in re*), whence they are derived by the mental process of abstraction. The idea (το εἶδος), he said, is absolutely without meaning until after it has been embodied in concrete form, where it becomes the immanent and individualising (σύνολον) principle of the several objects in which it is embodied. It is the province of science, he added, to collect, investigate, compare, distinguish, and arrange specimens, examples, and facts, and thus, by abstracting the notes common to a class or individual, and corresponding to the reality, to fix the notion of either permanently in a precise and comprehensive definition.

This twofold *Realism*, embracing, in a sense, a transcendentalism of ideas, and yet insisting on their immanence in the concrete object or fact, was opposed by the *Nominalism* of *Zeno* and the *Stoics*, who asserted that ideas have no real existence independently of the intellect, whether considered in the mind of the Creator, or in individual beings (*universalia post rem*), and that universals are but empty names (*nomina, flatus vocis*), and nothing more.

The diverging opinions to which this controversy gave rise, involving, as they did, the most momentous problem of science, were still as far asunder as ever when Christianity came into the world, and with it the idea of creation, to which there was nothing similar in the whole range of antiquity. This cardinal fact afforded a means of ascertaining the true relation of God to ideas, of ideas to reality, and of reality to human knowledge. Now that the true starting-point of science had been discovered, the most enlightened of *Christian* philosophers endeavoured to harmonize and retain the underlying principles of both the Platonic and Aristotelian theories. They upheld, as the only view consistent with the genius of Christianity, the *Realism* of both the universal or prototypal and the particular or individual idea. Still, there was no age of the Christian

era when the advocates of Nominalism did not exist side by side with the advocates of this modified Realism.

The theologians of the school of Alexandria, and notably Origen, depending for their philosophical notions chiefly on Plato, were unable either to fully understand or properly appreciate the theory of the realists. The schoolmen, on the other hand, drawing their philosophical notions from the copious writings of *St. Augustine*, who had prepared the way for Realism, adopted neither the Platonic nor the Aristotelian theory, but took a middle way between the two. *Anselm*, the Augustine of the schools (*alter Augustinus*), led off as the champion of the new and true theory of Realism. While establishing the relative subsistence of universals, and showing how individuals are separated from each other by differential notes, he at the same time points out that there is an essential connection between the two, inasmuch as the universal is realised in the individual. Holding, therefore, that universals were not, according to the Nominalist theory, mere sounds of the voice, nor yet, as the out-and-out Realist taught, substances in the external world, but "conceptions" or thoughts in the mind, he drew the further conclusion that when one is *necessitated* to conceive of an object as being such and such, the reality *must* correspond to the conception. Such was the theory held by the bulk of the schoolmen who lived after *Anselm*, during the early half of the present epoch.

In opposition to this theory, others of the schoolmen revived *Nominalism* under the following form: 1. Only individual objects, inasmuch as they are directly perceived by the senses, have any real existence. Whatever is over and above these is simply a sort of mental mirage, which the imagination connects with realities. Hence, 2. Perception by the senses, being the only means of apprehending realities and becoming conscious of their presence, is the one true method of acquiring knowledge. The latter of these conclusions, however, was not fully set forth by the Nominalists until the fourteenth century.

The Nominalist theory was applied by *Roscelin*, Canon of Compiègne, to the dogma of the Trinity. Affirming the existence of *individuals* only, he held that universals were a mere sound of the voice—a *flatus vocis* as fleeting as the breath that called it forth. Neither had qualities or parts any existence outside of the objects to which they belonged. The colour of a horse, for instance, has, he said, no ideal independent existence apart from the horse of which it is an accidental quality. His Nominalism led him straight into *tritheism*. He spoke of the Three Persons in the Trinity as *tres res*, understanding by the term *res* an entirety; the Aristotelian $\tau\acute{\epsilon}$, or a substance complete in itself.¹ Thus he denied the unity of the God-head, and affirmed the separate existence of three Gods.

This position brought him into a controversy with *Anselm*,² who assailed his adversaries with the following arguments: "How," said he, "can one distinguish God and His various relations (i. e., the Divinity, the Divine Essence, and the Three Divine Persons) who cannot draw a distinction between a horse and its colour? One who cannot comprehend that there is a sense in which men may be said to be essentially one (which would not be the case if the generic idea 'man' were no more than an abstraction or an empty name) is but ill-qualified to recognise in the Divine nature Three Persons, each truly God, and yet all one and the same God. If, finally, human

¹ See *Blunt's Dictionary of Sects and Heresies*, art. Schoolmen. (Tr.)

² *Joh. Monach.*, Ep. ad *Anselm.* (*Baluz.*, Miscell., l. IV., p. 478 sq.) *Anselm.*, l. II., ep. 35, 41; lib. de fide Trin. et de incarnat. Verbi cont. blasphemias Ruzelini, cf. Ivo Carnot. ep. VII. Abälardi ep. 21; Theobald. Stamp. ep. ad Roscel (*d'Achéry*, Spicil. T. III., p. 448.) *Freiburg Eccl. Cyclopæd.*, Vol. IX., pp. 388-397; Fr. tr., Vol. 20, pp. 429-440.

nature has a real existence only in this or that determinate and individual person, how is it possible even to conceive of the Divine Word becoming man, since He did not assume a human personality, but took upon Him human nature?"

Anselm pronounced Nominalism a dialectical heresy, and Abelard, some time later, affected to be witty when he said that, according to Roscelin, our Lord (St. John, xxi. 13) offered His disciples not a real fish, but only the word "fish." Anselm's *realistic theory* received the approbation of the Council of Soissons (1092), while Roscelin was ordered to retract his as erroneous. *Hildebert*, Bishop of Mans,¹ who died about 1134, pursued the line of thought marked out by Anselm. Such was the mental process by which the schoolmen harmonized Realism and Nominalism, and established the theory of *Conceptualism*. The conceptualists drew a distinction between objective reality, intellectual conception, and the word expressing the idea formed by the mind. They said that as the intellect could not adequately comprehend all the notes of an object, so neither could language adequately express *them*, and that the intellectual comprehension held a place midway between an object and the word by which it was designated.

This much was indeed an approach towards the solution of the difficulty, but the fundamental question involved in the controversy between the Realists and Nominalists had not yet been cleared up.²

§ 254. *Controversy concerning Scholasticism and Mysticism—Abelard, Gilbertus, Porretanus, and St. Bernard.*

Epp. *Abelardi* et *Heloisæ*, especially ep. I., de historia calamitatum suarum; Introductio ad theol., lib. III. (*Abelardi* et *Heloisæ* Opp. ed. du Chesne, Paris, 1616, 4to; sometimes given as ed. Amboise, 1606 or 1626. Abridgment by *Cramer*, Vol. VI., p. 337 sq.) Theol. christ., Lib. V. (*Martène*, Thes. anecdot., T. V.) *Ethica* s. liber: *scito te ipsum* (*Pezii*, Anecd. T. III., Pt. II.) Dialog. inter philosoph. Judæum et Christian. (*Abæl.*?) ed. *Rheinwald*, Berol., 1831.—*Sic et non*. *Dialectica* (*Victor. Cousin*, *Ouvrages inédits d'Abælard*, Paris, 1836, 4to). "*Sic et non*," primum integrum edd. *Henke* et *Lindenkohl*, Marb., 1851. *Abelardi*, Epitome Theol. chr. ed. *Rheinwald*, Berol., 1835. *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 178. The *Hymns* brought to light, published by *Greith* in the *Spicileg. Vatican.* and by *Cousin*; see *Freiburg Gazette*, Vol. XI., pp. 141-158. *Stöckl*, Vol. I., pp. 218-272. Concerning Abelard's life, see *Hist. littéraire de la France*, T. XII. *Schlosser*, *Abelard and Dolcino, or the Life of a Fanatic and of a Philosopher*, Gotha 1807. *Ueberweg*, p. 132 sq.

The controversy commenced by Berengarius and Lanfranc, which was in fact a conflict between speculative and positive theology, involving an attack on faith as the source of intellectual enlightenment, was continued under a more scientific form by Abelard and St. Bernard, when it took the shape of a war between Mysticism and Scholasticism, and threatened to loosen the foundations of the whole range of theology.

¹ (Tract. theologicus, probably due to Hugh of St. Victor); *Moralis Philosophia* (Opp. ed. *Beaugendre*, Paris, 1708 f.)

² *Stöckl*, Vol. I., pp. 143-151.

Peter Abelard was born of noble parents, at *Palais*, near *Nantes*, in *Brittany*, in 1079. Inheriting from his father a thirst for knowledge, he applied himself to study with all the ardent enthusiasm of his nature, and was still further stimulated to renewed efforts by *Roscelin*, his first master. Of a naturally acute and subtle mind, he early manifested a decided inclination for dialectics, and in consequence went to hear the prælections of *William of Champeaux* (*Guil. a Campellis*), who was then defending the claims of science against the Nominalists, as *Anselm* had already done those of theology against the same errorists. His progress was so rapid that he soon outstripped his master. Elated by his success, and thirsting for distinction and worldly applause, he withdrew from *Paris* and founded a school of his own at *Melun*, whither great troops of students flocked to hear him. Over-exertion impaired his health, and he retired to his home in *Brittany* to restore it. In the meantime, *William of Champeaux* had taken up his residence at the abbey of *St. Victor*, near *Paris*, and commenced to teach rhetoric and dialectics. Here *Abelard* came to put himself once more under his old master, but it was not long before he again quarrelled with him. He has left the following account of the cause of this rupture:

"*William of Champeaux* maintained that 'universals' belong essentially to individuals in such sense, that individuals comprehended in the same class are not distinct from each other as to their essence, but only distinguished one from another by the number of their accidental notes. He subsequently modified this opinion. After a discussion with *Abelard*, he taught that 'universals'—i. e., genus and species—are not essentially inherent in individual objects, but are the mental conception of a class, and are derived from a consideration of individual specimens. (*Sic correxit sententiam ut deinceps eandem rem non essentialiter sed individualiter diceret.*)

"The question of 'universals' is one that has at all times been of the highest importance to dialecticians, and so difficult is it that even *Porphyry*, in his *Isagoge*, without attempting to solve it, simply puts it aside with the remark that 'it is a vexed question.'

"*William* having thus, rather from necessity than of his own motion, changed his opinion, found himself deserted by those who had formerly come to hear him, as if dialectics was wholly dependent on this or that theory of universals."¹

Abelard once more withdrew from *Paris*, and reopened his school at *Melun*, whence he transferred it to *Mount St. Geneviève*, near *Paris*, in 1115, and so great was the popularity of his teaching that the students deserted the auditory of *William of Champeaux* to listen to his more brilliant rival. He preserved, amid every change of fortune, a strong filial attachment for his mother, and when she had resolved upon becoming a religious, he dismissed his students temporarily to pay her a visit. During his absence, *William* had been appointed Bishop of *Châlons*, and on his return to *Paris*, believing that his talents had not a sufficiently large field for their display, he went to *Laon* to listen to the lectures of the celebrated theologian, *Anselm of Laon*. After a short stay, fancying that he had got abreast of his master, and was, if anything, his superior, he boastfully proposed to give a course of lectures on *Ezechiel*, one of the most diffi-

¹ In *Abelardi historia calamitatum*. c. 2. Cf. *Stöckl*, Vol. I., pp. 140-143.

cult of the prophets, if a day's time were given to him for preparation. Anselm's jealousy was aroused, as that of William of Champeaux had been for a similar cause on a former occasion, and Abelard, finding Laon disagreeable, returned to Paris, where he became one of the most celebrated teachers of dialectics and theology. At this time there lived in Paris, Heloise, the niece of Canon *Fulbert*, then only eighteen years of age, but already remarkable for beauty of person, mental endowments, and extensive knowledge. Abelard became her preceptor, and, while the two were in each other's company, he lost sight of the honour attaching to his office and abused the confidence reposed in him; and she, relaxing the dignified reserve which is the safeguard of the sex, threw aside the observances of virginal modesty. Fulbert discovered his mistake when it was too late. The two fled together, and were secretly married, but so wild was Heloise's enthusiasm for her lover, that she denied the fact, lest it might be a bar to his advancement in the Church. Fulbert, enraged at this denial, and still further exasperated because he believed that Abelard, desiring now to be rid of Heloise, had her removed to the convent of Argenteuil, hired five venal men to emasculate the betrayer of his niece. The unfortunate man, to hide his shame and bring some alleviation to his sorrow, entered the monastery of St. Denys as a monk, and persuaded Heloise to take the veil at Argenteuil (1119). He was not long permitted to remain quiet in his monastery. Petitions from the university students came pouring in upon him, requesting him to resume his lectures, and to do now for love of God what he had formerly done for personal glory. He yielded, and opened his lectures in a priory belonging to the monastery of St. Denys, and situated on the border of the province of Count Theobald of Champagne. The numbers who flocked to hear him were so great that accommodations could not be had to lodge them nor food to sustain them. The advocates of Scholasticism, but notably Albert and Lothaire of Rheims, soon grew jealous of his splendid success, and even the Mystics commenced to complain that his treatment of the mysteries bordered on the irreverent. At the request of his disciples, he commenced to embody his theological teaching in a work entitled an "*Introduction to Theology*," treating specially of the *Trinity*, and from which several *heretical propositions* were extracted. The work was condemned by the council of Soissons, in 1121, and he himself confined in a monastery to do penance. His sufferings excited universal sympathy, and, after a few days, *Conon*, the papal legate, permitted him to return to St. Denys. He was no sooner back than he again evoked the anger of the monks by asserting that Denys, Bishop of Paris and founder of the monastery, was not identical with Denys the Areopagite, and was forced to consult for his safety in flight. Having been released from his connection with the monastery by the celebrated Abbot Suger, he retired to Nogent-on-the-Seine, in the diocese of Troyes, and here built himself a hermitage of reeds and straw, which he dedicated to the Holy Ghost and called the *Paraclete*.

Here he again commenced his lectures, and soon throngs of students crowded to the spot, built huts for themselves and a chapel for their master, whither he might withdraw and find peace and solace in his sufferings. His fame and his teachings exposed him to fresh persecutions, and, transferring the Paraclete, which, by reason of the poetical traditions surrounding it, remained, until 1593, a favourite female religious house, to Heloise and her community, he withdrew from public notice and accepted the abbacy of St. Gildas-de-Ruys, in Brittany (1128). After eight years spent in useless efforts to restore the discipline of the monastery, he resigned the office in 1136, and spent a year giving lectures in Paris. It was now that St. Bernard, the most renowned man of his age, became his opponent. Having had his attention drawn to the errors of Abelard by William, Abbot of Thierry, and St. Norbert, he set about refuting them, and pointedly reminded Abelard that he had confounded the teachings of faith with the theories of philosophy.¹ Moreover, Abelard had dressed up in a new, more pointed, and more offensive shape the errors of his "*Introduction to Theology*," already condemned, in his new work entitled "*On Christian Theology*," but which was little more than a revised edition of the former. He and his partisans were also charged with profaning holy things by an unusual and unseemly display of temper in their disputations. St. Bernard, in sending an account of the affair to Rome, expressed himself in the following indignant language: "*Irridetur simplicium fides, eviscerantur arcana Dei, insultatur Patribus, omnia usurpat sibi humanum ingenium.*"

Abelard, apprehending his condemnation as a heretic, requested the Archbishop of Sens to give him the privilege of publicly defending himself against his accusers. Bernard reluctantly accepted the challenge, and repaired to Sens, where a synod was held (1140) for the purpose of giving a fair hearing to each party. Contrary to all expectation, Abelard refused to defend his teachings, which had already been condemned by the synod, before that body, and, on the following day, appealed from its decision to the judgment of the Pope. On information forwarded to Rome by the synod and obtained from numerous letters written by St. Bernard, the teachings of Abelard were condemned and himself sentenced to perpetual confinement in a monastery. He had arrived at Lyons, on his way to Rome, when the sentence reached him, and, turning back, sought refuge with Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Clugny, through whose kind offices he obtained absolution from the Pope, and was reconciled to St. Bernard.² He became one of the monks of Clugny, and, while there, led a strictly ascetical life, spending much of his time in teaching the monks. His health having given way, he was removed to the priory of St. Marcel, at Chalons-on-the-Saône, on account of its more healthy location,

¹ Bernardi, Epp. 188, 189 ad Cardinal.; ad Innoc. de erroribus Abælardi. Apologie d'Abelard, ep. 20. (Opp., p. 330 sq.)

² The History of the Councils of Soissons and Sens, and Abelard's life and teachings, very carefully detailed by Hefele, Vol. V., pp. 321-325, 399-435.

where he died a most exemplary death, professing his adherence to the orthodox faith, April 21, 1142.

The words of Peter the Venerable, in reference to Abelard's life while at Clugny, are certainly very laudatory. "It has not been my fortune," said he, "to meet a more humble man than he." At his own request, his body was conveyed to Heloise at the Paraclete, "in order," he said, "that she may learn what one loves in loving man."¹ She survived him twenty years. The ashes of both were taken to Paris in 1808, and, in 1828, buried in one sepulchre in Père-la-Chaise.

Besides the errors already pointed out, Abelard also went very much astray in discussing the relations between *faith* and reason (*fides, ratio*), maintaining that faith proceeds from scientific investigation; because, said he, *doubt*² is the fundamental principle of all knowledge, the key that opens the treasures of wisdom. Allowing to dialectics a supreme authority in the domain of dogmatic truth, it was not possible, by this logical process, to attain to absolute truth, but only to *probability*. According to his fundamental principle, everything capable of proof must first be susceptible of doubt, and hence all the dogmas of faith were necessarily assumed to be problematic, that they might be demonstrable. To show this by example, Abelard took various propositions of faith and morals, and placed by the side of them texts of Scripture and passages from the writings of the Fathers, telling *for* and *against* each, and apparently contradictory of one another, without attempting to reconcile them. Such is the structure of the remarkable treatise "*Sic et Non*."³ It appears to have been his purpose in this to awaken a spirit of rational doubt among the better educated; for "doubt," he said, "leads to inquiry, and inquiry to truth." His definition of faith is especially startling. To believe, said he, is *to hold as true* what one sees not, and to hold also as true the motive of believing in what is unseen. His explanation of the *Trinity* differed little from the Modalism of Sabellius. According to the latter, the Trinity was not one of distinct persons, but of action and office, the Eternal Unit manifesting itself in time under the three forms or modes of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. According to Abelard, the Father, or, more properly, the Paternity (*Paternitas*), is the First and Supreme Divinity, who manifests Himself in the Son and Holy Ghost. These, of themselves, have no

¹ Petri Venerabilis ep. ad Helois. and Helois. ad Petr. Abælardi (Opp., p. 337 sq.) *Ratisbonne*, History of St. Bernard; Germ. transl. by *Reichling*. Vol. II., pp. 37-38.

² Abelard, however, said (Epitome Theol. christ., c. 2): "Ac primum de fide, quæ naturaliter cæteris prior est, tanquam bonorum omnium fundamentum." He is more explicit in his *Introduct. in Theol.*, Lib. II.; but he wandered far from these ideas when he maintained: "Hæc quippe prima sapientiæ clavis definitur: assidua scilicet seu frequens interrogatio; *dubitando* enim ad inquisitionem veniemus. (in *Sic et Non*, in Prolog. sub fin.) Quod fides humanis rationibus sit adstruenda." (Ibid., pp. 18-22.) Cf. *Staudenmaier*, Philosophy of Christianity, Vol. I., p. 609 sq. *Stöckl*, Vol. I., pp. 224-234. † *Haid*, Abelard and his Doctrine relative to the Church and to Dogma, Ratisbon, 1863; *Cousin*, I. c.

³ Recently discovered at Munich, and published by Professor Rheinwald, 1835.

existence, (*aliæ vero duæ personæ nullatenus esse queant*). The Father alone has a real existence, has relations to the world, and is manifested in it.¹

Finally, St. Bernard combatted a seemingly erroneous proposition of Abelard's *Ethics*, according to which not the character of the *act*, but the *intention*, is the only criterion of morality.²

Abelard has himself left us the best account of the motives by which he was led into error. "*Pride, not ignorance*," said he, "*is the root of heresy*;" thereby justifying what St. Bernard said of him: "There is nothing in heaven or on earth that he does not claim to know." It is more than likely that his fame as a philosopher and theologian would long since have been at least considerably diminished, if not entirely obscured, had it not been supplemented by the romance of his life.

Gilbert de la Porrée, first a professor of philosophy at Paris, and, after the year 1142, Bishop of Poitiers, his native city († 1154), carried the subtle distinctions of philosophy into the pulpit. His two archdeacons, *Arnold* and *Calon*, took exception to some of his philosophical speculations on the Blessed Trinity, and brought them under the notice of Pope *Eugene III.* and St. Bernard.³ When *Eugene III.* came to France, Gilbert was summoned first to Paris, in 1147, and, the following year, before a synod held at Rheims, at which the Pope was personally present. Owing to certain nominalistic errors contained in his commentary on the first book of (Pseudo) Boëthius on the *Trinity*, he was accused of Tritheism. He had drawn a distinction between the two senses in which the name God is used—the one meaning the *Divine Essence* or *Being* (*substantia quæ est Deus*); the other, the properties by which each of the Three Persons is distinguished from the others, and *in virtue of which each is God* (*substantia quâ est Deus*). Still drawing out the consequences of this distinction, he asserted that the Second Person, but not the Divine Nature, had become incarnate. *Eugene III.*, after listening for some time to the equivocal explanations of Gilbert, candidly asked him: "My dear brother, do you or do you not believe that the Being in whom you recognize Three Persons is God?" Gilbert answered in the negative, taking exception to the word "*Being*," because the Three Persons, according to him, were numerically distinct, being three units,⁴ or "*tria singularia*." After a lengthy and fruitless dis-

¹ St. Bernard animadverts upon Abelard in such terms as these: "Antiquos jam et ab ecclesia damnatos errores; cum de Trinitate loquitur, sapit *Arium*, cum de gratia, sapit *Pelagium*, cum de persona Christi, sapit *Nestorium*."

² Quia opera indifferentia sunt in se, nec bona nec mala, sive remuneratione digna videantur, nisi secundum radicem intentionis quæ est arbor bonum vel malum proferens fructum. Comment. in ep. ad Rom., Lib. I., p. 522. (Tr.)

³ Particularly on account of his commentary on Boëthius de Trin. Cf. *Mansi*, T. XXI., p. 728 sq. *D'Argentré*, T. I., p. 39 sq. *Hefele*, Vol. V., pp. 445-450, 460-463. *Stöckl*, Vol. I., p. 272-288. *Ueberweg*, 3 ed., p. 145 sq.

⁴ St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, Pt. I., Qu. XXVIII., art. 2, asks: "Utrum relatio in Deo sit idem quod sua essentia?" and says in corpore articuli: "Respondeo dicendum quod circa hoc dicitur Gilbertus Porretanus errasse, sed errorem suum postmodum in

cussion of the points at issue, St. Bernard drew up a confession of faith in opposition to the errors of Gilbert, which, owing to the opposition of the cardinals, who thought the Pope unduly under the influence of his old teacher, and held that it was the exclusive prerogative of the Roman Church to decide on questions of faith, was not accepted as a publicly recognized document. The Pope compromised matters, expressing himself content with a promise made by Gilbert not to introduce Nominalism, for the future, into his teaching on the Trinity. With the concurrence of the synod, four obnoxious chapters of his work were censured.

§ 255. *Attempts to check the Vagaries of Speculation*—Robert Pulleyne, Peter Lombard, Hugh and Richard of St. Victor.

Alb. Liebner, Hugh of St. Victor and the theological tendency of his age, Lps., 1832. *Engelhard*, Richard of St. Victor and John Ruysbroek, Erlangen, 1839. *Freiburg Eccl. Cyclop.*, Vol. IX., p. 717 sq. Fr. tr., Vol. 21, p. 346 sq.

From these errors and disputations, it was clear that, to pursue philosophical and theological speculations with any hope of gaining profit from them, caution and prudence were necessary. As a step in this direction, *Robert Pulleyne* (*Robertus Pullenus*), successively professor of theology at Paris and Oxford, whence he was called to Rome by Pope Eugene III., (1144), created cardinal, and appointed chancellor of the Roman Church († 1153), again brought the teaching of St. Anselm into special prominence, insisting that to arrive at divine truth faith must precede science, not science faith. This method he drew out more fully in his writings, where he placed beside his purely rational conclusions the *traditional authority of the Fathers of the Church*, following the general structure of the work of *Isidore of Seville*, entitled, "*Three Books of Sentences*" ("*Sententiarum Libri Tres*"). Even St. Bernard bears witness to the purity of his doctrine. It is a little remarkable that Pulleyne, whether in direct argument or in answering objections, invariably employs the *sylogistic form*.

The tendency of *Peter Lombard* in the same direction is still more marked and emphatic. Born of poor parents, at Novara, in Lombardy, but richly endowed with mental gifts, he became the protégé of a wealthy gentleman, who sent him to Bologna to be educated. Some time later, he attracted the notice of St. Bernard, who placed him in the school of Rheims, where he became a pupil of Abelard's and completed his studies, but not until he had acquired a considerable familiarity with the Fathers, and particularly with SS. Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine. He soon obtained a professorship in theology at Paris, when he composed (C. A. D. 1140) his celebrated *dogmatic manual*, entitled "*Four Books of Sentences*" ("*Sententiarum*

Rhemensi concilio revocasse. Dixit enim, quod relationes in divinis sunt assistentes, sive extrinsecus affixæ.—Sed Gilbertus Porretanus consideravit relationem solummodo secundum hoc quod est commune accidentibus—i. e., inesse subjecto; et sic relationes inveniuntur assistentes, non intrinsecus affixæ. Si vero consideretur relatio secundum quod est accidens, sic est inhærens subjecto, et habens esse accidentale in ipso." (Tr.)

Libri IV.”), modestly compared by himself to the mite cast by the widow into the treasury of the Temple, which was studied and commented on down to the time of the Reformation. Closely adhering to the teaching of the Fathers, he evinced considerable originality in his method of treatment and philosophic proofs, thus combining positive and speculative or scholastic theology. The object of his work, as stated by himself, “is to put forward the strength of the Church’s faith, to disclose the hidden treasures of theological research, and to make plain the meaning of the holy sacraments.”¹

Following the distinction of St. Augustine, Peter Lombard, in this work, divides whatever comes within our knowledge into *things* and *signs*. Things are subdivided in those intended *for use* and those set apart *for enjoyment* (*uti et frui*). The latter contribute to our happiness, the former to its attainment. To enjoy, he says, is to become attached to an object from love of it. To use an object means to employ it in securing what one wishes to enjoy. Now, the proper object of enjoyment is God, the Trinity; relatively also angels and men, the world being the means to be employed in the attainment of this object. Hence all doctrinal teaching is naturally divided into two parts—the first embracing the Trinity, and the second the world and its relations to God (theology and cosmology). By signs are understood the Sacraments.²

As to method, Peter Lombard, after stating the doctrine of the Church in each instance, supports his proposition by pertinent texts of Holy Scripture and passages from the Fathers. He next adds certain considerations of his own, takes up objections and solves them with great subtlety and dialectical skill, and finally speaks of the opinions of contemporaries.³

The work of Peter Lombard met with much opposition before it obtained general recognition and ecclesiastical sanction. He was accused to Pope Alexander III. of holding the following propositions: “*Christus non est aliquis homo*; and *Christus secundum quod est homo, non est aliquid* (Lib. III., dist. 6, 7; also *ibid.*, dist. 10), *an Christus, secundum quod homo, sit persona vel aliquid?*” The truth of the matter is, that the Master of Sentences had indeed discussed these questions after his fashion, brought forward the

¹ *Petri Lombardi Sententiar. Libb. IV.*, Ven. 1477; rec. *J. Alcaume*, Lovan., 1546; Antv. 1647 and oftener; in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 191, 192, together with *Bandinus*. According to the division indicated above, he treats, in Book I., of the Trinity; in Book II., of creation and the relations of the creature to God; Book III., of redemption, faith, hope, and charity, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the virtues and their relations to each other, and to sin; Book IV., of the Sacraments and the Last Things. Peter, above all, shows the tendency of his work in the *Prologus*: “*Lucernam veritatis in candelabro exaltare volentes, in labore multo ac sudore hoc volumen (Deo præstante) compegimus, ex testimoniis veritatis in æternum fundatis in IV. libros distinctum. In quo majorum exempla doctrinamque reperies, in quo per dominicæ fidei sinceram professionem viperæ doctrinæ fraudulentiam prodidimus, aditum demonstrandæ veritatis complexi, nec periculo impiæ professionis incerti, temperato inter utrumque moderamine utentes. Sicubi verò parum vox nostra insonuit, non a paternis discessit limitibus.*” For a resumé of the whole work, see *Bossuet-Cramer*, Vol. VI., pp. 586-754, and *Raumer*, Vol. VI., pp. 251-278. Cf. *Stöckl*, Vol. I., pp. 391-411. There is a close affinity between the *Libri IV. Sententiarum* of Peter Lombard and the otherwise unknown *Bandini*, or *Baudini* and *Bauduini* Lib. IV. *Sententiarum*, ed. studio *Chelidonii*, Viennæ, 1519, (Lovan. 1555), which is evidently, and now also in the opinion of all, but an abridgment of the work of Peter Lombard, but not by any means the basis for the more exhaustive work of the latter.

² Cf. Lib. I., distinct 1.

³ “This work constituted him, by pre-eminence, *Magister Sententiarum*, and gave inexhaustible material for commentators. The compilation was an enormous boon to the hair-splitting dialectician, for the number of analogies and discrepancies, the questions and answers, theses and antitheses, positions and counter-positions, that it helped to develop and to solve. It made scholastic formalism yet more dry, and while it raised to its highest position the influence of authority and tradition, it threatened to fossilize for ever the rich products of theology.” *Blunt’s* Dict. of Heresies, art. Schoolmen. (Tr.)

arguments *for and against*, but without giving a decision either way. While, on the one hand, therefore, the synod of Tours (1163) and that of Paris, convened at the request of William, Archbishop of Sens, and with the approval of Pope Alexander III., before each of which the subject was brought, refused to formally condemn the Master of Sentences; on the other, the Twelfth Œcumenical Council of 1215 defended his name against the misrepresentation of Joachim of Floris.

In 1159, Peter was, with the general approval of the public, appointed Bishop of Paris. Prince Philip, brother of the King of France, who was likewise a candidate for the dignity, after hearing Peter's name mentioned in connection with it, generously withdrew his pretensions. The new bishop was so careful to retain his former simplicity, that when his mother, an Italian peasant, was presented to him clad in splendid apparel, he refused either to recognize her or show her the filial affection of a son until she had put off her rich garments and come in her usual attire. At his death, in 1164, *Hugh*, Archbishop of Sens, in a letter of condolence addressed to the Chapter of Paris, said of him: "I have lost a portion of my soul, the stay of my youth, the comforter and guide of my life." The spirit of Peter Lombard long survived in those who came after him, and the schoolmen esteemed it a pleasure and an honour to comment on his Sentences.¹

He was succeeded in the professor's chair at Paris by *Peter of Poitiers*, one of his most distinguished pupils, who at first explained the Books of Sentences, but after a time brought out a manual of his own, entitled "*Five Books of Sentences*" ("*Lib. V. Sententiarum*"), in which dialectics holds a more prominent place than was accorded to it by the Master of Sentences, and the *sylogistic method* is employed in demonstration.

As in the early days of the Church, so now it was deemed important to present the claims of faith to the minds of infidels as the most efficient way to compel their *belief*. To convert Pagans and Mohammedans, said *Alanus of Ryssel* (*ab insulis, l'Isle—Lille*), the first step should be to direct their attention, not to the authority of the Fathers, but to proofs drawn from reason. Such proofs can lead one to faith, but having arrived here, their office ends. *Faith* goes alone the rest of the way and finally conducts to true science.²

He was still more in earnest than his predecessor in his efforts to reduce the methods of teaching theology to scientific form, and seemed inclined to establish for this science, in imitation of geometry, a number of theorems, the one dependent on the other, and the last a resting on axioms and definitions.

¹ For the reasons of this close following of the Lombard, see *Braniss*, Review of the Progress and Development of Philosophy in Ancient Times and during the Middle Ages, Breslau, 1842, p. 345 sq.

² Hæc vero rationes si homines ad credendum inducant, non tamen ad fidem capessendam plene sufficiunt usquequaque. Thus, formerly, *Clement* of Alexandria and *St. Augustine*, and more recently, above all, *St. Thomas Aquinas* and *Duns Scotus*. Opera: correct. illust. ed. studio *Caroli de Visch.*, Ant. 1654 f.; de arte s. articulis fid. cath. libb. V. (*Pez.* Thesaur. anecdot. noviss., T. I., Aug. Vind. 1721 f.); also libb. II. ctr. Judæos et Mahometanos ed. *Masson*, Paris, 1612; in *Migne's* ser. lat., T. 210.

Alanus was born in 1114, entered the Cistercian Order of St. Bernard in 1129, became afterwards Abbot of la Rivour, and finally, in 1151, Bishop of Axerre († 1202 or 1203). Owing to the variety of his attainments and the number and importance of his writings, he was called by his contemporaries *Alanus the Great* (*Alanus Magnus*), also the *Universal Doctor* (*Doctor Universalis*).

In the *Abbey of St. Victor*, at Paris, founded by William of Champeaux, of which *Hugh* and *Richard* were the most distinguished ornaments and ablest writers, a disposition to harmonise the two divergent theological tendencies of that epoch began to manifest itself.

Hugh, the friend of St. Bernard, and to whom Peter Lombard was in part indebted for his teaching, was descended from the counts of Blankenburg, and born, in the year 1097, in the territory of Halberstadt. He was placed by *Reinhard*, Bishop of Halberstadt, under the care of the canons of St. Augustine, by whom he was educated. He applied himself diligently to study, picked up information of every kind wherever he could find it, and was not unfrequently laughed at for his inquisitiveness. Of this period of his life he wrote, later on: "I may truthfully say that I thought nothing beneath me that would contribute to my stock of information. Hence I was at pains to learn a host of things which others thought trifling and ridiculous." This thirst for knowledge led him, in spite of the opposition of his parents, to enter, in 1114, the Abbey of St. Victor, at Paris. Like his friend St. Bernard, Hugh, once he had entered the abbey, devoted himself entirely to prayer, meditation, and the study of theology, absolutely refusing to accept the office of prior or abbot. Though never actually taking part in political affairs, he was an interested and intelligent observer of events going on about him. He died, while still in the prime of life and the full vigour of manhood, in 1141. That he was much esteemed by his contemporaries, the titles of honour and distinction they lavished on him amply show. He was called a *Second Augustine*, the *Tongue of Augustine*, and the *Teacher*.

Though earnestly opposed to the use of philosophy as employed by Abelard, he was none the less a warm advocate of its legitimate use in subserving the purposes of theology. Hugh had been highly endowed by Providence. All the faculties were well balanced. To depth of feeling he united a brilliant imagination, and to a correct judgment an unbending will. He was pre-eminently an idealist. Hence the sustained elevation of his teaching, his keenness in investigation, his resolute rejection of whatever is useless, coarse, or shallow. Hence, also, his evenness of temper and his aversion to all strife and contention. With such qualifications did Hugh undertake to carry into effect his long-cherished project of harmonising the divergent tendencies of the two great theological schools of the times. The results of his labours are embodied in a *Cyclopædia of Scientific*

*Theology.*¹ Being pre-eminently a child of his age, he was passionately fond of science and philosophy. To seek knowledge, he said, is all one with being a saint. But true knowledge must combine theory with practice,² must reach out to all the relations of man, and it is a notable fact that the scholars of the Middle Ages were, as a rule, equally distinguished for exalted principles and untarnished moral character. The monk of St. Victor was indebted for his scientific views to St. Augustine and St. Anselm, and to St. Bernard for his Mysticism. The pupil of two schools of thought, he was unlike either. He made the teachings of each his own; analysed, classified, and combined them, and the results bore upon them the peculiar characteristics of his own mind. His numerous commentaries, extending over nearly every book of the Bible, proved that he recognised the importance of *method* no less than a conscientious study of the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers in scientific investigation.

Hugh's *Sum of Sentences* deserves particular mention. It was published probably about the year 1130, having already appeared as the work of *Hildebert*, Bishop of Mans, under the title of "*Tractatus Theologicus*." It embraces a complete *system* of Christian dogma,³ and is long *anterior* to the work of Peter Lombard. As the dogmas are the direct object of faith, and as this, again, includes the whole body of doctrine in the deposit of the Church, the author starts out, with the Fathers as his guides, to investigate what precisely this doctrine is, and then goes on to point out its relations to reason, to the Old Testament revelation, and to the teaching of philosophers. Having in this way set forth the object of faith, or what he calls the *Credo*, and treated of the virtues of *Hope* and *Charity*, he next proceeds to explain the dogmas, following pretty much the order of the Symbol and observing the method which has been pointed out above as peculiar to Peter Lombard. In an important work entitled "*De Sacramentis*," and evidently published much later, he treats *dogma as a whole* much more exhaustively and methodically, adhering rather closer than in the *Sum* to its historical development.⁴

Richard of St. Victor, a native of Scotland, whence he passed over to France, entered the abbey of St. Victor, became a pupil of Hugh,

¹ Consult, especially, Didascalía, de more dicendi et meditandi, summa sententiarum, de sacram. fidei chr. (doctrine of faith), Lib. II. (Lib. I. in 12, Lib. II. in 18 sections), Opp., Rouen., 1648, 3 T. f.; in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 175-177.

² Hoc utinam ego tam possem subtiliter perspicere, tam competenter enarrare, quam possum ardentius diligere; delectat nempe me, quia valde dulce et jucundum est, de his rebus frequenter agere, ubi simul ratione eruditur sensus et suavitate delectatur animus et æmulatione excitatur affectus. He was, perhaps, thinking of *Aug.*, De catechizandis rudibus., c. 2.

³ During the epoch the schoolmen were under the necessity of giving a more *rational* and thorough analysis of the writings of the early Fathers, something similar in theology to what had already been accomplished in the collections of canon law compiled by Burkhard of Worms, Yves of Chartres, and others. They applied themselves particularly to the study of *Origen* (*De principiis*), *Gregory of Nyssa* (λόγος κατηχητικός ὁ μέγας), *Augustine* (*Enchiridion*, and Lib. I. de Doctrina Christiana), *Isidore of Seville* (*Sententiarum Libri III.*), *John Damascene* (*De fide orthodoxa*). In the monastery of St. Trudo, at the end of the eleventh century, the idea originated of making a *Theological Sum*, which was realised by Abbot Rudolf. That of *William of Champeaux* is still unprinted. Then comes *Abaelard*, Introductio in theologiam christianam, and *Theologia Christiana*. Finally the system of *Peter Lombard*, and that of *Hugh of St. Victor*. On the *Tractatus Theologicus* as a fragment of the *Summa Sententiarum* of Hugh, see *Liebner*, *Hugh of St. Victor*, pp. 217-438.

⁴ For a more precise and complete analysis, see *Liebner*, pp. 349-484, and *Bossuet-framer*, Pt. VI., pp. 791-838. Cf. *Stöckl*, Vol. I., pp. 354, 355.

was made abbot of the monastery in 1163, and died 1173, pursued the conciliatory policy peculiar to his master. Inferior to the latter in depth of thought and warmth of mystical feeling, he was his superior in classical attainments and elegance and purity of style. His *Treatise on the Trinity* is a model of clearness, solidity, and precision. He is entirely original in his efforts to define precisely his position in relation to *Mysticism*.¹ The intellect, said he, in its thirst for knowledge, tends to speculative theology, while the will, always inclined to the practical side, tends to *Mysticism*.

While Richard and Hugh had thus honestly striven to adjust and harmonise conflicting views and tendencies, in the same way as Peter Lombard had endeavoured to reconcile the claims of speculative and positive theology, Walter of St. Victor, the successor of Richard in the abbacy, was violently partisan in the advocacy of his own peculiar views, and denounced the four leading schoolmen of his day, characterising their works as labyrinths of human thought (A. D. 1180).² Fortunately, his bias and exaggeration were so apparent that they defeated his object and nullified the influence his works might otherwise have exerted.

The judgment of *John of Salisbury*³ on the schoolmen was much more temperate. He had studied, by turns, under Abelard and William of Champeaux, had shared the sufferings of Thomas à Becket, and, finally, died as Bishop of Chartres, in 1182. A fine classical scholar, but possessing little capacity for deep speculative studies, he nevertheless appreciated philosophy, and recommended its pursuit to others as an excellent moral and practical training for the mind. In his work entitled "*Polycraticus*," he reviews the political condition of his age, and in a second, entitled "*Metalogicus*," speaks of its scientific culture. His critical remarks are frequently correct and valuable, and went a long way in correcting the erroneous views of his contemporaries. Among other things, he foretells that the speculative tendency of Scholasticism would eventually lead to error.

¹ His writings may be divided into three classes: 1. Treatises on Contemplation and Preliminary Preparation (*De statu interior. hom., de præparatione animi ad contemplat.* (Benjam. minor), *de gratia contemplat.* (Benjam. major); 2. Treatises on the Trinity; 3. Exegetical works on several books of the Bible. These are chiefly explanations of difficulties occurring in the Sacred Text, some running commentaries on certain books, and some essays on special subjects, such as the sacrifices of Abraham and David. Opp., Rothemagi, 1640; in *Migne's Ser. Lat.*, T. 196. Cf. *Engelhard*, Ll. c., p. 301; *Stöckl*, Vol. I., pp. 355-384.

² Contra 4 Labyrinthos (*Abaelard., Petr. Lombard., Petr. Pictav., Gilb. Porretan.*); epitomised in *Bulæi*, Hist. Univers. Par., T. II., pp. 200, 402, 562, 629 sq.

³ *Joan. Salisburiensis*. (†1182), *Polycraticus* s. de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophor., Libb. VIII., Lugd., 1639; *Metalogicus*, Libb. IV., Lugd., 1610, epp. 303 (Max. Bibl., T. XXIII., p. 242). Newly discovered, *Entheticus de dogmate philosophor.*, ed. *Petersen*, Hamb., 1843; in *Migne's Ser. Lat.*, T. 199. *Reuter*, John of Salisbury, Berlin, 1842. *Schaarschmidt*, The Life, Studies, Writings, and Philosophy of John of Salisbury, Lps., 1862. *Ritter*, Christian Philosophy, Vol. III., pp. 605-620. *Stöckl*, Vol. I., p. 411. *Ueberweg*, pp. 147, 148.

§ 256. *The Mystics.*

Cf. art. "Mysticism," in the *Freiburg Eccl. Cyclop.*, and the works of Görres, Schmitt, Helfferich, Noack, and Stöckl, quoted above, p. 525.

We have already had occasion to mention St. Bernard, his friends and disciples. These were the true representative mystics of their age. St. Bernard, while far from being inimical to science, was much more intent upon developing in man a full consciousness of truth by an intimate experience of the heart, growing out of divinely revealed faith, than upon ascertaining a knowledge of it by the laborious investigations of the reasoning faculties. Following the teaching of earlier mystics, he said that the soul might rise to a full knowledge of religious truth by *three degrees of consideration*, the results of which are styled respectively, *opinion*, *faith*, and *intellectual apprehension*.¹ This thoroughly practical science, this true knowledge, this calm, earnest mysticism, is based upon a principle worthy of St. John, viz., "*God is known in proportion as He is loved.*" Prayer, he said, not idle disputation, leads to a knowledge of God. Love is its well-spring, and unless one is penetrated through and through by this love, he can never attain to the blissful vision of God.

The "Mellifluous Doctor," in his treatise "*De Consideratione Sui*," gives, in the warm language of a glowing and earnest devotion, a full analysis of the experiences of a religious mind, from the first stirrings and impulses of faith, on through the various stages, until it is finally united in ecstasy to God. In two other works, entitled respectively "*De Conversione*" and "*Tractatus de Diligendo Deo*," this master of the spiritual life draws out, with characteristic force and truthfulness, the trials of a soul in its transition from an unregenerate to a regenerate state, and its yearnings for intimate union and converse with its God.

The *union with God*, said he, so ardently longed for by man, consists not in a fusion of the two natures, but in a conformity of the two wills, or in a fellowship of love. Such is man's *transformation*. Hence, when God is said to be the essence of all things, the expression is to be interpreted in the sense of the above, meaning that all things are through and in and for God, but not that they are the same in essence.

As St. Bernard taught and lived, so also did his friends, the abbots William of Thierry († 1152), Rupert of Deutz (*Tuitiensis*) († 1135), and Guerricus of Igny. *Ecstasy* and *prophecy*, the highest manifestations of asceticism, were reached in St. Hildegard,² who resided in a

¹ Here are those three degrees or *consideratio*: *Dispensativa*, sensibus utens ad promerendum Deum—*opinio*; *æstinativa*, quæque scrutans ad investigandum Deum—*fides*; *speculativa*, qua homo se in se colligit—*excessus*, *ascensus*, ad contemplanandum Deum, contemplatio intellectus s. rei invisibilis certa et manifesta notitia.

² Görres, *Christian Mysticism*, Vol. I., p. 285.

monastery, whose ruins may still be seen, on the Rupertsberg, near Bingen, at the confluence of the Nahe and the Rhine († 1179).

Hugh of St. Victor, in the hope of affiliating Mysticism and Scholasticism, collected and arranged systematically the scattered thoughts of St. Bernard favourable to his purpose. With him the underlying principle of religious science was that one's knowledge of truth is exactly adequate to his interior dispositions. (*Tantum de veritate quisque protest videre, quantum ipse est*). The means of arriving at perfect science is contemplation, which was lost through original sin, yet can be recovered by supernatural aids. This fixing of the mental vision on things eternal is what is understood by contemplation in the strict sense. When, on the other hand, the faculties are engaged in the consideration of the objects that meet one in the visible world, the mental operation is called rational meditation. Hugh, judging religious life in its relations to theoretical and practical mysticism divides it into five heads, viz., *reading, meditation, prayer, labour, and contemplation*. Under these five terms is all religious life comprehended. The first four call forth and foster practical habits in the just man, and lead him, little by little, along the way to perfection. The last is at once the fruit of the others, and a foretaste of future reward.

Speculative mysticism reached its extreme limit in *Richard of St. Victor*. In his efforts to bring home to the intellect the clear and precise knowledge of God imparted to man by faith and revelation, he was forced to take refuge in the principle of supernatural aid, saying: "*Tantum possumus, quantum posse accepimus; quantum habes gratiae tantum habes potentiae*." While allowing to reason the fullest scope within its own limits, he holds purity of heart to be an essential condition to correctness of understanding, and, like St. Bernard, believes in ecstatic intuition, or a mental state not reached by any process of thought, but going beyond and superseding all merely mental efforts. "The rational mind," says Richard, "doubtlessly finds in itself an excellent mirror, wherein to see God. For, if God's invisible essence may be known from His works, where can one find the marks which lead to a knowledge of Him more clearly stamped than in that which is His own image?"¹ To attain a fellowship with God, one must practise self-denial, and this cannot be done except by supernatural aids. "The form of truth," he says, "of which one gains a knowledge by divine grace, must also be stamped upon the affections by personal endeavour and the concurrent action of grace."² "If a proper disposition be wanting, the science of holiness is like a picture without life."³ Intellectually, man's aim is contemplation; practically, fellowship with God. He distinguishes three stages in one's religious development—in the first of which God is seen by faith; in the second

¹ De præparatione animi ad contemplationem, c. lxxii. (Tr.)

² De statu interioris hominis, c. xxvi. (Tr.)

³ De eruditione hominis interioris, c. xxxviii. (Tr.)

He is known by reason, and in the third, beheld by contemplation.¹ "The first and second," he goes on to say, "may be attained by man, but the third cannot be reached except by an ecstatic transporting of the spirit above itself. The soul raised above itself beholds things in the light of the Godhead, and here human reason shrinks back."² Although regarding the ecstatic raising of the soul out of itself as purely a gift of God, he still insists on personal effort as a preliminary condition. "None," says he, "obtain so great a grace without strenuous efforts and ardent longing."³

§ 257. *Second Period of Scholasticism under the Franciscans and Dominicans.*

The opening of the second period of Scholasticism is marked by two circumstances: First, a more general use of the writings of the Fathers, and, second, a more extensive study and a more correct understanding of the works of Aristotle. Hitherto, the only portion of Aristotle's writings much known was his *Organon*, or *Logic*, translated into Latin by Boëthius, and containing Porphyry's "Introduction to the Categories."⁴ But in the thirteenth century, when universities became numerous and grew into great seats of learning, besides his works on *Dialectics*, also those on *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, and *Ethics*—in fact, all his writings—were studied and his methods adopted in the lecture-hall for scientific purposes and demonstrations. Since, however, the writings of Aristotle came into the West through Spain, and were in consequence adulterated with the errors of Arabs and Jews, which were in turn propagated among the Christians, his physical and metaphysical works were frequently forbidden. But no sooner had the more eminent among the schoolmen made a new series of translations, not, as formerly, from the second-hand versions of the Arabic, but directly from the original Greek text, then Aristotle rose at once in authority and influence, and the schoolmen then appreciated him no less than did St. Augustine, in a former age. Being pre-eminently the *philosopher of form*, it was but natural that he should be much preferred to Plato. The most distinguished of the schoolmen wrote copious commentaries on nearly all his works, thus demonstrating how highly they esteemed his writings as an armory whence they might borrow weapons for the systematic defence of theology. It is at present coming to be more and more generally acknowledged

¹ De contemplatione, c. iv. (Tr.)

² Ibid.

³ De præparatione animi ad contemplationem, c. lxxiii. (Tr.)

⁴ Cf. *Lamnius*, De varia Aristot. in acad. Par. fortuna., Par., 1659, 4to; ed. J. H. Elswich., Vitemb., 1720. *Jourdain*, Recherches critiq. sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions lat. d'Aristote., Par. (1819), 1844. German trans., Hist. of the Writings of Aristotle during the Middle Ages, with additions by *Stahr*, Halle, 1831. *Schmölbers*, Essai sur les écoles philosophiques chez les Arabes., Par., 1842. *† *Haneberg*, The Schools of the Moors during the Middle Ages, Munich, 1851. **Ritter*, Christian Philos., Vol. III., p. 83 sq. *Art., "Aristotelian Scholastic Philosophy," in the *Freiburg Eccl. Cyclop.*, Vol. I.; Fr. tr., Vol. I., p. 524. *Stöckl*, Vol. II., pp. 1-305. *Ueberweg*, pp. 153-210.

that the labours of the schoolmen materially contributed to the correct understanding of Aristotelian philosophy and the spread of its influence.¹ Henceforth, also, but notably from the time of Robert Pulleyne, a more rigorous form of reasoning and a closer adherence to the *sylogism* are noticeable. The fresh energy which characterised the Mendicant Orders gave a new impulse to scientific pursuits. They produced a whole galaxy of scholars distinguished by eminent talents, varied and extensive information, and sincere and earnest piety.

The first great name in theology that meets us is that of the Englishman, *Alexander of Hales*.² Having completed his elementary studies at Oxford, he went to Paris, where he made a course of theology and canon law. In spite of the intrigues and determined hostility of his enemies, he succeeded, after his entrance into the Franciscan Order, in securing a professor's chair at the University of Paris. Besides annotations on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, he wrote the first commentary on the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, and, by the command of Pope Innocent IV., a *Sum of Universal Theology*, in four parts. Adhering closely, in the last-named work, to the structure of the *Sentences*, he nevertheless gives evidence of considerable originality and great analytical powers in bringing out prominently the main points of his system, thus forming a connecting link between the *Sententiaries* and the *Summists*. His dialectical skill and great learning merited for him the titles of the *Irrefragable Doctor* and the *Fount of Life*. He died in 1245.

William of Auvergne, who became Bishop of Paris in 1228 and died in 1248, and was equally competent as an efficient governor and distinguished as a scientist and theologian, pursued in his writings a line of thought somewhat similar to that of Alexander of Hales.

The dialectical tendency was still more rigorously carried out by *Albert the Great*,³ Count of Bollstädt. Born at Lauingen, not far from Dillingen, in Suabia, in 1193, he studied at Paris, Padua, and Bologna, and entered the Dominican Order in 1223, after which he

¹ "Although not creditable to these latter centuries, when the schoolmen are regarded with a sort of supercilious contempt, it must nevertheless be frankly admitted that the philosophy of Aristotle, though slightly tintured with error, was better understood in the thirteenth than in our own century."—"Succeeding centuries did no more than exhume, here and there, scattered fragments of the old, half-forgotten traditions of the thirteenth century, and apply them to the solution of new problems to which physical and ethical investigation gave rise." *Ritter*, History of Christian Philosophy, Vol. IV., pp. 187-522.

² *Summa Universæ Theologiæ*; *Commentarius in libb. IV. sententiarum commentarius in libb. Arist. de anima*, Ven., 1576; Col., 1622, 4 T. f. *Ueberweg*, pp. 185-189.

³ *Opera omnia*, ed. *Jammy*, Lugd., 1651, 21 T. f.: Commentaries on almost all the works of Aristotle (4 T.); Natural Philosophy (2 T.); Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures (5 T.); Commentary on *Denys the Areopagite* (T. XIII.); Commentary on the *Sentences* of the Lombard (3 T.); *Summa Theologiæ* (3 T.) Cf. + *Sighart*, *Albertus Magnus*. Ratisbon, 1857. On *Albertus Magnus*' Natural Philosophy, see *Alexander von Humboldt*, *Cosmos*, Vol. II., pp. 281-284. *Stöckl*, Vol. II., pp. 352-421. *Albertus Magnus* and the Science of his Age, in *Historical and Political Papers*, Vol. LXXIII., year 1874, pp. 485-514.

taught at Hildesheim, Freiburg, Ratisbon, Strasburg, Paris, and Cologne. In 1254,¹ he became the provincial of the Dominican Order, and, in 1260, Bishop of Ratisbon, but resigned this latter office two years later. The remainder of his life was spent at Cologne in teaching and writing. He was styled the *Universal Doctor* and the *Second Aristotle*. He died November 15, 1280. For *extent and variety* of information on every subject then within the scope of human knowledge, but particularly for his ability as a physicist, he stands unrivalled, except by one name, in the thirteenth century—that of his pupil, *St. Thomas Aquinas*.

Bonaventure, whose original name, as well as that of his father, was John of Fidanza, was born at Bagnarea, not far from Viterbo, in Tuscany, about the year 1221. In 1248, he became a Franciscan Monk; in 1253, a professor of theology at Paris, where he obtained the title of the *Seraphic Doctor*, and, in 1256, General of his Order.² This wonderful man was so conspicuous for purity of life that Alexander of Hales used to say of him: "*Verus Israëlita, in quo Adam non peccasse videtur.*" Bonaventure, though of an eminently practical turn of mind, endeavours to combine with the mystical element speculative dialectics, as is evident from his intimate knowledge of Aristotle, his commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and his remarkable work on the relations of the sciences to theology, entitled "*Reductio Artium Liberalium ad Theologiam.*" Of his most important works, the "*Centiloquium*" and "*Breviloquium*," Gerson pronounced the latter a rich and complete exposition of dogmatics, and recommended it to beginners in theology as well adapted to kindle love in the heart and illumine the intellect. Like the work of Creation, it is divided into six parts. The introduction is a discourse on Holy Writ, its origin, contents, and interpretation. The Trinity, Creation, the Fall of Man, the Incarnation of the Word, Redemption, Grace, the Sacraments, and Eschatology, or the last things of man, form the subject-matter of the body of the work.

The arrangement followed in the above-named works is wholly new, the *plan of each being different*, and neither like that pursued by Peter Lombard.

To these scientific labours Bonaventure added others for the advancement of the general good of the Church. Elected General of his Order when thirty-four years of age, he was created cardinal, in 1273, by Pope Gregory X., who was desirous of securing his services

¹ Not 1239. See *Vaughan*, *S. Thomas of Aquin*, Vol. I., p., 122, and *Sighart*, *L.c.*, p. 84. (Tr.)

² Commentaries on the *Sentences* of the Lombard and on the Holy Scriptures; especially his *Breviloquium* (*ed *Hefele*, Tüb. ed. III., 1861, with the *Itinerarium mentis*); *Centiloquium*; *reductio artium ad Theol.*; de VII. gradib. contemplationis, *itinerarium mentis ad Deum*; *Vita St. Francisci*, Opp., Rom., 1588; Lugd., 1688, 8 T. f.; Ven., 1751, 13 T., 4to; ed. *Peltier*, Besançon and Paris, 1861 sq. *Bertheaumiér*, *Hist. of St. Bonaventure*, transl. from the French into German, Ratisbon, 1863 *Stöckl*, Vol. II., p. 880 sq.—Last ed. opp. omnia, Paris, 1864, 15 vols., 4to; another ed., after a new plan of arrangement, announced, Turin, 1875. (Tr.)

in the important affairs of the Church. Bonaventure accompanied the Pope to the Œcumenical Council of Lyons, where he died, July 14, 1274, in the thick of his labours and the prime of his life. The deep and sincere expressions of sorrow to which every member of the council gave free vent, and the splendid funeral solemnities over his deceased body, were but the fitting crown of so pure and holy a life. The Cardinal of Ostia pronounced the funeral oration, and the Pope, the kings, and all the members of the council followed his remains to their last resting-place. He was canonised by Sixtus IV. in 1482, and, in 1587, ranked by Sixtus V. as the sixth of the Great Doctors of the Church.

Thomas, Count of Aquino,¹ was born in the year 1227,² in the castle of Rocca Secca, overlooking the town of Aquino, in the Campagna Felice, in the ancient Terra di Lavoro.³ When but five years of age, he was intrusted by his noble parents, Landulf and Theodora, to the Benedictines of Monte Cassino to be educated. After remaining six years here, his studies had so far progressed that he was fit to enter the university, and he was accordingly sent to Naples, then a flourishing seat of learning. Here he studied rhetoric and logic under Peter Martin, and natural philosophy under Peter the Hibernian. He completed his studies at Naples, in 1243, with distinguished success, and preserved, during his six years' stay, amid the general depravity of a licentious university life, his original innocence and unaffected piety. The accomplished young nobleman, in whose veins coursed the blood of the Cæsars, through his grandmother, Francisca, the sister of Frederic Barbarossa, sickening of the strife and abomination of the world, and longing to withdraw from it and give his soul to God, resolved, without returning to his parental roof, to enter the Order of St. Dominic, of which *Albertus Magnus*, whose fame had already filled all Europe, was then a member. Thomas entirely disregarded the claims of flesh and blood, because he felt it to be his duty to obey a higher call. His mother, Theodora, hastened to Naples on receiving information of her son's action; but the Dominicans, fearing the issue of a meeting between the two, hastily sent Thomas away to the convent of Sta. Sabina, in Rome. She at once set out for Rome, but was again baffled of seeing her son, who had been put on his way to Paris before her arrival. Indignant at this treatment, she conjured her two other sons, then serving in the army of the Emperor Frederic II., as they valued a mother's blessing, to secure and bring back Thomas. Strange to say, they were successful in capturing the young fugitive, whom they conducted to Rocca Secca, where his mother and sisters constantly besought him to withdraw from the

¹ The Life and Labours of *St. Thomas of Aquino*, by the Very Rev. *Roger Bede Vaughan*, O.S.B., in two vols., London, 1871-72. (Tr.)

² The year of his birth is given by the best authorities as 1227. *Vaughan, L.c.*, p. 5. (Tr.)

³ Not in Calabria, as both the German and French editions have it. See also *Vaughan, L.c.*, p. 5. (Tr.)

Mendicant Order. But no entreaties could induce him either to consent to their wishes or even to lay aside his habit. His sisters, whom he converted from a frivolous way of life, assisted him in getting books from the Dominicans, and during his confinement, which lasted eighteen months, he spent his time in studying the Bible and the works of Peter Lombard. In the year 1245, during an interval of peace, his two brothers returned to Rocca Secca and brought matters to a crisis. Not content with tearing his habit from his back, they introduced into his presence a notorious courtesan, in the hope of undermining his purity and thus breaking his resolution. No sooner had she commenced to practise her licentious arts upon him than the young hero, seizing a brand from the fire-place, drove her before him out of the room. It was at this time that his loins were girt about with a white cord by two angels, at once the symbol of purity and token of its inviolability; and, from this time forth, he was free from all lustful solicitations of the flesh. Even his mother resented this unnatural mode of persecution, and assisted, herself, in securing his escape, by letting him down, in a basket, from the window of his apartment. Reaching the ground, he was received by some Dominicans in waiting for him, by whom he was conducted to Naples, where he at once made his religious profession. He was next brought before a General Chapter of the Order at Rome, and, by its instructions, sent to Cologne to pursue his studies under Albert the Great. He was here grave, taciturn, and modest to a degree that excited the merriment of his companions, who assailed him with all sorts of railery, bestowing on him, among other epithets, that of the "*dumb ox*." His genuine piety, quiet and unobtrusive habits, did not conceal from his master his talents and ability, to which occasion was soon given for brilliant display. In an academical disputation, in which Thomas took part, he achieved so brilliant a success that, at the close of it, Albert the Great cried out: "We call him the *dumb ox*, but he will yet turn out a teacher whose voice will be heard through the whole world." Though such praise might have been too much for the humility of most young men, it was harmless to Thomas, who was a stranger to pride. In the same year (1245), both Albert and Thomas set out for Paris—the former to receive his doctor's degree, the latter to complete his studies. In 1248, both returned to Cologne, where Thomas became Master of Studies, and assisted Albert in his lectures. He lectured on philosophy, Sacred Scripture, and the Sentences of the Lombard, and, at that early day, commenced his commentaries on the last-named work. He was again sent to Paris in 1251, took the bachelor's degree, and, although under the required age, received a licence to profess theology from the rector of the university. While explaining the Sentences, he wrote, or rather dictated, some of his lesser works. After having, at Anagni, before Pope Alexander IV., in 1255, triumphantly defended the right of the Mendicant Orders to teach and to preach, which was denied them by their virulent enemy, William of St. Amour, and

defended the same right in a work entitled "*Clypeus Potestatis Ecclesiasticæ*," he returned to Paris, and in 1256, with his friend St. Bonaventure, took the doctor's degree in theology. He now devoted himself to writing and teaching until 1261, when he was called to Rome by Pope Urban IV., who desired to confer upon him ecclesiastical honours and raise him to the rank of cardinal; but these dignities were steadfastly refused by Thomas, who preferred to live and die a simple brother. He, however, consented to accept the office of "*Magister S. Palatii*," which kept him constantly about the Pope's person. In 1263, he was called to London to attend a General Chapter of the Order, convened to enforce discipline.

In the short space of three or four years, and in the midst of many and pressing labours, Thomas had written, besides other works, the "*Catena Aurea*," "*Contra Errores Græcorum*," the office for the Feast of Corpus Christi, "*De Trinitate*," "*De Unitate Intellectus*," and the "*Commentaries on Aristotle*."

Clement IV., who succeeded Pope Urban IV. on the papal throne, in 1264, forced upon Thomas the archbishopric of Naples; but the latter was so averse to receiving so high a dignity that Clement consented to accept his resignation, thus giving him an opportunity to devote himself entirely to study. He spent the year 1265 at Rome, where he commenced the "*Summa Theologica*," the crowning work of his life, upon which he was constantly engaged, as far as his other duties permitted, until the day of his death. The first part of this work appeared in 1267 at Bologna, where he spent three years. In 1269, he went to Paris to attend a General Chapter, and, while there, was persuaded by King Louis the Saint to take a professor's chair in the monastery of St. James. During the two years spent here, he continued the *Summa* and wrote several lesser works. The universities of Paris, Bologna, and Naples were each desirous of securing the services of the *Prince of Theologians*, but the General Chapter decided that he should go to Naples (1272). The King, the whole city, and the inhabitants of the surrounding country turned out to receive him, and his entrance resembled more the triumph of a conqueror than homage paid to the sanctity and learning of a humble monk.

The translation of the works of Aristotle from the original Greek text, commenced in 1270, was now continued, and portions of the third part of the *Summa* written. The labours of St. Thomas were now rapidly drawing to a close. In the last months of the year 1273, he frequently swooned away and went into ecstasies; and on the 6th of December of the same year, he wrote the ninetyeth question of the third part, and here ended his work on the *Summa*. The remaining days of his life were given chiefly to the preparation for death, which soon followed. Gregory X. had convoked an œcumenical council to convene at Lyons, May 1, 1274, and, on account of the importance of the questions to come up for discussion, particularly those relating to the Greek Church, desired the presence of the *Angelic Doctor*.

Thomas, though feeble in health, complied with the Pope's wishes, and set out on his journey in January, but was able to go no farther than *Fossanuova*, where he took shelter in the Cistercian Abbey. Here he died March 7, 1274, in the forty-eighth year of his age. Before receiving Holy Viaticum he gave expression to these words of faith and love: "I receive Thee, who hast paid the price of my soul's redemption, for love of whom I have sacrificed myself, have watched and toiled. Thee have I preached, Thee have I taught, never have said aught against Thee. If perchance any word of mine in relation to the Most Blessed Sacrament may have been unadvisedly spoken, I submit such for correction to the Roman Church, in whose obedience I depart this life." He was at once recognised as a saint, and canonised, in 1323, by Pope John XXII. He was buried in the monastery of Toulouse, but one of his arms was sent to that of St. James, at Paris. Pius V. solemnly declared him a *Doctor of the Church* in 1567. Pope John XXII. said of him that he wrought as many miracles as he wrote articles; that he had shed more light upon the teachings of the Church than all the other doctors combined, and that one could learn more by studying his works for a year than by studying those of all the others for a lifetime. His intimate friend, Raynald of Piperno, testified that he had always found him as innocent as a child; and this purity of heart was visible in his every look and word and act, and merited for him the title of *Doctor Angelicus*. He is also sometimes called the *Eagle*, and sometimes *Doctor Eucharisticus*. "He was," says *William de Thou*, his principal biographer, "unaffectedly humble, perfectly pure in mind and body, devout in prayer, prudent in judgment, possessed of a retentive memory, and, having his thoughts continuously fixed on things above, took little account of the things of earth."¹

Having taken a rapid glance at his life, it still remains to say a few words of the scientific and historic importance of the work accomplished by him. He was not only the greatest theologian of the Middle Ages, but may fairly claim the first place among the most eminent the Church has ever produced—not so much for the extent of his knowledge as for the depth, acuteness, and wide philosophic reach of his mind. He was pre-eminently speculative and dialectical, and withal a true *mystic*. His fundamental principle was that we should strive to know and love what is *above us*, i. e., God and things divine; and that we should make a rational use of what is *below us*, i. e., nature and things created, to the end that, love being thus enkindled in the heart, our thoughts might rise in gratitude to the Giver of every good and perfect gift. The seeking after knowledge (*studium sapientiæ*) he held to be *the highest, the most perfect, the most useful, and the most pleasurable* pursuit that could engage the mind of man; because, having in it something of a divine character,

¹ *Guilielm. de Thoro, Vita. V. 24.*

it is the source of a pure joy that leaves no after-taste of earth.¹ Of his three principal theological works, viz., "*Libb. IV., de veritate Catholica fidei contra Gentiles*," "*Commentum in IV. libros sententiar. Petr. Lomb.*," and *Summa totius theologiæ tripartita*"—the last, the greatest production of his mind, remained unfinished. A portion of the third part was compiled from his lectures, the rest supplied from his commentaries on the Lombard by de Rubeis. In the exposition of his system in this work, assuredly the most important production of the schoolmen, St. Thomas professedly follows St. Augustine, of whom, according to Cardinal Noris, a perfectly competent judge in such matters, *he is the best commentator*. Still, it is quite evident that Hugh of St. Victor, whom he also regarded as his master, exercised no little influence in directing the tendency of the Angelic Doctor's mind. It has been erroneously stated that the great *Summa* was not published by St. Thomas himself, but compiled from his lectures after his death. This is true only of the third part.²

The work is divided into three parts.³ The first treats of God,

¹ Memorable indeed is the sentence pronounced by Pope John XXII.: "*Tolle Thomam et dissipabo ecclesiam!*" Opp. cura Justiniani et Mariquez. Romæ, 1570, 17 T. fol.; Antv., 1617, 18 T. f.; Paris, 1660, 23 T. f.; Venet., 1745 sq., 23 T. 4to. The Par. edit. contains: Commentaries on the writings of Aristotle (T. 1-6); on the Sentences of the Lombard (T. 7-10); *Questiones quodlibetales* (T. 11); *Questiones disputatæ* (T. 12); *Summa contra Gentiles* (T. 13, 14). Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament (T. 15-18); *Summa Theologica* (T. 21-23). Most recently published by Ferrari, *Opuscula inedita*, Leodii, 1842. [S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Doctoris Angelici, O. P. Opera omnia ad fidem optimarum editionum accurate recognita, T. XXIV. in 4to. *Parmæ*, Typis Fiaccadori, 1852-69. By the same publisher, *Summa Theologica*, in 14 vols. 12mo, 1852-57; *Summa Philosophica*, 3 vols. 12mo, 1855. Magnificent ed. of Ang. Doct. S. Thomæ Aq. Sum. Theol. cum Comment. Thomæ de Vio Cardin. *Cajetani*, et elucid. litt. P. Seraph. Cap. a Porrecta O. P., 10 vols. fol., Romæ, 1773. Pocket ed. by L. Vivès, 9 vols. 16mo. *Formalis Explicatio Summæ Theol.* S. Thom. Aq. Doct. Ang. auct. Fr. Hieronymo de Medicis a Camerino, T. X., Vici (Vich, in Spain), 1858-62; *Summa S. Thomæ hod. acad. mor. accommodata*, Billuart, T. X., Paris, 1857. *Philosophia juxta D. Thomæ dogmata*, Goudin, O. P., T. IV., Parisiis, 1851, and Urbeveteri, 1859-60.—Tr.] Conf. *Bolland*, Acta. SS. mens. Mart., T. I., p. 655. Vie de St. Thomas Aquin., A. Touron, 1737, 4to. † *Jgn. Feigerle*, Hist. vitæ SS. Thomæ a Villanova, Thomæ Aquin. et Laurent. Justiniani, Vienn., 1839, and *Mattes*, in the *Freiburg. Eccl. Cyclop.*, Vol. X., pp. 911-930. † *Werner*, St. Thomas of Aquin, Ratisbon, 1868 sq., 3 vols. **Stöckl*, Vol. II., pp. 421-734. *Plassmann*, The School of St. Thomas, Søest, 1857 sq., 5 vols. † *Oischinger*, The Speculative Theology of St. Thomas of Aquino, Landshut, 1858. *Ueberweg*, pp. 189-201. *Vaughan*, The Life and Labours of St. Thomas of Aquin, vols., London, 1871-72.

² Cf. *Natal. Alex.* Dissert. ad. h. e. XIII. and XIV., sæculi, diss. VI., and *Oudin*, L. c., T. III., p. 353 sq.

³ The *Summa* is divided into three main parts, of which the second is subdivided into the *Prima Secundæ* and *Secunda Secundæ*. The first part establishes the claim of theology to be regarded as a science capable of demonstrative proof, to which every other science is auxiliary, and proceeds to treat of the Divine Nature, Providence, and Predestination; the creation, visible and invisible; and human nature in relation to the general scheme. The second part, in its first section, considers man as a moral being, and as the recipient of divine grace; involving the questions of free-will, original sin, and justification. Justification consists of three particulars: 1. Remission of sins; 2. Infusion of grace; 3. Faith that moves the soul towards God as the author of justification, and is "informis" as yet—aversion from sin being the spontaneous act of recovered freedom of will. Justification is thus a movement "de contrario in contrarium," a transmutation "de statu injustitiæ ad statum justitiæ." The second section is the complement of the former, and is the most important

the second of *man*, and the third of the *Godman*. The second part has two divisions—the *Prima Secundæ*, which is a general treatise on the virtues and vices (*De virtutibus et vitiis in genere*), and the *Secunda Secundæ* which is a special treatise on the virtues and vices in detail. Heretofore, dogmatics and morals had always been combined in treatment by schoolmen,¹ with perhaps the exception of Abelard, who, however, regarded ethics more from a philosophical than from a Christian and theological point of view.

The method of exposition followed throughout the *Summa* is that of questions. First, after the statement of the question, the *doctrinal errors against it* are given briefly, but comprehensively, in a series of objections; next, a *summary argument*, introduced by "*Sed contra*," based on either reason or authority, or both, directly refutes the erroneous principle underlying the objections; then follows the *body of the article*, embodying the true teaching and the reason for it, as warranted by the argument advanced in the "*Sed contra*" paragraph; finally, the doctrinal errors in the order of the objections are taken up and answered in detail. Such is the structure of every "*article*" throughout the *Summa*. Conclusions are drawn with the utmost precision and logical rigour; all the parts are adjusted with admirable completeness and harmony; and, while every question is exhaustively treated, there is never a word too many.

The first question of the first part establishes the claim of theology to be regarded as a *science*, and capable of all the conditions of demonstrative proof, because historical facts, on which it is based, are themselves but the expressions and exponents of *ideas*. Again theology being the science of God, and deriving its first principles from *Divine Revelation*, has a positive character, distinguishing it

of the entire work, as a grand exposition of Christian ethics. It analyses the complex elements of man's moral nature in a manner worthy of his great master Aristotle; grouping the virtues as theological and ethical, as infused and acquired—the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit: the theological virtues being Faith, Hope, and Charity; the ethical comprising the cardinal virtues—Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance. The third part deals with the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Seven Sacraments of the Church—two subjects that are inseparable from each other; the Eucharist conveying the very substance of Christ to the faithful communicant; the rest, in a subordinate degree, exhibiting a participation of His grace in varying mode. An analogy is marked out (between the wants of the corporal and spiritual life of man, and—Tr.) between the seven virtues and the Sacraments, each member in the one system being the correlative of something similar in the other. Thus baptism, as the remedy of original sin, corresponds with Faith; extreme unction, as the remission of venial sin, with Hope; the Holy Eucharist, as removing the penal consequences of transgression, with Charity. And so, with respect to the other virtues, prudence is represented by Holy Orders as the remedy of ignorance; justice or righteousness by penance, the supplemental safeguard of contrition and the ordained means of obtaining remission of deadlier sins; temperance by matrimony, as a check to inordinate desire; fortitude by confirmation, as the remedy of weakness. The *Summa* concludes by comparing the two main phases of religious life—the contemplative and the active: and, while under the guidance of Aristotle the former is preferred, an ecclesiastical direction is given to the preference, and the monastic life is shown to be of all the most perfect. This truly great work has done more than any other to fix the exact meaning of theological terms. *Blunt's Dictionary of Sects and Heresies*, art. Schoolmen. (Tr.)

¹†*Rietter*, The *Morals of St. Thomas of Aquino*. Munich, 1858; in *Plassmann*, Vol IV.

from philosophy and all other human sciences, which are its hand-maids.

St. Thomas remarks that in controversies with *infidels* (*infideles*), one must start by showing that their objections are not well-taken; but with heretics the case is different. Since these admit certain doctrines and deny others, one of the former must be taken as common ground, on which both parties may stand; and, starting here, the Catholic controversialist must show the logical inconsistency of his opponent's position by demonstrating the intrinsic and essential connection of the challenged doctrine with the whole deposit of faith. Such is the line of argument St. Thomas himself pursues in an *apologetical work*, entitled the *Lesser or Philosophical Summa*,¹ and written at the earnest request of Raymond of Pennafort. It was designed to serve as a guide to preachers in Spain in their discussions with *Mohammedans* and *Jews*, and is nearly, if not quite, equal in merit to the "*Theological Summa*." On the respective merits of these two great works, the opinions of two Protestant authors may be quoted. Of the "*Theological Summa*," Mr. Milman² says; "It would, as might seem, occupy a whole life of the most secluded study to write, almost to read." "If penetration of thought," says the Anglican Bishop Hampden,³ "comprehensiveness of view, exactness the most minute, an ardour of inquiry the most keen, a patience of pursuit the most unwearyed, are among the merits of a philosopher, then may Thomas Aquinas dispute even the *first* place among the candidates for supremacy in speculative science."

The philosophical world also owes St. Thomas a debt of gratitude for his translation of Aristotle's works and his admirable commentaries on the same. He was a *realist* in the proper sense of the word, and did more than any other writer to clear up the difficulties between Realism and Nominalism. Universals, according to him, were but abstractions of the mind, having no existence outside the intellect, and possessing no objective reality apart from the individual objects in which they reside.⁴

¹ De veritate cath. fid. ctr. Gentiles, libb. IV., cap. II., the author thus states the scope of his work: "Inter omnia vero studia hominum, sapientiæ studium est perfectius, sublimius et utilius et jucundius.—Primo, quia non ita sunt nobis nota singulorum errantium dicta sacrilega, ut ex his, quæ dicunt, possimus rationes assumere ad eorum errores destruendos. Hoc modo usi sunt antiqui doctores in destructionem errorum Gentilium, quorum positiones scire poterant, quia et ipsi Gentiles fuerant, vel saltem inter Gentiles conversati et in eorum doctrinis eruditi. Secundo, quia quidam eorum, ut Mahometistæ et Pagani, non conveniunt nobiscum in autoritate alicujus scripturæ, per quam possint convinci, sicut contra Judæos disputare possumus per vetus testamentum, contra hæreticos per novum: hi vero neutrum recipiunt, unde necesse est, ad naturalem rationem recurrere, cui omnes assentire coguntur, quæ tamen in rebus divinis deficiens est. Simul autem veritatem aliquam investigantes ostendemus, qui errores per eam excludantur, et quomodo demonstrativa veritas fidei Christianæ religionis concordet."

² Lat. Chr. VI., p. 451. (Tr.)

³ *Encycl. Metrop.* XI. 793.

⁴ Universalia non sunt res subsistentes, sed habent esse solum in singularibus, *Contra Gent.*, Lib. I., c. 65. Quod est commune multis, non est aliquid præter multa, nisi sola ratione, *ibid.*, c. 26.

His commentaries on the Holy Scriptures give evidence of an intimate acquaintance with the Fathers, and of a thorough knowledge of the fundamental ideas of the Bible and of the Christian dogmas. In his work "*De Regimine Principum*" he gives a complete exposition and defence of the theory of Christian government and political economy as understood in the Middle Ages.¹ Finally, his incomparable hymns on the Eucharist, breathing a heavenly inspiration, and, in fact, every portion of his admirable *Office* for the Octave of Corpus Christi, have made his name dear to all believers in the Real Presence, and have enshrined his memory forever in their hearts.

The ablest of the disciples of St. Thomas were *Giles of Colonna*, a Roman, called *Doctor Fundatissimus* († 1316), and *Hervæus Natalis*, the latter of whom eventually became General of the Dominican Order and Rector of the University of Paris († 1323).

The fame of St. Thomas, and the almost paramount influence exercised by the school of theology of which he was the founder, excited the jealousy and called forth the energy of the Franciscans. They finally produced a rival to the illustrious Dominican in *John Duns Scotus*,² born at Dunstan, in Northumbria, in 1266 (not, as is frequently stated, in 1274). Trithemius says he was one of the disciples of Alexander of Hales, but this is evidently a mistake, as the latter died in 1245. While professor at Oxford, Paris, and Cologne, he earned for himself the title of the *Subtle Doctor* (*Doctor Subtilis*). He died in 1308, while still in the prime of life and the full vigour of his mental powers.

There was some justification in the Franciscans setting him up as an opponent to Thomas Aquinas; for, though inferior to the latter in speculative genius, he is his equal in dialectical skill and his superior in acuteness. From his method of stating the most important arguments for and against a proposition, and leaving his hearers to draw their own conclusions, his opponents styled him "*Quodlibetarius*." Besides giving a fresh impulse to Realism, he anticipated the inductive method of Bacon and Newton, and thus forms a connecting link between the ancient and modern schools of philosophy. His very refinement and subtlety of reasoning and the obscurity of his language make an intelligent perusal of his works a tiresome and difficult task.

From Scotus dates the commencement of the rivalry between the

¹ *De regimine principum*, Libb. IV. (opusculum XX.), in the ed. altera Veneta, T. XIX. Cf. *Stöckl*, Vol. II., pp. 721-733; *Contzen*, Thomas of Aquin as a writer on Political Economy, Lps., 1861, and revised art. in "*Christlich-Soziale Blätter*," Lps., 1870, no. 10. *Thames*, *Divi Thomæ Aquinatis opera et præcepta quid valeant ad res ecclesiastico-politicas, sociales*, Berolini, 1875, Pars. I. Of the same nature as "*De Reg. Princ.*" is the work of *Peraldus* († 1260), entitled "*The Duties of the Nobility*," in seven books (especially Book VII.) translated from the Latin into German, and prefaced by Bishop *Ketteler* of Mentz, *ibid.*, 1868.

² Opp. ed. *Wadding*, Lugd., 1639 sq. (12 T. f.); *Commentaries on Aristotle* (T. 1-4); *Quæstiones in libb. IV. sentent.* (T. 5-10); *Reportata Parisiensia* (T. 12); *Quæst. quodlibet.* (T. 12). *Döllinger*, in the *Freiburg Cyclop.*, Vol. IX., pp. 878-881; Fr. tr., Vol. XXI., pp. 401-406. *Stöckl*, Vol. II., pp. 778-868. *Ueberweg*, pp. 202-207.

Thomists and the Scotists, which gradually assumed so much the spirit of a partisan warfare that one could not belong to either of the two Orders without, by this very fact, professing either Thomism or Scotism. One of the most distinguished representatives of the latter school was *Francis de Mayronis*. He died at Piacenza, in 1325. The philosophical controversy between the two schools¹ turned, as might have been anticipated, on *universals*. The results of the long and acrimonious contest were important and momentous. As the formula of *Realism* had been "*Universalia ante res*," that of *Nominalism* "*Universalia post res*," and that of the compromise "*Universalia in rebus*," it now included something of each, and ran, "*Universalia ante, in, et post res*"—*ante res*, inasmuch as universals are in the divine mind; *in rebus*, inasmuch as they have a real existence in the concrete; and *post res*, inasmuch as the intellect, by abstraction from individual objects, obtains a true conception of them.

In the matter of sin and *grace*, Thomas and the Dominicans closely adhered to the theory of St. Augustine, excepting in so far as they smoothed down the harsher and more repulsive features of his doctrine and ascribed to man a power of meriting which the Great Doctor would never have conceded. Scotus and the Franciscans, on the other hand, took a milder view, affirming that, even after the Fall, man retained sufficient strength to achieve his first "*meritum de congruo*." They held, moreover, that original sin was inseparably connected with the finite, and that grace is the naturally ordained means to the development of the spiritual life. The gift of grace, they said, was dependent on predestination, and this, again, on pre-science.

Again, while St. Thomas held that the death of Christ is not only a sufficient, but also an infinite satisfaction (*satisfactio non solum sufficiens sed superabundans*), by reason of the infinite worth of the life offered up (*vita Dei et hominis*), Scotus taught that as the sufferings of Christ were the sufferings of His human nature, they had consequently only a finite merit; that God *accepted* them as the price of the sins of mankind, though in value they were in no way adequate to the purchase, and that their worth was given to them only by the gratuitous acceptance (*acceptatio gratuita*) of them by the Father. Such was the *acceptation* theory of Scotus, according to which Christ died only for the sake of truth and justice, and to carry out the divine plan of mercy.

As regards the *Real Presence*, Scotus held that Christ's glorified body was locally translated or introduced (*per adductionem* or *introductionem*) into the substanceless accidents; while Thomas, on the other hand, taught that in the Real Presence the very substance of the bread and wine was changed into the Body and Blood of Christ

¹ *Arada*, Controv. theol. inter Thom. et Scot., Col., 1620, 4to. *Fr. a St. Augustino Maccedo*, Collationes doctrinæ St. Thom. et Scoti cum differentiis inter utrumque, Patav., 1671. *Bulæi*, Hist. Univers. Paris, T. IV., p. 298 sq.

(transubstantiatio).¹ Finally, the Dominicans denied and the Franciscans warmly defended the *Immaculate Conception* of the Blessed Virgin Mary, while the members of each Order believed that their respective teaching was better calculated than that of their opponents to promote the honour of the Mother of God.²

This rivalry, though not unfrequently carried on with acrimonious bitterness, stimulated a desire for study, caused investigations to be made on various questions of theology, tended to make controversialists tolerant of each other's opinions, and in this way was turned to the profit of the Church.

Another of the great men of the thirteenth century was *Roger Bacon*, a Franciscan, who, born at Ilchester, in Somersetshire, in 1214, studied at Oxford under the patronage of Robert Greathead, Bishop of Lincoln, and became afterwards professor at the same university, where his unusual attainments obtained for him the title "*The Wonderful Doctor*" (*Doctor Mirabilis*), and where he died, June 11, 1294. Like *Albertus Magnus*, he was conversant with every branch of human knowledge, but was especially distinguished by his great facility of conception and his extraordinary proficiency in the *natural sciences*.

¹ In the German text, *Alzog* has ascribed to Scotus the teaching of Thomas and vice versa on the Real Presence. This is evident from what Thomas says in the *Summa* (Part Third, q. lxxv., art. 2, in Corp.): "Non potest aliquid esse alicubi, ubi prius non erat, nisi per loci mutationem, vel per alterius conversionem in idipsum. Manifestum est autem quod Corpus Christi non incipit esse in hoc sacramento per motum localem; primo quidem, quia sequeretur quod desineret esse in cælo: non enim quod localiter movetur, pervenit de novo ad aliquem locum nisi deserat priorem; secundo, quia omne corpus localiter motum pertransit omnia media, quod hic dici non potest: tertio, quia impossibile est quod unus motus ejusdem corporis localiter moti terminetur simul ad diversa loca, cum tamen in pluribus locis Corpus Christi, sub hoc sacramento simul esse incipiat. Et ideo relinquatur quod non possit aliter Corpus Christi incipere esse de novo in hoc sacramento nisi per conversionem substantiæ panis in ipsum." (Tr.)

² The points controverted between the *Thomists* and the *Scotists* are stated by *Avancini*, S. J., in his beautiful *Dialogus Thomistæ et Scotistæ*, Ode XVII., De Immac. Conc. B. M. V., from which the following two stanzas are taken:—

SCOTIST.

Hic te non colit, o sidere pulchrior
Unquam virgo satis, qui tibi defluam
Adæ in posteritatem
Appingit maculam patris.

THOMIST.

Hic te virgo minus diligit, a tui
Qui nati pretio sanguinis exiit;
Non vult esse redemptam,
Qui peccasse negaverit.

REMARK.—It is very generally asserted that St. Thomas opposed the *Immaculate Conception*. This opinion is based on what he says in the *Summa* (Part Third, q. xxvii., art. 2): "Ante infusionem animæ rationalis beata Virgo sanctificata non fuit." That St. Thomas positively taught the doctrine of the *Immaculate Conception* may be proved from many passages of his writings. For example, he says (Ep. ad Gal., c. 3, lect. 6): "*Mulierem autem ex omnibus non inveni quæ peccato omnino immunis esset, ad minus originali vel veniali. Excipitur purissima et omni laude dignissima Virgo Maria.*" Again (Lib. I. Sent. dist. 44, q. i., art. 3, ad 3): "*Talis fuit puritas Beatæ Virginis, quæ a peccato originali et actuali immunis fuit.*" And the Dominican *Bromiard* (in *Summa Prædicantium*, v. *Maria*, art. 2, nro. 10), scrupled not to assert concerning S. Thom., 3 pt., q. 27, art. 2, ponit ejus (Mariæ) sanctificationis excellentiam, quantum ad temporis prioritatem in hoc, quod sanctificata fuit in sui animatione, i. e., in conjunctione animæ cum corpore in utero matris suæ; quod significat, says *Card. Gaudé*, Mariam fuisse immaculatam in suo conceptu passivo, i. e., animam ejus, gratia sanctificante præventam, fuisse a peccato originali immunem. (Tr.)

In his "*Opus Majus*," dedicated to Pope Clement IV., he endeavoured to give a new direction to Scholasticism, and to widen the scope of natural philosophy.¹ Like his countryman, *John of Salisbury*, he complained that Scholasticism was too narrow, one-sided, and conservative. An independent thinker, he protested against an unreflecting surrender of one's judgment to the authority of the Fathers and to the prescriptions of custom; advocated a more sparing use of syllogistic forms and a more frequent recourse to experiments and the inductive method; and, while making little account of the investigations of Greek antiquity, recommended solid and critical linguistic studies. He was also in favour of having history, and especially Church history,² more generally studied, and on this point was of one mind with *Vincent of Beauvais*, the great compiler and cyclopædist of his age.

Raymundus Lullus, born on the island of Majorca, 1236, living in the world until the age of thirty, and leading, as a young man, a life of questionable morality, but finally converted, and devoting himself chiefly to the conversion of the Saracens, in the pursuit of which he made some voyages to Africa, during one of which he was set upon and tortured by the Mohammedans of the town of Bugia, June 30, 1315, like so many more men of those times, was desirous of giving a new direction to scientific studies. His "*Ars universalis scientiarum*," a kind of mathematico-logical work, which, he promised, would be productive of greater results than Scholasticism, and be more rigorous in method, was, on the contrary, still more complicated and abstruse, and not a little perilous to the faith of the Church. It was precisely these characteristics that recommended it to many,³ who, like *Lullus* himself,⁴ were active, restless, and constantly in search of some novelty. But preposterous works like the "*Ars universalis*" exercised little influence in hastening the decline of mediæval theology, when compared with the shock it received from

¹ *Opus maj.* (1266) ed. Sam. Jebb., Lond., 1733; Ven., 1750 f. As something heretofore unpublished, *Dr. J. S. Brewer* added *Opus tertium* in *compendium philosophiæ*, Lond., 1863, in 3 T. Compare the Collection of remarkable biographies, Halle, 1757, Pt. IV., pp. 616-709. *Alex. v. Humboldt*, *Cosmos*, Vol. II., p. 284. *Stöckl*, Vol. II., pp. 915-924.

² "Historias ecclesiasticas (quo lacte pascebatur antiquorum simplicitas) viluisse et in neglectum venisse, cum tamen non solum utique voluptatis ac recreationis spiritum, verum etiam ædificationis plurimum in se contineant." *Vincent. Bellovacens.*, *Speculum majus* s. *imago mundi* (Spec. naturale, doctrinale, historiale; Spec. morale attributed to the same), ed. prim., Argentor., 1473 sq.; ed. opt., Duac., 1624, 4 T. fol. Cf. *Vogel*, *Literary and Historical Notice of Vincent of Beauvais*, *Freiburg*, *Journal of Theology*, Vol. X., and *Schlosser*, *Vincent of Beauvais on the Education of Princes*, Frankfort, 1819, 2 vols. *Boutaric*, *Vincent de Beauvais et la Science de l'Antiquité Classique au XIII^e Siècle* (*Revue des questions historiques*, T. VIII., livr. 1, Janv., 1875).

³ The works of *Raymundus Lullus* appeared, in part, at Mentz, 1721-1742, in 10 vols. fol.; yet there are wanting, between them, volumes 7 and 8, which are found nowhere, and which (for the want of approbation) were probably never printed. Cf. the *Freiburg Cyclop.*, Vol. VI., p. 638 sq.; Fr. tr., Vol. 13, p. 510-513; and *Helfferrich*, *Raymundus Lullus and the Beginning of Catalonian Literature*, Berlin, 1858. *Stöckl*, Vol. II., p. 924-952.

⁴ See below, § 264.

the separation of the philosophical from the theological faculty of Paris in 1270.

§ 258. *The other Sciences—Religious Poets—National Literature.*

Besides the treatises on morals by *Abelard* and *St. Thomas*, already mentioned, the works of *William Peraldus*,¹ *Raymond of Pennafort*,² and the "*Speculum morale*," attributed to *Vincent of Beauvais*, should be noticed. Raymond systematised the old penance-books, and may be said to have been the founder of *Casuistry*, or the method of applying general laws and rules of duty and conduct to particular cases. The practical activity of the mystics was perhaps more efficacious for good in the domain of morals than in science, inasmuch as their own lives were an illustration of the principles of a pure and severe morality.

As regards learned and scientific interpretations of *Holy Scripture*, apart from being based only on the translation of the Vulgate text, they occupied, relatively, too small a space in the studies of these times. The "*Glossa ordinaria*" of *Walafried Strabo*, which obtained a wide circulation, was supplemented by a similar work from the pen of *Anselm of Laon* († 1117)³. A fresh impulse was given to biblical studies by the publication of the *Didascalion* of *Hugh of St. Victor*, in the first part of which he gives a sort of methodology of the philosophical sciences, and, in the second, an historical introduction to the Holy Scriptures and an abridgment of hermeneutics, containing rules for the direction of those commenting on the Sacred Text, which he himself follows. *Stephen*, Abbot of Cîteaux, corrected the Vulgate according to the best manuscripts, and by comparison with the Hebrew text. *Hugh à Sancto Caro*,⁴ a Dominican, who was created cardinal in 1244, and died in 1260, also emended the *Vulgate*, divided all the books into chapters, arranged the first *Concordance* according to this division, and wrote commentaries on the text. "*The Expositio continua in quatuor Evangelia*" of *St. Thomas*, which, by excellence styled "*Catena aurea*," soon superseded all other commentaries,⁵ made him a great authority as an interpreter of Holy Writ. Of these works a Protestant theologian of our own day has expressed the following opinion:⁶

¹ *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis*, last ed., Paris, 1629, 4to.

² *Summa de penitentia et matrimonio*, generally "*Summa Raymundiana*;" often published c. *glossis Joannis de Friburgo*, Rom., 1603 fol.

³ *Glossa interlinearis cum glossa ordinaria*, ed. Basil., 1502 fol.; and oftener, *Enarrationes, in cantica canticorum, in Matthæum et in Apocalypsin*, in *Migne*, Ser. Lat., T. 162.

⁴ Cf. *Quetif* and *Echard*, *Scriptt. ord. Prædicat.*, T. I., p. 194 sq. *Hugo*, *Postill. in univ. Bibl. juxta quadrupl. sensum* ed. Basil. 1498; Paris, 1548, 7 V. f.; his *Concordantiæ sacrorum bibliorum* ed., Basil. 1543 and 1551 f.

⁵ Explanation of *Job*, of first fifty psalms, of the *Canticum of Canticles*, the *Catena aurea* of the four Gospels (Germ. trans. by *Oischinger*, Ratisbon, 1846 sq., 7 vols. *Commentar. in omnes D. Pauli Ap. epistolas*, ed. nova, Leodii, 1857-58, 3 T.

⁶ *Baumgarten-Crusius*, *Manual of the Hist. of Dogmas*, p. 262. Cf. *Tholuck*, *Disputatio de Thoma Aquinate atque Abelardo interpretibus N. T.*, Hall., 1842. *Uster*, *De mediæ ævi theologia exegetica*, Götting., 1855. *St. Thomas as interpreter of the Bible* ("*Catholic*") of 1862, Vol. I., p. 342-358.

"We have a marvellous proof in his (St. Thomas's) writings, so famous during the Middle Ages, how the sense and idea of Holy Writ may become clear to studious and penetrating minds, even without the aids and appliances we now possess." *Roger Bacon* earnestly recommended to his contemporaries the study of the Holy Scriptures in their original language, a branch in which the *Spanish Jews* had already made considerable progress. Among the most distinguished of these latter was *Salomon Jarchi* († 1170), *Aben Esra* of Toledo († 1167), *David Kimchi* of Narbonne († c. 1230), and *Moses ben Maimon* († 1205), and their eminence as biblical scholars is chiefly to be ascribed to their Arabic culture.¹

The Mystics also applied themselves with great ardour to the study of Holy Writ, which, according to the taste of the age, they interpreted in a *fourfold sense*, viz., *literalis, moralis seu tropologicus, allegoricus, and anagogicus*.² Among the most remarkable of them is *Rupert of Deutz* († 1125), who, in forcible language, and burning with a holy zeal in the advocacy of his cause, points out to the clergy their model, as portrayed in the Sacred Text, and warns them that the same text contains their condemnation, should they fail in their duty. His admirable treatise, entitled "*De victoria Dei libb. XIII.*," is at once the crown of his exegetical labours and the transition to his *apologetical* works, as, for example, "*Dialogus inter Christianum et Judæum*" and "*De glorificatione Trinitatis*."³ Other writers, as *Peter the Chanter* († 1197), in his "*Verbum abbreviatum*," advocated, but in vain, a more simple and literal interpretation.

The *Sacred hymns* of *St. Bernard*, *St. Bonaventure*, and *St. Thomas*, and of *Celano*, *Jacopona*, and other writers of this age, are in many respects superior to any similar compositions produced either before their time or since.⁴ The writers of *history* and *chronicles*, like *Vincent of Beauvais*, have been already referred to at pages 479 sq., and the compilers of *canon law* at pages 638 sq. We may here remark, with *Count de Montalembert*, that, notwithstanding the close relations existing between Rome and every country of Europe, poetry was never so vigorous, so national, so popular, and withal so *thoroughly religious*

¹ Cf. *Richard Simon*, Hist. crit. des commentaires du V. T., p. 170 sq. *Wolfii*, Biblioth. Hebr. Vol. I,

² According to the well-known distich:

"Littera gesta docet, quid credas Allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas Anagogia."

³ *Commentarior. lib. XXXII. in 12 Prophetas minor., in cantica canticorum libb. VII. in evang. St. Joannis libb. XIV., in apol. libb. XII. (Opp., Colon., 1526; Mogunt., 1631, 2 T. fol.; defective, pirated impression, Paris, 1638).* Cf. *Freiburg Eccl. Cyclop.*, Vol. IX., p. 450-455; French transl., Vol. 20, p. 501 sq.

⁴ *Mone*, Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages, Freiburg, 1853 sq., Vol. I. (to God and the Holy Angels); Vol. II. (to the B.V.M.); Vol. III. (to the Saints.) *Schlosser*, The Church in her Hymns, Mentz, 1851, 2 vols., 2 ed., Freiburg, 1863. *Simrock*, Ancient Christian Hymns, both Latin and German, Cologne, 2 ed., 1867. *Ozanam*, The Franciscan Poets of Italy in the thirteenth century; German transl., with add. by *Julius*, Münster, 1853.

and tender, as during this epoch.¹ In some countries it had developed into all the rich variety and elegance of form which are generally supposed to be the peculiar and exclusive characteristics of classic antiquity and modern enlightenment.

The *Minnesaenger* (1170-1250) of Germany could boast of having among them the Emperor Henry VI., but the most eminent of these numerous bards were incontestably *Henry of Ofterdingen* and *Walther of the Vogelweide*.² None could throw into lofty and felicitous verse better than they the popular feelings, tastes, and traditions, or combine more harmoniously the noble promptings of patriotic love with the purest inspirations of religious enthusiasm. The *Nibelungen*, the Iliad of the Germans, compiled and committed to writing about the year 1210, is the best example of German epic; while in the *Gudrun*, the German Odyssey, the mild and the tender are blended felicitously with the stern and the vigorous.

Wolfram of Eschenbach is the author of the *Percival*, an amplification of the legend of the Holy Grail and Knights of the Round Table; and of the *Titurcl*, a masterpiece of Catholic genius, and not unworthy a place beside the *Divina Commedia*. *Gottfried of Strasburg*,³ who, in his unfinished poem of *Tristan and Isolt*, sang of the pleasures of the world and sensual love, after a time turned his pen to themes more worthy of his genius, and wrote a fine hymn in praise of the Blessed Virgin, in which, when he had got on some way, he broke out in honour of the Son of God as follows: "He suffered that we might receive joy, and died that we might live. Has ever man given unto man proofs of fidelity like unto these?" *Conrad of Würzburg*, in his poems entitled "*Gold Smithery*," really poured out in golden verse the glowing creations of his fancy and the warm affections of a heart on fire with divine love. His verses in honour of the Virgin Mary are sweet and tender in sentiment, and inspire in the reader pure and holy aspirations.

The literature of the *Troubadours* of France, destitute of every Christian element, rarely rose above the praise of corporal beauty, and, if we except a composition here and there, was not free from the

¹ *Barthel*, The Classic Period of German National Literature in the Middle Ages, Brunswick, 1857, p. 291 and oftener. *Clarus*, Review of Spanish Literature during the Middle Ages, Mentz, 1847, 2 vols. *Schack*, History of Dramat. Lit. and Art in Spain, Berlin, 1845-46.

² *Görres*, The Popular Books of Germany, Heidelberg, 1807. **Simrock*, Book of Heroes, Stuttg., 1858, Vol. I. (*Nibelungen*); Vol. II. (*Gudrun*); Vol. III. (Little Book of Heroes.) By the same, *Percival and Titurcl*, being Poems of Chivalry, trans. and explained, Stuttg., 1857. *Reichl*, Studies on Wolfram's *Percival*, Vienna, 1858. **Pfeiffer*, German Classics of the Middle Ages, with interpretation of words and definitions, Lps., 1864-71, in 10 vols.: *Walther of the Vogelweide*, *Gudrun*, *Nibelungen*, *Hartmann of Aue*, *Gottfried of Strasburg*, *Wolfram of Eschenbach*. By the same, the journal "*Germania*." Cf. *Wolfgang Menzel*, German poetry from the most ancient to the most modern times, Stuttg., 1858-59, 3 vols. *Vilmar*, History of German National Literature, Marbg., 1846, in a number of editions. *Eichendorf*, Hist. of the Poet Literature of Germany, Paderborn, 1859, in several editions. †*Lindemann*, Hist. of Germ. Literature, Freiburg (1866), 2 ed. 1869.

* † *Watterich*, Gottfried of Strasburg, a Singer of the Love of God, Lps., 1858.

heretical taint of the South. The folk lore of the age of Charlemagne, such as the Round Table or Holy Grâl, furnished abundant material for popular romance.

In Spain, *Gonzalo of Berceo* composed hymns in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and St. Dominic threw into verse his thoughts on the Last Judgment. *Thibaut of Navarre* sang so excellently of the glories of the Blessed Virgin and the heroic deeds of the Crusades, that his productions elicited the praise of the great Dante. This immortal poet, born at Florence in 1265, and died about 1321, in his *Divina Commedia*, sings of Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell, and, with a consummate skill of which no one before him or since has been master, puts into strong, stately, and sweeping verse the theology and philosophy of the Middle Ages. In him the religious poetry of Italy reached its highest excellence, and his great poem led the way to other efforts, which, though less meritorious, are still the honour and boast of that land of illustrious bards.

It is worthy of remark here that even so great a genius as Dante is partly indebted for his inspiration, and for not a few of his thoughts, to the "*Book of Spiritual Graces*,"¹ written by the German nun, *St. Mechtilde of Helfeda* (*la Matelda*, † 1287). Cf. below, § 285.

CHAPTER VI.

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL LIFE—PENITENTIAL DISCIPLINE—PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY.

§ 259. *Religious and Moral Life.*

†**Montalembert*, *Histoire de Sainte Elizabeth de Hongrie* (Paris, 1836); English by *Mary Hackett*; German, *Städler*, *Aix-la-Chapelle*, 1837, especially in the preface, 3 ed., Cologne, 1853. *Ratisbonne*, *Life of St. Bernard*; above all, in the introduction; excellent pen-pictures in *Leo's Lectures on German History*, Vol. III. *Hurter*, Vol. IV., p. 510 sq.

THE œcumenical and provincial councils of this epoch enacted many prohibitory canons, from which may be learned the chief evils that then afflicted the world. These were acts of barbarity and violence;

¹ "The Book of Spiritual Graces," with "Notices from the contemplative life of the sainted virgin, Mechtilde of Helfeda," newly published by *Reischl*, *Ratisbon*, 1857; conf. *Vienna Journal of Universal Literature*, nos. 44 and 48, year 1860. The best reviewed edition by *Witte*, *Berlin*, 1862, in 4to and 8vo; *Wegele*, *The Life and Works of DANTE*, *Jena*, 1852; German transl. and explanation by *Philalethes* (King John of Saxony), *Dresden*, 1839-49, and oftener, 3 vols.; by *Witte*, *Berlin*, 1865.—The chief English translations are *Boyd's* (1785) and *Cary's* (1814), in blank verse; *Wright's* (1833), in triple rhymes; *Cayley's*, in the original ternary rhyme (from 1851-54, notes 1854); *Dr. John Carlyle's*, the *Inferno*, in prose, with a commentary (1849); *H. W. Longfellow's*, in blank verse, 1867).

armed brigandage against pilgrims and churches; a disregard of the Truce of God; the extravagant practice of engaging in tournaments and dangerous combats; the atrocious persecution carried on against the Jews; the inhuman treatment of captured enemies; and, finally, assassination, usury, and the violation of corpses then reputed holy; to which may be added *superstition* in its various forms,¹ *witchcraft*, and *magic*.

The sight of these disorders called from St. Bernard, St. Hildegarde, and other distinguished personages of this epoch, expressions of deep and poignant grief; and from pontiffs, ever vigilant in their solicitude for the Christian people, fears that the churches might be eventually destroyed or permitted to go to ruin. It is not difficult to assign the cause of these evils. There was the *controversy on investitures*, which lasted fifty years, and the *conflict between the Popes and Hohenstaufens*, which lasted twice that length of time. Add to these an *ill-regulated and inordinate desire of freedom*; the constant grasping after privilege and exemption, issuing eventually in a powerful aristocracy, so strong as to menace the throne itself; and, finally, the imperfect organisation of the machinery of civil government and the want of necessary police regulations, all contributed, each in its own way, to perpetuate a barbarous condition of things, and, in many instances, to stifle the religious sentiments of the people.

But, if the blots and stains of the Middle Ages be conspicuous, it is because the purity of the surface on which they are found make them so. Deeds of *excellence* and *goodness* abound. The Middle Ages were *religious* and *theological* in character. Every tendency and display of energy bore upon it the impress of religion, proving the correctness of the fine remark of Goethe,² that “ages of *faith* are always majestic, exercise an elevating influence upon the mind, and are fruitful of good both to contemporaries and to posterity.” The numerous *crusades* undertaken in the Middle Ages, the sacrifices they entailed, and the results of which they were productive, amply justify the statement of Goethe. *Faith ruled supreme* in the Middle Ages; the claims of the soul, religious feelings and aspirations were paramount; everything had a tendency to raise one’s thoughts from earth to heaven; and this tendency pervading every class of society made people extremely *credulous* of all sorts of *miracles*.³ This ready credulity, though giving rise to some extravagances, exercised upon the whole a beneficial influence.

¹ *Fehr*, *Superstition and the Catholic Church during the Middle Ages*, Stuttg., 1857. *Hurter*, *Innocent III.*, Vol. IV.

² *Eastern and Western Divan*.

³ Speaking of these miracles, *Hurter* (*Innocent III.*, Vol. IV., pp. 537-548) says: “The miraculous stories that abound in every writer of these times prove that the belief in miracles was general and exercised a vital influence. Some of these reputed miracles may be at once dismissed as fabulous; others have assumed a fabulous character from having been decked out with the usual embellishments of fable; but many of them drive criticism to the alternative of either acknowledging itself synonymous with negation or confessing its incompetency to judge in the premises. But, whatever be the ultimate decision, one fact cannot, in any event, be denied, viz., that these abundant miracles must have exer-

Another manifestation of the religious sentiments of these times was the *general enthusiasm* of the people for the erection of great and magnificent minsters and churches. Troops of pious confraternities, composed of persons of every age and rank and of both sexes, might be seen assembling from far and near, to build to the Lord a dwelling worthy His majesty. The splendid cathedral-church of Our Lady of Chartres was built in this way.¹

Finally, were not the numerous *monastic congregations* that then sprung up, whose founders were not unfrequently the descendants of powerful and noble houses, a living proof of the depth and sincerity of the religious life of the epoch? Its active energy pervaded all things and cropped out everywhere. Even the earth, the marvellous handiwork of God, became an object of tender solicitude and childlike love. The student of nature conceived the celestial bodies to be directed in their course by a supernatural agency, to be animated by a supernatural power, and sought to trace in them mysterious analogies and relations to the duties and convictions of man, purchased by the Blood of Christ, and to the expressions and signs of Christian belief and symbolism. The instincts of animals, the varied phenomena of the vegetable and floral kingdoms, the singing of birds, the properties of the precious metals and stones, came to be symbolical of Christian verities, and were made to express in rich and varied imagery the strongest and tenderest emotions of the human soul. All nature was believed, by the simple, the childlike, and the pure faith of those days, to be in sympathy with religion and religion's truths and instincts. People were wont to go out, of a Christmas Eve, and proclaim to the trees of the forest that the coming of Christ was at hand, and to call upon the earth to open and bud forth a Saviour (*aperiatur terra et germinet Salvatorem*). Everything that met the eye—the birds of the air, the beasts of the field, the trees of the forest—all bore upon them the impress of faith and hope. The earth and all thereon, the universe and all its wonders, were united by the bonds of science and love, and under all and through all ran the *golden thread of faith*. In those times the Christian religion, with its inherent vitality of force, its mysteries and its promises, was the well-spring and centre of all energy and action—the great heart whence went forth the warm stream of life, whose pulsations were felt to the uttermost limits of the body social, and gave manifestations of its presence even in *guilds and national festivals*.² The atmosphere of religion was everywhere; and so holy was it—so pure, so exhilarating—that it seemed the days of the Apostles had returned and Christianity was once more in her

cised a determining influence upon the lives of thousands." "Many of these miracles may be fairly declared childish and grotesque, but behind so much rubbish one may recognise the influence of a higher power, all-ruling and omnipresent, whose ubiquitous providence protects the God-fearing, inspires the faint of heart with courage, and punishes the wicked."

¹ *Wilken, Hist. of the Crusades, Vol. III., p. 45 sq.*

² Cf. *Cantù, Universal History, Vol. VI., p. 720 sq.* Description of the National Festivals of divers Countries.

first beauty and lustre, so loyal then were the hearts of men to the teachings and instincts of faith.

Were proof wanted of the presence then of this all-pervading religious spirit, we might cite, aside from countless pious warriors like Godfrey de Bouillon, whose names are clothed in a glory of unfading lustre, the royal saints Louis of France, Leopold of Austria, Ferdinand of Castile and Leon, Elizabeth of Thuringia, Hedwige of Silesia and Poland, and Eleanor of England, besides an innumerable host of other saints in every walk of life,¹ from royalty down to the humblest peasant, who were a pattern to their own age and a light to every succeeding one since. We might also refer to the "*Manual of Saints*"—that treasure of the faithful, which *Jacobus de Voragine*, Archbishop of Genoa († 1298), by incorporating into it the traditions living in the mouths of the people, transformed into the "*Golden Legends*" (*Legenda aurea*).²

Unfortunately, the frequent performance of the *mysteries* and *miracle plays*,³ which, either intentionally or otherwise, were often turned from their original and legitimate aim and made the occasion of unseemly and irreverent buffoonery; the satirical tone and undue licence assumed by the *Minnesingers*, whose audacity led them to attack the Blessed Virgin and God Himself; the ludicrous profanity of those relics of the Pagan Saturnalia called the *Feasts of Fools and Asses*, celebrated at Christmas and New Years, before the beginning of Lent, and at Easter, in which ecclesiastics participated, thus lending the encouragement of their presence to disgraceful parodies on the Holy Mysteries⁴ and the dignitaries of the Church, formed a

¹ The principal saints of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries were enumerated by *Klein. Ch. Hist.*, Vol. I., pp. 773-779. Cf. *Villeneuve-Trans, Hist. de St. Louis*, etc., Paris, 1839, 3 vols. See above, p. 430 sq.

² *Legenda aurea* s. hist. Lombardica, Argent., 1429 and oftener; translated into many languages; ad. optim. libr. fidem recensuit, emendavit, replevit, etc., *Dr. Graesse*, Lips. et Dresd., 1843; 2 ed., Lips., 1850. *Haupt*, On the Book of Martyrs, written in the Midland High-German dialect, being a report made in the Imperial and Royal Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 1872. *Rousseau*, *Violet Wreaths of Saints*, or Poetry and Art in the Catholic Church, Frankfort, 1835, 6 vols. (incomplete).

³ Favourite subjects: The historical portions of the Old and New Testament and the lives of the saints—the former for "*Mysteries*," the latter for "*Miracle-Plays*." Instances, the "*Mystery of the Wise and Foolish Virgins*, St. Catharine." (Tr.) See *Mone*, *Plays of the Middle Ages*, Carlsruhe, 1856, 2 vols. *Ed. Devrient*, *Hist. of the German Dramatic Art*, Lips., 1848, 3 vols. *Cantù*, Vol. VI., p. 729 sq. *Hase*, *The Religious Drama*, a Historical Review, Lps., 1858. *Holland*, *The German Theatre during the Middle Ages*, and the *Ammergau Passion Play*, Munich, 1861. † *Ludwig Clarus*, *The Passion Play of Oberammergau*, Munich, 1860. *Wilken*, *History of Mysteries and Miracle-Plays* (der geistlichen Spiele) in Germany, Götting., 1872.

⁴ *Du Fresne*, *Glossar. ad scriptt. med. et infim. Lat. s. v. Cerula Kalendæ. Tiliot*, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la fête des Foux*, Laus., 1751.—*Dürr*, *Commentatio historica de Episcopo puerorum*, Mogunt., 1755. From the fact that in the *Feast of Fools* an inferior cleric was chosen bishop, it was sometimes called the Subdeacon's Feast. The cleric thus chosen travestied the pontifical functions; but when incensed, instead of olibanum, an offensive and foul matter was used. The stalls of the canons were filled by others of the inferior clerics, who sang: "*Deposuit potentes et exultavit humiles*." At the close of these mock ceremonies, the choir was turned into a banquetting hall, and was the scene of unseemly antics and disgraceful performances of all sorts. The *Feast of Asses* is supposed to have been originally intended to commemorate the Flight into Egypt or the

painful contrast to the consoling examples of holy living and pure faith just noticed. Of a piece with these irreverent fooleries were the so-called feasts of *St. Gregory* or the *Holy Innocents*, celebrated by the students of cloister and cathedral-schools on December 28th, one of the chief features of which was the travesty of the dress and office of a *bishop* or *abbot* by one of the students.

If ever there was an exemplification of the saying, "there is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous," or of the rule that where vital energies abound, they will manifest themselves in crude, unbecoming, and sometimes indecent extravagances, it is surely to be found in profane farces of this sort. An attempt has been made to trace the origin of these abuses to the youthful and vicious Pope Benedict IX., but unsuccessfully, as they are mentioned, long before his time, in a letter written by Pope Zachary to St. Boniface.¹ They existed to a disgraceful extent in the churches of France and Germany at the beginning of the twelfth century, and, in spite of the inhibitions of bishops and councils, continued to hold their place until the fifteenth, when they wholly disappeared.

§. 260. *Penitential Discipline—Jubilee Indulgences.* (Cf. pp. 383 sq., 453 sq., 566 sq.)

For the bibliography, see Vol. I., § 90; and Bendel, *The Indulgences of the Church*, pp. 53-72.

During this epoch, the penitentiary rules underwent considerable modifications, for reasons which will be presently stated. In the first place, the ancient "*sends*," or synodal courts, were in abeyance, thus leaving everyone full freedom in the matter of confession. As a consequence, people grew indifferent, and ceased to frequent the Sacraments. Hence, the *Fourth Œcumenical Council of Lateran*,² passed a decree providing that all the faithful of both sexes who had come to the age of discretion should confess their sins at least *once a year*, either to their own pastor or to a priest authorized by him, and

Entry into Jerusalem, and accordingly celebrated about Christmas or Easter. An *ass* was clad in a surplice, and, when conducted into church, his entry was greeted with the singing of a ludicrous canticle, the refrain of which was, "*Hez, Sire Asnes*." (a) A remark of *J. P. Richter* (*Propædæutics of Æsthetics*) is here apposite: "It was precisely in the most religious epochs that the Feasts of Fools and Asses, the representation of the mysteries and mock sermons on Easter Sunday, were most in favour. There was no apprehension of religion suffering any detriment, being too far above anything like a travesty. The same rule holds here as in the case of the Socrates of Xenophon and Aristophanes—the former was not injured by the travesty of the latter. The very fact of a travesty proves the existence of something higher travestied; a comedy presupposes a tragedy."

¹ Cf. *Pertz*, *Monumenta*, T. II., p. 114 sq.; *Binterim*, *History of German Councils*, Vol. II., p. 173.

² *Conc. Lateran*, IV., can. 21. See above, p. 419, note 4, and the text.

(a) "*Hez, Sire Asnes, car chantez.
Belle bouche rechignez
Vous aurez du foin assez
Et de l'avoine a planter.*"

Dufresne, *Glossar. ad scriptt. med. et infim. Lat. ad verbum Festum (asinorum)*. (Tr.)

approach the Holy Table at Easter. Owing to the increasing number of sectaries and the necessity of the faithful being more pronounced in profession and practice, it was enacted, a little later on, that "everyone not wishing to be suspected of heresy shall confess *three times yearly*."

Protestants have asserted that, according to the text of *Gratian*, confession, though useful, is not indispensable, and that the *septenary* number of the Sacraments originated with *Peter Lombard*, notwithstanding that this author teaches, in harmony with the unvarying doctrine of the Church, that the three essential elements of the Sacrament of Penance are *contrition*, *confession*, and *satisfaction*. The question discussed in *Gratian's* text is simply this: Does the remission of sins follow immediately upon the penitence of the individual, thus making the priestly absolution a purely declaratory act, or does it follow the pronouncing, by the priest, of the sacramental form of absolution?¹

Again, the necessity of confession is also shown from the fact that both *Peter Lombard* and *St. Thomas Aquinas*, to the question—"Should one, in case of sudden approach of death, confess to a layman in the absence of a priest?"—replied in the affirmative. *Innocent III.* expresses himself as follows: "*Confession* should lead to penitence and satisfaction. The very shame men feel in avowing their sins is not the least part of satisfaction." As regards the Sacraments, their *septenary* number has been placed beyond any possible question by the testimony of Christian antiquity, and as the subject is treated with fulness and detail by Catholic theologians, it is not necessary to say more on it here.

In this, as in the preceding epoch, *public* crimes were atoned by public penances. *Henry II.* of England, *Philip Aug.* of France, and *Count Raymond* of Toulouse are examples of the practice. The too frequent recourse, by many bishops, to *interdict* and *excommunication* for trifling causes destroyed the salutary influence of either. Thus the people of *St. Omer* were cut off from the Church because they had disputed with the monastery of *St. Bertin* the proprietorship of a few brooks and swamps; and, on another occasion, the whole of *Normandy* was laid under interdict by the Archbishop of *Rouen* (1196) because the king had fortified, for his own advantage and without leave, the castle of *Roche-Andelys*, belonging to that prelate.

The ancient penitentiary discipline in regard to secret sins was steadily passing into desuetude. Provided the penitent gave tokens of sincere sorrow, he was absolved before the performance of the penance enjoined. Priests were again and again urged to exercise all possible discretion in selecting penances, and, as a decided lack of earnestness and generosity in this matter was becoming daily visible,²

¹ *Gratiani*, Decret. P. II., tractat. de pœnitent., quæst. 3, distinct. 1. Cf. especially c. 34-37.—*Lombardi*, Sentent., lib. IV., distinct. 17, art. 1, 2.

² *St. Bernard* says: "Ut presbyter, cui fideles peccata confitentur, talis sit, ut sciat, quid injungat, cui parcat, quando parcere debeat, quam consolationem proferat de scripturis, etc." Sermo 3. de S. Andrea.

they were permitted to commute the long penitential practices of antiquity into prayers, fastings, and almsdeeds, but were at the same time instructed not to omit bringing before the minds of the faithful the punishments formerly inflicted for grievous sins, that thus their enormity might be apparent and the culprits themselves roused to a proper consciousness of their guilt and excited to sorrow for their transgressions.¹ Still another cause tending to relax the ancient penitentiary rule was the practice of granting *plenary indulgences* (*indulgentiæ plenariæ*), or a full remission of the ancient canonical *venances*, in consideration of the performance of some other religious action in their stead. Plenary indulgences were first granted to the Crusaders; next, to those who took arms against *sedition heretics* and *pagans* in Northern Europe; and, finally, to places of pilgrimage,² and to those who, in making the *Jubilee*,³ complied with the prescribed conditions.

The Jubilee of the Jews, or rather a custom analogous to it, was perpetuated under the Christian dispensation, and during the closing year of every century an extraordinary throng of pilgrims might be seen in Rome. Moved by the recital of an old man, aged one hundred and seven years, who said he had remembered that, just a century previous, he had witnessed similar throngs of people coming to the Holy City, Boniface VIII., in 1300, granted a plenary indulgence to all pilgrims who from penitential motives should visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. Strangers were required to make these visits on fifteen and the Romans on thirty different days in the course of the year.⁴ On this occasion, two hundred thousand pilgrims gathered about the Holy Father. The interval between one jubilee and another was reduced by Clement VI. (1343) to fifty years, by Urban VI. (1389) to thirty-three, and by Paul II. (1470) to twenty-five. The venal spirit of the Romans could not resist the temptation of reaping from these pious gatherings a harvest of sordid gain.

It is highly important to know the opinions of the great theologians of this epoch on indulgences. *Alexander of Hales* is the author of the doctrine that they are drawn from the superabundant merits of Christ and His saints.⁵ *Albertus Magnus* gives three

¹ Cf. Claud. *Fleurii*, Diss. in h. e., diss. VI., §§ 2 and 11.

² Innocent III. saw himself constrained to restrict the conditions for granting indulgences. Conc. Lateran IV., can. 62: Per indiscretas et superfluas indulgentias, quas quidam ecclesiarum prælati facere non verentur, et claves ecclesiæ contemnuntur, et penitentialis satisfactio enervatur. (*Mansi*, T. XXII., p. 1049; *Harduin*, T. VII., p. 65.)

³ The appellation, שנת היובל, *shanath hajjobel*, annus jubilæi and its object are stated in Levit. xxv. 10-13.

⁴ See the bull in *Raynald*, Ad. a. 1300, nr. 4, and in Extravag. commun., lib. V., tit. IX., de penit., c. 1. Cf. the Holy Jubilee and other indulgences, explained by the author of "Catholic Homilies," Augsburg, 1824. *Hirscher*, Catholic doctrine on Indulgences and their application, 6 ed., Tübingen, 1854. † *Bendel*, Ecclesiastical Indulgences from a historical, dogmatical, and practical point of view, Rottweil, 1847. † *Gröne*, Indulgences, their history, etc., Ratisbon, 1863.

⁵ *Alex. Hales*, Sum., P. IV., quæst. 52, membr. 3: Indulgentiæ et relaxationes fiunt de meritis supererogationis membrorum Christi et maxime de supererogationibus meritum

opinions on the subject.¹ Alexander of Hales also teaches that, by the power of the Keys, indulgences may be applied by the Church (*per modum suffragii*) to the dead as well as the living²—a doctrine which *St. Thomas Aquinas* establishes by still stronger arguments.³

As some sought to obtain indulgences to escape the severity of penitential discipline, others, following the example of Peter Damian,⁴ now took an opposite course, and scourged themselves severely. *St. Louis of France*, on one occasion, gave his courtiers, as New Year's gifts, small silver chain-disciplines with which to flagellate themselves. The fever for pilgrimages and self-flagellation at one time became so general that almost the whole of the inhabitants of *Perugia* (1261)⁵ were seized with it; and at *Strasburg*, when the approach of a pestilence threatened to desolate the city, twelve hundred of the inhabitants went through the streets scourging themselves to avert the calamity.⁶

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY.

As the nations lately converted to Christianity took but little interest in the great questions that agitated the Church during these times, they necessarily occupy only a subordinate place in contemporaneous history. As missionaries, when about to set out on their

Christi, quæ sunt spiritualis thesauris Ecclesiæ. Hunc autem thesaurum non est omnium dispensare, sed tantum eorum, qui præcipue vicem Christi gerunt, i. e., episcoporum.

¹ *Albert. Mag.* in *Sent.*, lib. IV., dist. 20, art. 16, 17: Indulgentiæ sive relaxatio est remissio pœnæ injectæ ex vi clavium et thesauro supererogationis perfectorum procedens. Artic. 17. Dicendum, quod tres opiniones antiquitus fuerant circa indulgentias. Quidam enim dixerunt, indulgentias omnino nihil valere, et esse eas piam fraudem, etc. Sed isti ad ludum puerorum distrahant facta Ecclesiæ, et hoc fere sapere hæresin puto. Ideo alii, plus quam oportuit contradicentes, dixerunt, quod simpliciter sicut pronuntiantur indulgentiæ, ita valeant sine omni alia conditione intellecta vel dicta. Sed quia isti nimis bonum forum dant de misericordia Dei, ideo tertiæ opinioni mihi assentiendum videtur, scil. quod indulgentiæ valent, sicut eas valere prædicat Ecclesiæ.

² *Alex. Hales*, P. IV., quæst. 23, art. 2, membr. 5: Potest ergo dici, quod illis, qui sunt in purgatorio, possunt fieri relaxationes secundum conditiones prædictas (sc. potestas clavium ex parte conferentis; ex parte ejus, cui confertur, caritas, credulitas, devotio (*per modum suffragii*) sive impetrationis, non per modum judicariæ absolutionis sive commutationis.

³ *Thom. Aquin.*, Sum. in suppl., P. III., quæst. 25—i. e., Commentar. in *Sent.*, lib. IV., dist. 20, quæst. 1, art. 3, and particularly quæst. 71, art. 10, from Comment. in *Sent.*, lib. IV., dist. 45, quæst. 2, art. 3: "Utrum indulgentiæ ecclesiæ prosint mortuis?" Here it is said, among the rest: "Si autem indulgentia sub hac forma fiat: 'Quicumque fecerit hoc vel illud, ipse et pater ejus, vel quicumque alius ei adjunctus, in purgatorio detentus, tantum de indulgentia habebit': talis indulgentia non solum vivo, sed etiam mortuo proderit. Non enim est aliqua ratio, qua Ecclesiæ transferre possit communia merita, quibus indulgentiæ inintuntur, in vivos, et non in mortuos."

⁴ See above, p. 295.

⁵ Thus it is said in the *Chron. Austral.* ad a. 1261: "Hoc anno orta est publica pœnitentia per multas provincias, quæ pro magno miraculo habebatur. Multi homines pauperes et divites, ministeriales, milites, rustici, senes, et juvenes, ibant nudi a cingulo et supra, et caput totum texerant cum lineo panno, portantes secum vexilla et ardentes candelas et flagella in manibus, quibus se quidam percutiebant usque ad effusionem sanguinis et cantabant devotos cantus," etc. (*Freheri Scriptt.*, ed. *Struve*, T. I., p. 461.)

⁶ Cf. *Closener's Chronicle of Strasburg* (*Chronicles of German Cities*, published by *Hegel* and others, Vol. VIII., pp. 104-120).

labours, had, from the earliest ages of the Church, made application to Rome for a sanction of their work, so now the Eternal City was more than ever regarded as the centre of all missionary enterprise and of institutions designed for the propagation of the faith. *Honorius III.* urgently requested the bishops of every country to send reliable and earnest candidates to Rome, where they would receive such training and instruction as would fit them for the foreign missions. The Popes also seconded the work of spreading and establishing the faith of Christ by sending, when the time arrived, legates or bishops clothed with plenary powers, into the newly-converted countries.

§ 261. Conversion of Pomerania and the Island of Rügen

Anonymi Vita Ottonis Pommeran. Apost. libb. III. (*Canisii*, Lectt. antiq., T. III., P. II., pp. 35-96.) *Andree*, Abbatis Babebergens. Vita Ottonis (Ludovici script. rerum Bamberg., T. I.) *Ebonis*, Vita Otton. Episc. (*Jaffé*, Monum. Bamberg., T. V. bibl. rer. Germ., 1869, also published separately.) *Zagler*, Otho I., Bishop of Bamberg, Munich, 1862. *Sulzbeck*, The Life of St. Otho, Ratisbon, 1866. *Helmodi*, Chronica Slavorum, ed. Bangert, Lübeck, 1659, 4to, in *Pertz's Monum.*, T. XXI.; Germ. by *Dr. Laurent*, in Vol. VII. of the *Historians of German Antiquity*, Berlin, 1852. *Kannegiesser*, Hist. of the Conversion of the Pomeranians, Greifswalde, 1824. *Steinbrück*, The Cloisters of Pomerania, Stettin, 1796, 4to. *Barthold*, Hist. of Pomerania and Rügen, Hamburg, 1839, Vol. I. *Neander*, Ch. Hist., Vol. V., pp. 1-40. *Torrey's* Engl. transl., Vol. IV., pp. 1-32. * *Giesebrecht*, Hist. of the Times of German Emperors, Vol. III., pp. 954-973.

The first efforts of the Poles to introduce Christianity into Pomerania were frustrated by the continuous insurrections by which they were accompanied. The bishopric of *Colberg* ceased to exist, and *Reinbert*, its first bishop, was murdered (1015) while on a journey to Russia. It was not until after the subjugation of *Wladislaus*, Duke of Pomerania, by *Boleslaus III.*, Duke of Poland, that the Pomeranians consented to embrace Christianity.

Bernard, a Spanish priest and hermit, after having been consecrated Bishop of Pomerania by the Pope, in 1122, attempted to convert the inhabitants, but the poverty of his dress excited their ridicule. How, they asked, could the Lord of the world have commissioned a poor beggar to be His representative? Forced to abandon the country, he withdrew to Bamberg and entered a cloister.

After his victories, *Boleslaus III.* invited *Otho*, Bishop of Bamberg, to make a fresh effort to convert the Pomeranians. Appointed papal legate by *Calixtus II.*, and profiting by the experience of *Bernard*, Otho provided himself with a numerous and splendid retinue, and entered Western Pomerania in 1124. He was kindly received by *Wladislaus*, already a Christian, and having, during a previous sojourn in Poland, become acquainted with the Slavic customs, conducted himself with so much prudence and tact that he readily conciliated the good-will of the people, converted many, and on one occasion, at *Pyritz*, baptised seven thousand.¹ He was also very

¹ A monument erected there, by William III. of Prussia, in honour of the Apostle of the Pomeranians, commemorates the event.

successful at the city of *Camin*, where many of the inhabitants had been prepared for baptism by the Christian duchess; but at the commercial cities of *Wollin* and *Stettin*, he encountered the most obstinate resistance. The inhabitants of the latter cried out to Otho and his companions: "What have we in common with you? We will not give up the laws of our country; and, as for our religion, we are content with it. Does not every sort of vice exist among the Christians? Do they not abuse each other? Away with this worship; we will have none of it." Still, Otho persevered, and his unvarying gentleness, together with the promise of the Polish duke, that they should enjoy perpetual peace and a reduction of tribute, induced them to embrace Christianity. The inhabitants of *Wollin* soon followed their example. In a very short time there were above twenty thousand neophytes in eight of the principal cities of Pomerania. Encouraged by the exemplary conduct of their duke, who sent away his twenty-four concubines, the inhabitants ceased committing the crime of infanticide, exposing their children, burning their dead, and other pagan customs. After the departure of Otho, who returned to his own diocese in 1125, many fell away from the faith, and others mingled pagan practices with Christian rites; but even at a distance the good Bishop did not cease to watch with fatherly care over the new Christian communities. He again visited them in 1128, and after his death, in 1139, *Wollin* was created a bishopric, and *Adalbert*, the friend and companion of Otho, appointed its first bishop. It was placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the Holy See, by *Innocent II.* in 1140, and transferred to *Camin* in 1170.

The island of *Rügen*, the home of Slavic superstition, opposed a most determined resistance to Christianity. After its subjugation by *Waldemar* in 1168, *Absalom of Roskilde*, a warlike bishop, overthrew the temples of the gods, and the Rugians, beholding the impotence of the idols in which they had placed their trust, consented to receive baptism.

§ 262. *Conversion of Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland.*¹

It is said the Livonians gained their first knowledge of Christianity from some merchants of Bremen and Lübeck (1158). *Meinhard*, an Augustinian monk of the monastery of *Siegebert*, in Holstein, made substantial progress in planting the seeds of the Gospel among them in 1186, and by the munificence of *Kaupo*, a distinguished Livonian, was enabled to build a church at *Yäküll*, on the banks of the Dwina. After having, at the head of his new converts, repelled

¹ *Henricii Letti*, about 1226, *Orig. Livoniæ sacræ et civil. s. Chron. c. notis Gruberi, Francof. et Lps., 1740 f.* *Parrot*, *Formation of languages, Hist. of the Mythology of the Livonians, Esthonians, and Lithuanians, Stuttg., 1828.* *Kruse*, *Necrolivonia, or Antiquities of Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland, before the introduction of Christianity, Dorpat. 1842.* *Kientz*, *Twenty-four books of the History of Livonia, Dorpat, 1847, Vol. I.* *Von Schölzer*, *Livonia, and the Beginnings of German Life in the Baltic North, Berlin, 1850*

an assault of their pagan countrymen, Meinhard went to Rome and was there consecrated Bishop of Yxküll. Returning, he found the natives ill-disposed to receive him. After his death, in 1196, Pope Celestine III. ordered *Berthold*, second Bishop of Yxküll, formerly abbot of the Cistercian monastery of *Loccum*, in Hanover, to lead a crusade against them. Though victorious over the Livonians, he himself perished in battle (1198). The vanquished being forced to receive baptism, plunged into the Dwina, as soon as the crusaders had withdrawn, to wash out any stain it might have made. *Albert of Apeldern*, a canon of Bremen, the successor to Berthold, headed a second crusade against the Livonians, transferred the episcopal see to *Riga*, founded in 1200 by himself, and formed, in 1202, the Order of the *Sword-bearers*.¹ *Vinno of Rohrbach*, their first Grand Master, was assassinated in 1208. An unfortunate quarrel, which broke out between the Bishop and the Order, concerning the disposition of territory either already conquered or to be conquered, was amicably settled by Innocent III. in 1210.

Bishop Albert allied himself to the Russians in a war against the *Esthonians*, and both having been joined by William II., King of Denmark, completely subjugated their enemies. A controversy which now broke out between the Danish Archbishop of Lund and the Bishop of Riga, concerning the jurisdiction of Esthonia, was decided in favour of the latter. *Dorpat*, conquered in 1223, became the episcopal see of Esthonia; and *Riga* was raised in 1253, by Pope Innocent IV., to an archbishopric, with Albert Suerbeer, formerly Archbishop of Armagh, as its first metropolitan. The small country of *Semgallen*, which had been Christian since 1218, was made a diocese. *Seelburg* was its episcopal city. The see became extinct when the country, except the small portion of it belonging to the Teutonic Order, passed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Riga.

The conversion of the *Courlanders* (1230) was greatly facilitated by the establishment of the sees of *Wirland* and *Reval* through the energetic efforts of the laborious Bishop Albert († 1229). In 1237, Gregory IX. affiliated the *Sword-bearers* to the Teutonic Order.

§ 263. Christianity in Prussia.

Scriptores rerum Prussicarum, Sources of Ancient Prussian History until the Decline of the Supremacy of the Teutonic Order, edited by *Hirsch*, *Töppen*, and *Strehlke*, Lps., 1863 sq. *Petri de Duisburg* (Priest of the Teutonic Order, † 1336), *Chron. Prussiarum*, ed. cum XIV. dissert. *Hartknoch*, Jenæ, 1679, 4to. (*Voigt*, History of Prussia, Vol. III., pp. 603-626). *Arnold*, Ch. Hist. of Prussia, Königsberg, 1769. *Voigt*, Hist. of Prussia, Königsberg, 1827, sq., Vols. I.-IV. The same, Hist. of Marienburg, same place, 1824. *Giesebrecht*, The first missionary in Prussia (Germ. Speeches, 1871).

According to the oldest traditions the three principal gods worshipped by the Prussians were *Perkunos*, the god of thunder, *Potrimpos*, the god of corn and fruit, and *Pikullos*, the god of destruction. The national sanctuary of all the gods was at *Romove*, the residence

¹ *Pott*, De gladiferis seu fratribus militiæ Christi. Erlangen, 1806.

of the chief-priest or *Griwe*. The Griwen, who were at once priests, lawgivers, and judges, opposed Christianity to the full extent of their influence and power.¹ *Adalbert* of Prague, who was the first to attempt the conversion of the Prussians, together with his companion *Gaudentius*, suffered a martyr's death, April 23, 997, at the hands of a priest, because he rashly trod upon sacred ground. Before dying, he spoke words of encouragement to his companions, saying: "Be not afflicted, we know for whom we suffer; to die for Jesus is the most glorious of deaths." *Bruno*, a Benedictine monk, who had been authorised by Pope Sylvester II. to preach the Gospel to these obstinate idolators, also suffered martyrdom, February 18, 1008. Two centuries later (1207), *Gottfried*, a *Pole*, Abbot of *Lukina*, again undertook the laborious task of propagating Christianity in Prussia, but the true apostle of this country was *Christian*, a Cistercian monk of the monastery of *Oliva* (1209-10).² He and his brethren first preached the Gospel in the territories of *Culm*, and along the frontiers of *Pomerania*. He sent a report of the results of his labours to Pope Innocent III., by whom he was consecrated Bishop of the Prussians, in 1215. No quarter of the world escaped the watchful care of this great Pope. He was specially anxious about the new converts, recommended them to the protection of the Archbishop of Gnesen, and besought the dukes of Pomerania and Poland not to make their conversion an occasion for oppressing them, lest they might excite in them an aversion to Christianity. On the return of *Christian* from Rome, after his consecration as bishop, the unconverted Prussians commenced a war of extermination against the Christians, and either burned or destroyed all churches and chapels that came in their way. In self-defence, *Christian* requested permission from Pope Honorius III. to lead a crusade against them. His request was granted, and he was further authorised to establish such bishoprics as he might deem necessary (1217). During their stay the crusaders strongly fortified the city of *Culm* (1222), the newly established bishopric, but directly they had departed, the Prussians made themselves masters of the place and laid waste the surrounding country. These events suggested to *Christian* the idea of founding the *Order of the Knights of Prussia*, for the defence of the Christians of these countries. Their costume was a white mantle on which was embroidered a sword and a star. Nearly all of them perished shortly after in the battle of Strasburg, and the Prussians, pursuing their victory, destroyed the monastery of *Oliva*. In their distress *Christian* and *Conrad*, Duke of *Masovia*, invoked the aid of the *Teutonic Knights*, who arrived in 1226, under the lead of their Grand Master, *Herman of Salza*. After the whole country had been reduced to submission and many of the cities rebuilt, Pope Innocent IV. divided it into three bishoprics, viz., *Culm*, *Pomesania*, and

¹ Voigt, History of Prussia, Vol. I., pp. 137-163, and especially pp. 574-616 (Religion and Idolatry); concerning *Romove*, pp. 641-649; on the Supreme Judge and High Priest, pp. 696-708. Bender, De veterum Prutenorum diis, Brunsbergi, 1865.

² Dr. Perlbach, The Ancient Chronicle of Oliva, Götting., 1870.

Ermeland (1243). Another was founded after the close of the crusade at *Samland*, by Ottocar, King of Bohemia.¹

Among the later missionaries in Prussia were many friars and preachers, the best known of whom is the Polish priest, Saint *Hyacinth* († 1257). It had been the intention of the Pope, that one-third of the territory conquered by the Teutonic Knights should be possessed in freehold by the bishops, but instead of this the latter were entirely dependent upon the Order, and the Bishop of Samland having dared to resist its pretensions was cast into prison and starved to death. King Ottocar had advised that the fortress of Königsberg should be erected and put in the best possible condition of defence (1255); and it was fortunate that his advice was followed, for between the years 1260 and 1275 the Prussians were constantly in insurrection against the Teutonic Knights. In 1283, after a struggle of fifty years, the Knights were completely triumphant, but as yet little or no progress had been made in the real work of conversion.

§ 264. Conversion of the Mongols by Western Missionaries.

Assemani, Bibl. Orient., T. III., P. I., II.—*Mosheim*, Hist. Tartaror. eccl. Helmst. 1741, 4to. *Abel-Remusat*, Memoires sur les relations polit. des princes chrétiens avec les empereurs Mongols (Memoires de l'Inst. de France. Acad. des inscript., 1822, T. VI., VII.)
† *Külb*, History of Missionary Travels into Mongolia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Ratisbon, 1860, 3 vols. *Oppert*, Prester John, in legendary lore and in history, Berlin, 1864. *Huc and Gabet*, Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet, et la Chine, Paris, 1852.

In the eleventh century the Nestorians of the East penetrated into the interior of Asia, made many converts, and among them a Tartar prince of Northern China, through whose influence the whole of his tribe became Christians. Both he and his successor were known in the West by the name of *Prester John* (*Presbyter Johannes*) or the Priest-kings. Exaggerated reports brought from the East by priests and monks induced Popes Eugene III. and Alexander III. to endeavour to unite the kingdom of Prester John to the Western Church.² An embassy from one of the kings came to Rome, and after the consecration of its chief, returned again to the East in 1177.

During the reign of the fourth successor to Prester John the entire tribe was destroyed, and the territory taken possession of by the terrible *Genghis-Khan* (1202). The fact that the wife of this prince was a Christian, may have mollified his hatred of her co-religionists, whom he treated leniently, if not kindly. The threatened invasion of Europe by the Mongol hordes in 1241, made the princes of the West still more anxious to convert them to Christianity, and accord-

¹ *Watterich*, Settlement of the State of the Teutonic Order. *Voigt*, Herman of Salza, Königsberg, 1850. Monumenta Hist. Warmiens., ed. *Wolky et Sage*, Mogunt., 1858.

² *Otto Frising.*, VII., c. 33 (concerning Eugene); *Baron.*, Ad ann. 1177, nro. 33 sq. (concerning Alexander). Cf. *Gieseler*, in Theol. Studies and Criticisms, 1837, nro. 2, p. 354 sq. Abbé *Darras* places Prester John in the fifteenth century. See his Ch. Hist., Vol. III., p. 597.

ingly *Innocent IV.* and *St. Louis* of France, sent Dominicans and Franciscans into Asia, to establish, if possible, relations with their princes. *Gayuk* alone, whose mother was a Nestorian, received the Dominicans kindly and manifested a disposition to favour their teaching.¹ As negotiations relative to the choice of a religion were being simultaneously conducted by these barbarous hordes with the imans of Islamism, the bonzes of paganism, and the Christian priests, it soon became evident that Christianity had but a very slight hold on their minds. But this circumstance, and the fruitless issue of the efforts made by Gregory IX., did not deter Nicholas IV. from sending the venerable Franciscan, *John of Monte Corvino* (1288-1292), to preach to the Mongols. His labours bore fruit. The rude Mongols, charmed by the stately melody of the Roman chant, and taught by the aid of pictures illustrative of the Old and New Testaments, and still more effectually by translations of portions of the Sacred Volume, embraced Christianity to the number of six thousand. *Clement V.*, when he received the news of this cheering success, sent the Franciscan seven assistants, and nominated him Archbishop of *Kambula*² (now Peking i. e., Court of the North), 1307. This prelate died in 1330, and was succeeded by *Nicholas*, also a Franciscan, by whose death or captivity, the Christians of Tartary were left for eight years without a pastor to administer to them the consolations of religion. When, thirty years later (1369), the Mongols were driven from China, the small community of Peking was suppressed; the few Nestorians already there were given leave to remain, but Christian missionaries were strictly forbidden to enter the country.

The efforts made to convert the Moslems are strikingly peculiar. *St. Francis of Assisi*, impelled by a burning zeal, crossed, during the siege of Damietta, in 1219, from the Christian to the Mohammedan army and began preaching penance; and *Raymond Lullus* undertook, at Tunis (1291 or 1292), to convert the Mohammedans by his scientific system,³ of which mention has been made on a preceding page. Raymond being an original thinker, and having a large acquaintance with the natural sciences, held that science should not be purely speculative. After confuting the arguments advanced by the Mohammedans who had come to hear him, he said: "Every wise man must acknowledge that to be the true religion which ascribes to God the greatest perfection; which gives the clearest conception of every divine attribute; and which most fully demonstrates the harmony existing among them all." One of the Saracens, more fanatical than the rest, represented to the authorities the danger to the Moslem faith from an intrepid and learned advocate like Raymond, and the latter

Raynaldus, Ad ann. 1245, nro. 16 sq. On the travels of these missionaries see *Vincent Bellovac.*, Specul. Hist., lib. XXXI., c. 33 sq. Cf. *Raynald*, Ad ann. 1254, nro.

1 sq.

² *Wadding*, *Annales Minorit.* ad ann. 1307, n. 7.

³ *Freiburg*, *Ecl. Cyclop.*, Vol. VI., p. 638 sq. Fr. tr., Vol. 13, p. 510 sq., and *Herzog's Cyclop.*, Vol. VIII., pp. 558-562.

was in consequence cast into prison, and condemned to death; but through the kind offices of one of the better disposed, his life was spared, and he himself sent out of the country with the menace that if he should ever return he would be stoned to death. After his return to Europe, finding that his efforts in Cyprus and Armenia, to convert the schismatics of the Oriental Church were fruitless, and that his new system met with little favour in the universities of Italy and France, where he gave lectures on it, he again set out for the northern coast of Africa (1306 or 1307). He visited the city of *Bugia*, where, in the presence of a vast concourse of people he proclaimed "that Christianity is the only true religion; the doctrine of Mohammed, on the contrary, false; and this he was prepared to prove to all." The crowd were about to lay violent hands upon him, when the mufti, hearing of the affair, came to his rescue and succeeded in getting him safe away. The mufti, being a skilled philosopher, challenged Raymond to produce proof of the assertion he had made, whereupon the latter answered, that the self-sufficiency, the goodness and love of God, cannot be rightly understood without the doctrine of the Trinity of Persons; for if this doctrine be denied, said he, the divine perfections must be made to depend on creation, which had a beginning in time. The goodness of God cannot be conceived as inoperative, but if the Trinity be denied, it follows that until the creation God's goodness was inactive, and consequently lacking in perfection. Self-communication is an essential element of the highest good, but deny the Trinity, and it is impossible to understand this as a perfect and eternal act.

His bold defence of his faith cost him dearly. He was cast into a narrow dungeon, and while there the most tempting offers of wealth and honour were made to him, on condition he would embrace Moslemism, but to no purpose. Finally, he was put on board a ship and sent out of the country, but the vessel going aground near Pisa, he lost all his books and whatever else he possessed in the way of baggage, and barely escaped with his life to that city. He next conceived the design either of founding a new religious military Order, or bringing about a union among those already existing for the purpose of combating the Saracens, and conquering the Holy Land; he also wished to have professorships of the Oriental languages founded, as a means of facilitating the conversion of the Jews and Saracens. He came to the Œcumenical Council of Vienne, in 1311, for the purpose of urging the matter, and though unsuccessful in the former project, induced Pope Clement V. to have an ordinance passed providing for the foundation of chairs of the Arabic, Chaldee, and Hebrew languages, in all the cities where the Papal Court resided, and in the universities of Paris, Oxford, and Salamanca.

Raymond now entered the *Third Order* of St. Francis, and expressed an ardent wish to die the death of a martyr—to lay down his life for Christ, who had died for him. In 1314, he made a third voyage to the coast of Africa. Proceeding to Tunis, he laboured

secretly for a time among a small band of Christians, but thirsting for a martyr's crown, he finally proclaimed openly that he was the same person who had been on a former occasion banished the country, and warned the Mohammedans that the judgment of God would come upon them if they did not abjure their errors. The people now fell upon him, dragged him out of the city, and by orders of the sultan, stoned him to death, June 30, 1315. Some merchants of Majorca obtained permission to procure the body of Raymond, which they conveyed back to the island where he had founded a Franciscan convent for the education of missionaries to be sent to the Mohammedans.

The Greek Church. (Continuation of §§ 207, 210.)

Hefele, Suppl. to the Hist. of the Greek Church (in Supplements to Ch. Hist., Vol. I., p. 414 sq.) *Pichler*, Hist. of the Ecclesiastical Schism between the East and the West, Vol. I., pp. 254-420.

After the Greek Church had broken with the Church of the West, she would seem to have entirely lost her former energy and warmth of life, and to have done little more than exist.

The works of *Nicholas, Bishop of Methone* († P. A. D. 1166),¹ bear some traces of originality of thought, but those of *Nicetas Choniates* († P. A. D. 1206),² are little more than compilations from earlier ecclesiastical writers, and the same may be said of the writings of *Æcumenius*, *Theophylactus*, and others. Perhaps the best known and most marked work of this character is that entitled the "*Apparatus*,"³ written by *Euthymius Zigabenus*, at the request of the Emperor *Alexius Comnenus*. It consists of a collection of the finest and strongest passages of the Fathers, arranged with a special view to the refutation of heretics and the defence of the doctrines of the Church.

Still, the vigour which commonly attends the propagation of new sects, or the revival of old ones, no matter how secretly the work may be carried on, imparted to the Greek Church a fictitious life and an apparent activity.

At the opening of the twelfth century, the emperor, *Alexius Comnenus* (1081-1118), pursued the sect of the *Bogomiles*⁴ with the

¹ *Ἀνάπτυξις τῆς θεολογικῆς στοιχειώσεως Πρόκλου Πλατωνικοῦ* ed. *Væmel*, Fref., 1825.

² *Θησαυρὸς ὀρθοδοξίας*, lib. XXVII., of which but the first five books in the translation of *Pet. Morellus*, Par., 1569 (bibl. PP. Max, T. XXV.).

³ *Πανοπλία δογματικὴ τῆς ὁδοῦ πίστεως*. Tergov., 1711 f., in *Migne*, Ser. gr. post T. 130, lat. ed. Zino, Ven., 1555 (bibl. PP. Lugd., T. XIX.). Conf. *Ullmann*, *Nicholas of Methone*, *Euthymius Zigabenus*, and *Nicetas Choniates*, or the Dogmatic Development of the Greek Church during the twelfth century. (Studies and Criticisms, year 1833, nro. 3.) *Gass*, in *Herzog's Cyclop.*, Vol. X., p. 321 sq.

⁴ *Mich. Pselli*, *περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων διάλογος* ed. *Hasenmüller*, Kil., 1688. *Annal. Comn. Alex. XV.*, p. 486 sq. Their doctrine, in *Euthymii Zigabeni*. *Panoplia*, Pt. II., Tit., 23. *Euthymii Zigabeni narratio de Bogomilis*, primum in Germ., ed. *Giesler*, P. I., 4to, Gætt., 1841 (Programme); Pars. II., Gætt., 1842. Works: *Wolf*, *Hist. Bogomilor.*, Diss. III., Vit., 1712. *Engelhardt*, *The Bogomiles* (Essay on Eccl. Hist., Erlangen, 1832, nro. 2). *Euthymius Zigabenus* gives, in the following terms, the etymology of the name: *Βὸγ μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν Βουλγάρων γλῶσσα καλεῖ τὸν θεόν μίλουι δὲ τὸ ἐλέησον*; others, again, in the sense of *θεοφιλοι*, from *bogomil* = loving God, according to which deriva

zeal of a missionary, apprehended their chief *Basil*, and condemned him to be publicly burned in the open space before the gates of the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople.¹

The Bogomiles seem to have been an offshoot of the *Paulicians*. It was ascertained, after a searching examination, that this sect held many of the doctrines of the ancient *Massalians*, or Cathari, and of the Syrian or Saturninian Gnostics. These sectaries were drawn from the lowest ranks of life, and had a wholesome contempt of all learning. They nevertheless undertook the revision of the Bible, of which they received only the Psalms, the Prophets, the Four Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse, of which they admitted only the allegorical interpretation. They also taught that matter is essentially evil and in irreconcilable antagonism to the Spirit; that, as a consequence, there is no efficacy in the sacraments, and that the baptism of water is entirely without avail; that the body of Christ was, as the Docetæ had taught, one in appearance only, and that the world had been created by a Demiurge.

By command of the emperor, *Euthymius Zigabenus* composed a full account and refutation of the Bogomilian errors. The formula of abjuration which these heretics recited upon entering their sect is certainly a characteristic document.

The *Arsenians* is the name of the party, more political than religious, which derives its origin from Arsenius, Patriarch of Constantinople, by whose deposition (1265) it was occasioned. On the death of the emperor, Theodore Lascaris, in 1258, Arsenius and Michael Palæologus became the guardians of his son, John Lascaris, then but eight years of age. Palæologus, regardless of his duty and obligations, usurped the crown, threw his ward into prison, and put out his eyes (1261). The Patriarch on hearing of these atrocities excommunicated Palæologus, and the latter in turn had the Patriarch deposed and sent into exile, where he died in 1273. The partisans of Arsenius still held out against the Emperor and the new Patriarch, and, at the death of the former (1282), were as far from a reconciliation as ever. An accommodation was finally brought about under his son, Andronicus II., when the body of Arsenius was brought back in triumph to Constantinople, and solemnly entombed in the Church of St. Sophia.² The members of still another sect of the Greek Church were called *Hesychasts* (*Ἡσυχασταὶ*), or *Quietists*, or the *Still*, and

tion there would result an affinity with the later "*Friends of God*" in the West. Their name is derived from the Slavic word "*Bog*," signifying God, and "*Mil*," His mercy. They were called by the orthodox Greeks, "*Phundaites*," or "*wearers of the girdle*." Joh. Christ. Wolf, *Historia Bogomilorum*, Dissertatio III., Wittenberg, 1712.

¹ The Emperor, having invited Basil to a feast, disguised himself, and, under pretence of wishing to become a disciple of the new teachers, succeeded in drawing from the latter a full confession of his doctrines. At the close of the feast, Basil was taken in charge by the imperial guards and conveyed to Constantinople.

² *Arsenii*, Testamentum, in *Ecclesiæ Græcæ munimenta*, ed. *Cotelerius*, Paris, 1681, T. II.; Synopsis canonum, in *Justelli*, *Bibl. can.*, p. 749 sq. Cf. *Georg. Pachymeres*, *Historia rerum a Michæle Palæologo gestar.*, in *Migne*, Ser. gr., T. 143; de reportatione reliquiarum patriarchæ Arsenii, in *Migne*, T. 144. *Fabricii*, *Bibl. gr.*, T. XI., p. 581.

seem to have first originated about the middle of the fourteenth century among the monks of the monasteries around Mount Athos.¹

The Abbot *Symeon* was the most prominent teacher of this sort of mysticism. If man, said he, will acquire a knowledge of things divine, he must withdraw from the world, and go into solitude; and there, with his head inclined upon his breast, and his eyes fixed on the umbilicus, *the seat of the faculties of the soul*, give himself to profound meditation. For a time all will be darkness in that quarter, but presently a light will break forth, and shine with brilliant effulgence. Many of these fanatics, while engaged in this chimerical search for light, lost their reason. It has been justly observed that this practice was but a feeble imitation of Buddhism.

In the year 1337 *Barlaam*, the learned Abbot of the Basilian monastery of St. Saviour's, at Constantinople, entered into controversy with the Hesychasts, and from him they received the contemptuous name of *ὀμφαλοφύχοι*, or Umbilicians. Barlaam brought accusation against them before the Patriarch of Constantinople, and, among other things, charged them with holding that many other persons besides themselves, and, notably, St. Anthony, had been illumined by this light, which became visible at the moment of ecstasy; and that the light visible to the eyes of the body at this moment was the same with which Christ had been clothed during His Transfiguration on Mount Thabor.

Barlaam believed that the Hesychasts held that *this uncreated light* and God Himself were one and the same, or, in other words, that the light was inseparable from the divine essence, and, as uncreated light cannot exist outside of God, he concluded that they maintained the existence of *two Gods*. The question was brought before a council at Constantinople, in 1341, and decided in favour of the Hesychasts. The council wished to compel Barlaam to retract his charges against the sectaries, but this he absolutely refused to do, and, consulting for his safety, fled to the West, and shortly returned to the Church of Rome.²

After the departure of Barlaam the controversy was again taken up by one of his disciples, *Gregory Akindynus*, a monk of Constantinople, who wrote against the Hesychasts a work, entitled *De Essentia et Operatione Dei*. The ablest defender of the latter was *Palamas*, Archbishop of Thessalonica, who, in his *Life of Christ*, kept the theory of light and the practice of Umbilicanism out of sight, but insisted that it was quite possible to make an intellectual distinction between the *essence* and the *properties* of the Divine Nature, the latter being

¹ *Pischon*, The Monastic Republic of Mount Athos (Pocket-book of History, year 1860. Hess, Suppl. towards a Hist. of the Monasteries of Mount Athos, Giessen., 1865. Stein, Studies on the Hesychasts, 1874.

² *Niceph. Gregoras* XI. 10 (for Barlaam); *Cantacuzen*, II. 39 sq., against Barlaam (both in the Corp. scriptor. hist., Byz., Bonn., 1828, sq., P. XIX. sq.) Acts in *Mansi*, T. XXV. *Petavins*, De Theol. Dogmat., T.I., lib. I., c. 12 sq., *Engelhardt*, De Hesych., Erlang., 1829. The same, The Arsenians and Hesychasts, in *Illgen's* Hist. Journal, Vol. VIII., p. 48-135. *Gregorii Palamæ*, Opp. in *Migne*, Ser. gr., T. 150, 151.

communicable and the former incommunicable. A second council, held at Constantinople, condemned Gregory, and a third, held A.D. 1351, by order of the new emperor, took up the discussion of the above distinction between the essence and the properties of the Divine Nature, which had already been drawn out by Palamas. This distinction, he said, should always be kept in view in speaking of the Nature of God, in whom there are uncreated energies, one of which was manifested on Mount Thabor under the symbol of light. His adversaries refused to admit the distinction between the *essence* and the communicable and energising powers of the Divine Nature, and accused Palamas of holding that *God could be discerned with the eye of the flesh*.

It would seem that this controversy was but an expiring gleam of those heated and subtle discussions on questions of faith, which once raged with so much violence and have never been quite extinct in the Greek Church.

The mystics of Mount Athos shared the declining fortune of the Empire, and their dispersion put an end to the controversy after it had lasted but a few years.¹

In the repeated overtures for reconciliation, made by the Greek to the Latin Church, political interests rather than any religious desire to close a schism and restore unity of belief, were the motives of action.² After the fall of the Latin Empire, in 1261, the Greek emperor, *Michael Palæologus*, finding himself menaced by Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily, and by the Latin Emperor, Baldwin II., laboured to bring about a reconciliation between the two churches, at a council held at Lyons, A.D. 1274. The bishops who represented him, among whom was George Acropolita, signed a Confession of Faith, which declared that the *Holy Ghost proceeded from both the Father and the Son (Filioque)*, and admitted the *Supremacy* of the Holy See. The only reservation made by the Greek commissioners related to the time-honoured customs of their Church, which they insisted should remain intact.³

Michael Palæologus found it convenient, shortly after, to withdraw several of the concessions he had made, and Pope Martin IV. excommunicated him as a dissembler who had profanely trifled with the council. After his death, which occurred A.D. 1282, things again returned to their former condition; but the popular hatred which he had brought upon himself, first by making concessions to Rome, and next by repressing any opposition to them, was so violent that the people refused to pray for his soul, or to give Christian burial to his remains.

¹ *Natalis Alex.*, Hist. VIII., 90, ed. 1762.—*Dorner's Person of Christ*, II., i. 236, Clark's trans. (Tr.)

² *Leo Allatius* (born, 1586, on the island of Chios, since 1600 in Rome, † 1669 at the age of eighty-three years); *De ecclesiæ orientalis et occidentalis perpetua consensione*, Colon., 1648, 4to. *Græcia orthodoxæ scriptores*, Rom., 1652 and 59, 2 T., 4to. *De processu Spirit. Sancti enchirid.*, Rom. 1658. *De utriusque eccles. in dogmate de purgatorio consensione*, Rom., 1655.

³ See above, p. 434.

I. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

OF THE

POPES AND THE ROMAN EMPERORS,

Being a continuation of Vol I., p. 540.

POPES.

John VI., 701-705.
John VII., 705-707.
Sisinnius, 708.
Constantine, 708-715.
*St. *Gregory II.*, 715-731.
*St. *Gregory III.*, 731-741.
St. Zachary, 741-752.
Stephen II., 752, died without having been consecrated. Is not counted by the majority of historians.
**Stephen III.*, 752-757.
St. Paul I., 757-767.
Stephen IV., 768-772.
**Hadrian I.*, 772-795.
St. Leo III., 795-816.
Stephen V., 816.
St. Pascal I., 817-824.
Eugene II., 824-827.
Valentine, 827.
Gregory IV., 827-844.
Sergius II., 844-847.
St. Leo IV., 847-855.
No Popess Joane.
Benedict III., 855-858.
St. Nicholas I. (the Great), 858-867.
St. Hadrian II., 867-872.
John VIII., 872-882.
Marinus I., 882-884.
Hadrian III., 884, 885.
Stephen VI., 885-891.

EMPERORS.

Tiberius III., 698-705.
Justinian II., once more Emperor, 705-711.
Philippicus Bardanes, 711-713.
Anastasius II., 713-716.
Theodosius III., 716, 717.
Leo III. (the Isaurian), 717-741.
Constantine V. (Opronymus), 741-775.
Leo IV., 775-780.
Constantine VI., 780-797.
Empress Irene, 797-802.¹
German Emperors.
Charlemagne, 800-814.
Louis the Mild, 814-840.
Lothaire I., 840-855.
Louis II., 855-875.
Charles II. (the Bald), 875-877.
Charles III. (the Fat), 881-887.
Guido, 891-894, and Lambert, 894-896.

¹ The last East Roman Emperors were descended from the dynasty of the *Palæologi*, from Michael Palæologus (since July, 1261) to John VIII. (1425-1448) and Constantine XI. (1448-1453).

POPES.	EMPERORS.
Formosus, 891-896.	
Boniface VI., 896 (15 days).	Arnulph, 896-899.
Stephen VII., 896, 897.	
Romanus, 897.	
Theodore II., 897 or 898.	
John IX., 898-900.	
Benedict IV., 900-903.	Louis III. (the child), 900-911.
Leo V., 903.	
Christopher, 903.	
Sergius III., 904-911.	
Anastasius III., 911-913.	Conrad I., 911-918.
Lando, 913.	
John X., 914-928.	Henry I., 919-936.
Leo VII., 928.	
Stephen VIII., 929-931.	
John XI., 931-936.	
Leo VI., 936-939.	Otho I., 936-973.
Stephen IX., 939-942.	
Marinus II., 943-946.	
Agapete II., 946-955.	
John XII., 956-964.	
(Leo VIII., 963, Antipope.)	
Benedict V., 964.	
John XIII., 965-972.	
Benedict VI., 972-974.	Otho II., 973-983.
(Boniface (Franco) VII., 974.) Here, probably, no pope Domnus or Donus.	
Benedict VII., 974-983.	
John XIV., 983-984.	
John XV., 984-996.	
Gregory V., 996-999 (1st Germ. Pope).	Otho III., 996-1002.
John XVI., 997, Antipope.)	
Sylvester II., 999-1003 (1st French Pope).	Henry II., 1002-1024.
John XVII., 1003.	
John XVIII., 1003-1009.	
Sergius IV., 1009-1012.	
Benedict VIII., 1012-1024.	
John XIX., 1024-1033.	Conrad II., 1024-1039
Benedict IX., 1033-1044.	
Gregory VI., 1044-1046.	Henry III., 1039-1056.
Clement II., 1046, 1047 (2nd German Pope).	
Damasus II., 1048 (23 days; 3rd German Pope).	
St. *Leo IX., 1049-1054 (4th German Pope).	
Victor II., 1055-1057 (5th German Pope).	
Stephen X., 1057, 1058 (6th German Pope).	Henry IV., 1056-1106.
*Nicholas II., 1058-1061 (7th German Pope).	
*Alexander II., 1061-1073 (Honorius II., Antipope).	
*St. Gregory VII., 1073-1085.	
Victor III., 1086, 1087.	
Urban II., 1088-1099.	
Paschal II., 1099-1118.	Henry V., 1106-1125.
Gelasius II., 1118.	
Calixtus II., 1119-1124.	
Honorius II., 1124-1130.	Lothaire II., 1125-1137.
Innocent II., 1130-1143.	Conrad III., 1137-1152.
Celestine II., 1143.	
Lucius II., 1144, 1145.	
St. Eugene III., 1145-1153.	
Anastasius IV., 1153, 1154.	Frederic I., 1152-1190.

POPES.

Hadrian IV., 1154-1159 (an Englishman).
**Alexander III.*, 1159-1181.
Lucius III., 1181-1185.
Urban III., 1185-1187.
Gregory VIII., 1187.
Clement III., 1187-1191.
Celestine III., 1191-1198.
**Innocent III.*, 1198-1216.
Honorius III., 1216-1227,
Gregory IX., 1227-1241.
Celestine IV., 1241 (17 days).
Innocent IV., 1243-1254.
Alexander IV., 1254-1261.
Urban IV., 1261-1264.
Clement IV., 1264-1268.
Bl. Gregory X., 1271-1276.
Innocent V., 1276 (a Frenchman).
Hadrian V., 1276 (38 days).
John XXI. (XX.), 1276, 1277 (a Portuguese).
Nicholas III., 1277, 1280.
Martin IV., 1281-1285 (a Frenchman).
Honorius IV., 1285-1287.
Nicholas IV., 1288-1292.
St. Celestine V., 1294, resigns voluntarily,
 † 1296.
Boniface VIII., 1294-1303.

EMPERORS.

Henry VI., 1190-1197.
Philip of Suabia, and Otho IV., 1198-1208.
Otho IV., alone, 1208-1215.
Frederic II., 1215-1250.

Conrad IV., 1250-1254.
Interregnum, 1254-1273.

Rudolph of Hapsburg, 1273-1291.

Adolph of Nassau, 1292-1298.

Albert I., 1298-1308.

II. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

MOST IMPORTANT PERSONAGES AND EVENTS DURING THE SECOND PERIOD (700-1517).

FIRST EPOCH (700-1073).

DIONYSIAN ERA.

711. Invasion of Spain by the Saracens.
718. Winfried (St. Boniface) is authorised by Gregory II. (715-731) to evangelize the Germans (718). His labours in Friesland, Thuringia, and Hessa.
723. Before his consecration at Rome he takes the oath to the Pope. As bishop he takes the name of Boniface.
726. The Greek emperor, Leo III. the Isaurian, issues an edict against the veneration of images. Corbinian founds the bishopric of Freisingen and becomes its first bishop (†730).
732. Victory of Charles Martel over the Arabs at Tours. Gregory III. raises Boniface to the archiepiscopal dignity, and assigns to him Mentz as his metropolitan see, with thirteen suffragans (738). Synodal jurisdiction (*Testes Synodales*). Special penitentiary discipline. Cases of Conscience.
735. Death of Venerable Bede, the most learned man of his age.
- 741-752. Pope Zachary saves Rome from the ravages of Luitprand and Rachis, kings of Lombardy (745 and 750). Death of Charles Martel in 741. Reigns of his sons Pepin and Carloman.
742. Holding of the first German Council under the presidency of Boniface, who makes all the bishops take the oath of fidelity to the Pope. Ecclesiastics are forbidden to bear arms.
744. St. Boniface and his disciple, Sturm, found the monastery of Fulda.
- 752-768. Pepin, King of the Franks, is recognized by Pope Zachary and anointed by Boniface. Stephen II., Pope (752-757), is severely harassed by the Lombards. He applies for aid to Pepin, whom he also anoints at St. Denys, and nominates *Patritius*—i. e., Protector and advocate of the Roman Church (753).
754. The Council of Constantinople condemns image-worship. St. John Damascene, the last great name in the literature of the Greek Church, dies shortly after. Pepin the Patritius descends into Italy against Aistolphus, first in 754, and again in 756. In consequence of these expeditions the estates of the Church and the Roman Republic are restored.
755. St. Boniface, having transferred his bishopric to his disciple Lullus, is martyred among the Frieslanders.
- O. 760. The Rule of Chrodegang of Metz is adopted for the secular clergy.
- 768-814. Intimate relations of Charlemagne and Hadrian I. (772-795.)

DIONYSIAN ERA.

774. Pope Hadrian authorizes Heddo, Bishop of Strasburg, to divide his diocese into seven archdeaconries. *Capitula ruralia* had existed long before, under the supervision of archpriests. Expedition of Charlemagne against the Desiderius king of the Lombards; he adds to the donation of his father.†
779. Charlemagne publishes a law establishing the tithe.
- 780-814. To facilitate the conversion of the Saxons (772), Charlemagne founds the bishoprics of Osnabrück, Verden, Bremen (Willebad, Bishop, †788), Minden, Münster (803), Seligenstadt, Hildesheim (Elze). Ludger, first Bishop of Münster (†809). In 809, the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle uses the term "*Filioque*."
787. *Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nice* convenes to defend the veneration of images.
790. Canons of this council are unjustly censured in Caroline Books.
- 792-794. Adoptionism is condemned at Ratisbonne in 792, and again at Frankfort, 794. Image-worship is severely-censured. Alcuin publishes his *Libellus adversus hæresin Felicis* (Adoptionism).
796. Alcuin founds the School of Tours. Paul Warnefried (Paulus Diaconus), †799. Alcuin and Paulinus, †804.
800. Having put an end to the kingdom of the Lombards, Charlemagne renews his donation at the Tomb of St. Peter, and is crowned Emperor by Pope Leo III., who thus re-establishes the Empire of the West on a thorough Christian basis. From this time forth Charlemagne assumes the title of "*devotus sanctæ Ecclesiæ defensor humilisque adjutor*."
813. Councils of Châlons-sur-Saône, Arles, Mentz, Rheims, and Tours. *Capitularia interrogationis*.
- 814-840. Charlemagne (†814) is succeeded by Louis the Mild. Death of Leo III., 816. Pashal I. (817-824.) After the death of Charlemagne, his secretary, Eginhard, quits court.
- 816, 817. Diet and Council of Aix-la-Chapelle. Chiefly through the efforts of Amalric of Metz, the clergy accept the Rule of Chrodegang. Agobard is made Archbishop of Lyons. Monastic reform of St. Benedict of Aniane. Death of Benedict of Aniane, and Theodulph of Orleans, 821.
- 822, 827, 831. Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, and the monk Halitgar are appointed to go as missionaries into Denmark and Northern Europe by the diet of Attigny (822). Activity and successes of Ansgar and Autbert in Denmark and Sweden (827, 831, 853).
- 827-848. Gregory IV. Pope. Difficulties of his position arising out of his relations to the revolted sons of Louis the Mild. False Isidorian decretals.
831. Louis the Mild founds the Archbishopric of Hamburg, of which Ansgar becomes first archbishop. Paschasius Radbert, *de corpore et sanguine*. Commencement of the controversy on the Eucharist, in which the most prominent names are Ratramnus; Heriger, Abbot of Lobbes; Rhabanus Maurus; Amalric of Metz; Haymo, Bishop of Halberstadt; and still later, Scotus Erigena.
834. The emperor, Louis the Mild, having been unjustly deposed by his sons (833), and condemned to do public penance, is again placed upon the throne by Louis and Pepin.
- 841-843. After the death of Louis the Mild (840), his sons engage in battle at Fontenay, where Lothaire, the eldest, is defeated. This battle is followed by the treaty of Verdun (843), between Lothaire as emperor, on the one hand, and on the other, Louis, King of Germany, and Charles the Bald, King of Western France. Death of Jonas, Bishop of Orleans.
842. Council of Constantinople confirms the enactments of the council of Nice, concerning the veneration of images. The Feast of Orthodoxy is established to commemorate the event.
- 847-855. Leo IV., Pope.
- 848, 849. The error of the monk Gottschalk, concerning predestination, is condemned by the council of Mentz (848), presided over by Rhabanus Maurus; and by that of Crécy (849), presided over by the celebrated Hincmar of Rheims. Walafried Strabo publishes the *Glossa ordinaria in Biblia* (†849). Second council of Crécy (833); *Quatuor capitula Carisiacensia*. Dangerous theories of Scotus Erigena.

DIONYSIAN ERA.

855. Leo IV. dies, and is succeeded by Benedict III. (855-858), thus leaving no interval to the reign of the famous female Pope, Joan. Rhabanus Maurus († 856).
- 858-867. Nicholas I. the Great; his contest with King Lothaire II.; he deposes the archbishops Günther of Trèves and Thietgaud of Cologne, and excommunicates the members of a council. Deposition of Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, and usurpation of Photius.
863. Methodius and Cyril evangelize the Moravians. Nicholas I. deposes Photius and recognizes Ignatius. The union of the Church of Bulgaria with Rome (866) still further alienates from each other the Churches of the East and the West.
867. Photius excommunicates the Pope in the council of Constantinople. The Emperor Basil, the Macedonian, declares for Ignatius (867-886). Hadrian II. Pope (867-872). The council of Rome annuls the canons of the council of Constantinople.
869. *Eighth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople* convoked to pass judgment on the quarrel between Photius and Ignatius; the former and his adherents are excommunicated. Ignatius dies in 878. The council recognizes Photius as Patriarch (879-880). He is again banished and dies in exile (891).
- 871-901. *Alfred the Great, King of England*, delivers his country from the yoke of the Danes (880), and carries out reforms equally beneficial to Church and State. John VIII. Pope (872-882.) Anastasius, Abbot and Librarian of the Roman Church (C. 870).
- 881-888. Charles the Fat chosen and crowned emperor by the Pope. Quarrel of this prince with Pope Stephen VI. (885-891.) Leo VI. the Philosopher, Greek emperor (886-911).
- Bet. 870 and 880 or 895. Baptism of Borziwoi, Duke of Bohemia, by Methodius. Borziwoi, and his wife, St. Ludmilla, abdicate towards the end of their lives on account of the resistance encountered in endeavouring to introduce Christianity. St. Wenceslaus (928-938) and Boleslaus II. (from 967) prepare the triumph of Christianity. Shortly after (967), Pope John XIII. recognizes and establishes the bishopric of Prague.
- 888-962. The death of Charles the Fat is followed by the complete disorganisation of his states. The humiliation and misfortunes of the Holy See occasioned by its subjection to the powerful house of Tuscany. Otho I. puts an end to this condition of things.
909. Councils of Metz and Trosly convene to check the decline of religious life and public morality.
910. The abbot Berno founds the monastery of Clugny; he is succeeded by many abbots of great virtue, such as Aymar, Maiolus, and especially Odilo (994-1048).
955. The Russian princess, Olga (Helena), is baptized at Constantinople. Her grandson, Wladimir the Great (980-1014), labours to establish the Christian Church among the Russians; the work is accomplished by his son Jaroslaus (1019-1054). Kiew is raised to the rank of a metropolitan see, and the monastery of the Catacombs (Peczersky), in which the monk Nestor wrote his *Annals* in the vernacular (1056-1111), is founded.
962. Restoration of the empire, after a break of forty-eight years, in the person of Otho the Great, who, before being crowned, promises to protect the Church of Rome and her head, John XII. Saxon emperors: Otho I. (936-973); Otho II. (973-983); Otho III. (983-1002). The symbolical imperial globe.
963. John XII., degraded and dishonoured, is irregularly deposed. Leo VIII. is equally irregularly elected. The election of Benedict by the Romans still further complicates the difficulties of the schism. Otho has John XIII. (965-972) recognized as lawful Pope. Atto of Vercelli (945-960); Rathearius of Verona († 974). Luitprand, Bishop of Cremona, dies (970).
966. The Polish Duke, Miecyslaw, at the instance of his wife, Dombrowka, is baptized, and founds the first bishopric of Posen, of which the first bishop was Jordan, who was made a suffragan of the newly-created archbishop of Magdeburg from 970. Flodoard of Rheims († 966).
968. Otho I. founds the archbishoprics of Magdeburg as a centre of unity for the new bishoprics of Meissen (965), Merseburg and Zeitz (955), Havelburg (946), and Brandenburg (949). In 971, Otho I. sends Christian missionaries to the grand-duchess Olga.

BYZANTINE ERA.

969. The council of London; enlightened zeal of St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, for the reformation of the clergy. Turketul, and the bishops Oswald and Ethelwold.
- 972-997. Geisa, Duke of Hungary, yielding to the suggestions of his wife, Sarolta, commences to introduce Christianity into his states. It is established there by St. Stephen (997-1038).
973. Death of Otho the Great. Fresh troubles at Rome. Imprisonment and murder of Benedict VI., recognised as Pope by Otho II. Crescentius, son of Theodora, and Cardinal Boniface Franco. Hroswitha, nun of Gandersheim, dies (984). In the Greek Church, death of Simeon Metaphrastes (C. 977).
- 983-1002. Pope John XV. invites the emperor Otho III. into Italy, and having died while the latter was still in the country, Gregory V., a German (996-999), is elected his successor, chiefly through the influence of Otho. Intimate relations between the Pope and the Emperor. Insurrection of the Wends under Mistewoi (983). Œcumenius, Bishop of Tricca, in Thessaly, writes an excellent exegetical work (C. 990). The Commemoration of All Souls celebrated at Clugny (998). John XV. canonises Ulrich, Bishop of Augsburg; this being the first instance of a canonisation by a Pope (993).
- 999-1003. Gerbert is elected Pope, and takes the name of Sylvester II. Extent of his power. First idea of the Crusades advanced in his *Epistola ex persona Hierosolymæ vastatæ ad universalem Ecclesiam*.
- 1002-1024. St. Henry II. Benedict VIII. elected Pope by the Tuscan party (1012-1024). He is driven from Rome; seeks an asylum with Henry, by whom he is again restored to his see, and whom he crowns emperor in Rome (1014). Canute the Great, King of Denmark (1014-1034). St. Olaf establishes Christianity in Norway (1017-1033), and the grand-duke, Wladimir the Great, is equally successful in his efforts to introduce it into Russia (†1014).
1017. Romuald founds the Order of Camaldolites. Notker-Labeo, abbot of St. Gall (†1022). The council of Seligenstadt is held in the same year. About the same time, the celebrated school of Liège flourishes under the direction of Notker, Bishop of that city (†1007). He is succeeded by Wazo, equally zealous in the cause of education. Burkhard, Bishop of Würzburg (1025, 1026). Fulberd, Bishop of Chartres, and disciple of Gerbert's (†1029). Ditmar becomes bishop of Merseburg in 1008, and dies in 1018.
1032. The French bishops oppose the practice of making war, and their cry of "Peace! peace!" resounds in numerous councils.
1038. John Gualbert founds the Order of Vallombrosa.
1046. The council of Sutri, which, thanks to the intervention of Henry III., the second Franconian emperor (Conrad II. was the first), puts an end to the rivalries of the three contending Popes, John XIX., Benedict IX., and Gregory VI. The emperor subsequently secures the election of Luidger, Bishop of Bamberg, who, as Pope, takes the name of Clement II. (1046, 1047.) After Clement's death, Benedict again commences his guilty intrigues. Henry III. designates as Pope the Bishop of Brixon, who reigns only twenty-three days (1048).
- 1048-1054. Leo IX. Pope; his efforts to put down simony and correct the unchastity of the clergy. *Liber Gomorrhianus* of Peter Damian. Influence of Hildebrand upon the Holy See. Death of Luitpold (1049), Archbishop of Mentz, a very important event for Germany.
1050. Berengarius is condemned in the councils of Rome and Vercelli. Lanfranc the Scholastic, abbot of Bec.
1054. Berengarius deceives Hildebrand at the council of Tours, but an end is put to the controversy by the council of Rome (1059). The rupture caused by Michael Cærularius becomes a formal schism, in consequence of the positive declaration made by the papal legates (July 16, 1054). Fruitless efforts of Theophylactus, Archbishop of Achrida, and Peter, Patriarch of Antioch, to prevent the schism.
- 1055-1057. Gebhard, Bishop of Eichstädt, is raised to the pontifical throne by the influence of Henry III. He takes the name of Victor II. Death of Henry in 1056. Victor endeavours to secure the throne of Germany for the young prince, Henry IV. (1056-1106). Sanguinary contest occasioned at Milan by simony and clerical concubinage.

DIONYSIAN ERA.

- 1057-1058. Stephen IX. (X.) raises Peter Damian to the Cardinalate, and bestows upon him the bishopric of Ostia. Peter at once commences an open war against simonists and concubinaries. After the death of Stephen X., the wicked portion of the clergy and the Tusculan party bring about the election of Benedict X.; but the party in favour of reform soon triumphs and elects.
- 1058-1061. Nicholas II., Pope, who, to prevent the recurrence of irregular and stormy elections, has a canon passed in the council of Rome (1059), which was probably enlarged by other enactments of the council held at Rome in 1061. Nicholas II. bestows Calabria and Apulia in fief upon the Norman duke, Robert Guiscard.
- 1061-1073. Alexander II. elected without the assent of the emperor, who raises up Honorius II. as Antipope. The latter is not able to maintain himself. The celebrated "*Disceptatio inter regis advocatum et Romanæ Ecclesiæ defensorem*" by Peter Damian (†1072). Benno, Bishop of Meissen, an apostle of the Slaves, dies in 1106.
1069. Abbot William founds at Hirschau a congregation on the model of that of Clugny. Gottschalk, grandson of Mistewoi, and founder of the bishoprics of Mecklenburg and Ratzeburg, is assassinated by the Pagans in 1066.
1070. Lanfranc becomes Bishop of Canterbury.

SECOND EPOCH (1073-1517).

PART FIRST.

(FROM THE ACCESSION OF GREGORY VII. TO THE DEATH OF BONIFACE VIII., A. D. 1073-1303)

DIONYSIAN ERA.

- 1073-1085. Gregory VII. His struggle for the enfranchisement of mind; rise of Universities under the special influence and protection of the Church. Rise of Scholasticism. The Seljuks in Palestine (1073).
- 1074-1075. Councils held at Rome against simony, concubinage, and lay-investiture. Strong reaction sets in against these abuses, and is manifested both in controversial writings and in practice.
- 1076-1077. Henry IV. has Gregory VII. deposed by the Council of Worms. The latter in turn excommunicates and deposes the Emperor. The diet of Tribur (October, 1076) obliges the Emperor to go to Canossa, where he does penance from the 25th to the 27th of January, 1077. Heated controversy for and against the Emperor and the Pope.
1080. Growing complaints against Henry IV. Gregory recognizes the anti-king, Rudolph, and confers investiture on Robert Guiscard. Henry chooses as his antipope Clement III., and Herman of Salm succeeds to Rudolph, slain in the battle of Merseburg (1081).
1085. Exertions at the diet of Gerstungen to heal these divisions, not by the sword, but by science. Death of Gregory, May 25th. St. Bruno founds the Carthusian Order (1084).
- 1088-1099. Urban II., the successor to Victor III. (1086-1087), boldly pursues the policy of Gregory VII., and threatens with interdict lay-investitures. Conrad, the eldest son of Henry IV., revolts against his father.

DIONYSIAN ERA.

1095. Clergy are forbidden by the Council of Clermont to take the oath of fealty by placing their hands between those of laymen. Enthusiasm for the Crusade; Peter the Hermit; Jerusalem recovered, July 15, 1099, and Godfrey of Bouillon proclaimed King. Institution of the Knights of St. John. St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (1093-1109), combats Roscelin, canon of Compiègne. Controversy on Nominalism and Realism.
1098. Council of Bari in Apulia convened to define precisely the points of difference between the Greek and Roman Churches. Robert founds the Order of Cîteaux, whose chief importance is to be ascribed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, since 1113.
- 1109-1118. Paschal II. continues the controversy on investitures against Henry V. (1106-1125), and manifests an extremely conciliatory disposition by accepting the treaty of 1111, with a view to the freedom of the Church; his advances are obstinately resisted, and he finds himself engaged in a heated controversy, in consequence of which he is constrained to make a formal retraction in the Council of Rome (1112), and the third treaty with Henry is annulled.
1109. William of Champeaux founds the Abbey of St. Victor. His disputation with Abelard on Nominalism.
- 1118-1119. Gelasius II. Foundation of the Order of Templars at Jerusalem.
- 1119-1124. Calixtus II. St. Norbert founds the Order of Premonstratensians (1120). Council of Soissons, in which Abelard is condemned (1121).
1123. NINTH ŒCUMENICAL, or first General COUNCIL of Lateran, which confirms the concordat of Worms, concerning investitures, concluded between the Pope and the Emperor; calls attention to the wretched condition of the Christians in the East and in Spain, and promulgates disciplinary canons. Otho, Bishop of Bamberg, missionary in Pomerania (1124).
- 1124-1130. Honorius II., Pope; Lothaire II., Emperor (1125-1137). New regulations concerning investitures. Lothaire goes twice to Rome to make some arrangements satisfactory to Innocent II. (1130-1143), successor to Honorius II. Anacletus II., antipope; re-establishment of the ancient Senate. Under Lucius II. (1144-1145), republicanism is revived, and the dignity of "*Patricius*" is almost immediately established. Arnold of Brescia is still more extreme in his measures. St. Bernard.
1139. TENTH ŒCUMENICAL, or second General COUNCIL of Lateran, which confirms the peace of the Church under Innocent, and condemns Peter of Bruis and Arnold of Brescia. Council of Sens against Abelard (†1142). Gilbert de la Porrée, Bishop of Poitiers since 1142. Robert Pulleyne. *Four Books of Sentences* by Peter Lombard, appear about 1140. Hugh of St. Victor (1141).
- 1145-1153. Eugene III. resists the republican frenzy of the Romans, and is sustained by his friend St. Bernard, through whose influence Conrad III. participates in the second Crusade (1147). The Council of Rheims condemns Henry of Lausanne and Eudes de L'Étoile (1148). St. Hildegard. St. Bernard's book, *De Consideratione ad Eugenium III.* (1148-1152). Both die the following year—Pope Eugene, July 8th; St. Bernard, Doctor of the Church, August 20th. The *Decretum Gratiani* appears about 1152.
- 1152-1190. Emperor Frederic Barbarossa (Hohenstaufen) aims at universal monarchy and asserts his claim to imperial rights in the pagan sense; the great Popes, Hadrian IV. (1154-1159) and Alexander III. (1159-1181) energetically resist his pretensions. Antipopes raised up by the Emperor. Hadrian IV. issues his bull concerning Ireland (c. 1155). Berthold of Calabria founds the Order of Mount Carmel, or of the Carmelites, about 1156.
1158. Diet of Roncaglia, attended by Frederic Barbarossa, and the four famous juriconsults, Bulgarus, Martin Gosia, James, and Hugh. Richard, prior of St. Victor (1162-1173).
1164. St. Thomas à Becket is unable in the Council of Clarendon to prevent Henry II. from carrying out his designs of enslaving the Church, and in consequence appeals to the Pope. He is exiled, returns in triumph, and is murdered at the foot of the altar, December 29, 1170. Gerhohus of Reichersberg († 1169). A. D. 1171, Alexander III. confirms Hadrian's bull concerning Ireland, and the whole Irish hierarchy accept its conditions. Minnesingers (1170-1250).

DIONYSIAN ERA.

1179. *Eleventh Œcumenical*, or Third Lateran Council. New decree of Alexander III. on papal elections, requiring a two-third vote of the college of Cardinals for the validity of a Pope's election. Condemnation of the Waldenses and Albigenses. Disciplinary canons. John of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres († 1182).
- 1189-1190. Frederic Barbarossa undertakes the third crusade at the instance of Gregory VIII. (1187). Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion accompany the Emperor on the expedition, which, owing to the division among the princes, is only partially successful. Capture of St. Jean d'Acre in 1191; a truce for three years is concluded in 1192. Walpot of Bassen founds the Teutonic Order in 1190.
- 1190-1197. Henry VI., son of Frederic, becomes Emperor. Popes Clement III. (1188-1191) and Celestine III. (1191-1198). The Schoolman, Alanus of Ryssel (*ab Insulis*), Bishop of Auxerre, develops his comprehensive and independent system († 1202). Meinhard, Bishop of Livonia († 1196).
- 1198-1216. Innocent III., guardian of Frederic II., has his ward highly educated. Wonderful activity and influence of this Pope throughout the whole of Europe; his solicitude about the Holy Sepulchre. He opposes the establishment of the Latin Empire at Constantinople, which lasts from 1204-1261. Children's crusade.
1204. Amalric of Bena, the pantheist sectary, whose views and tendencies are propagated by David of Dinanto and the Brothers and Sisters of the Free-Spirit.
1209. A crusade is preached in France against the evergrowing heresy of the Albigenses. It is headed by Simon of Montfort. Sacking of Béziers. Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse. Innocent III. sanctions, in 1215, the Mendicant Order of St. Francis of Assisi († October 4, 1226) and the Order of St. Dominic. Paramount importance of these orders in combating the errors of the times. Council of Paris, held in 1209, to condemn the writings of Aristotle. The Nieblungen (1210).
1215. TWELFTH ŒCUMENICAL, or fourth General COUNCIL of Lateran, in which the errors of Joachim de Floris, Amalric of Bena, the Albigenses, and others are condemned. Seventy very important disciplinary canons. The word *transubstantiation* employed as the most fitting to express precisely the Catholic dogma of the Eucharist. The obligation of confessing yearly and of receiving Holy Communion at Easter imposed upon all.
- 1215-1250. Emperor Frederic II., in his relations to the Church, disappoints the hopes at one time entertained, and his policy, at first doubtful, becomes decidedly hostile to Popes Honorius III. (1216-1227), Gregory IX. (1227-1241), and Innocent IV. (1243-1254). By his Sicilian Code (1231), he establishes a legal despotism, and by attempting to make the Church a police institution, sets at defiance the spirit of the age. Heated discussion between the papal and imperial parties: *De tribus Impostoribus*.
1228. Frederic, notwithstanding that he was excommunicated, undertakes the fifth Crusade, after having frequently evaded the task.
1229. Council of Toulouse provides new measures for establishing an inquisition against the heretics of Southern France, who are equally dangerous to Church and State. In Germany, inquisitor Conrad of Narburg is murdered (1223).
1230. Peace of San Germano between the Emperor and the Pope. Alexander of Hales (*Doctor Irrefragabilis*), the first of the Franciscan Order to hold a professor's chair in the University of Paris. The Teutonic Order is established in Prussia. *Corpus Juris Canonici* is collected by the Dominican, Raymond of Pennaforte (*Decretalium Gregorii IX. libri V.*, 1234).
- 1245 *Thirteenth Œcumenical*, or First Council of Lyons, endeavours to effect a reunion of the Greek and Roman Churches, and solemnly excommunicates Frederic II. Death of Alexander of Hales. St. Thomas Aquinas, Dominican. St. Bonaventure, Franciscan. Innocent IV. and St. Louis enter into negotiations with the Mongols, with a view to the conversion of the latter. Western Carmelites are enrolled among the Mendicant Orders; also the Augustinian Hermits in 1256.
1248. St. Louis undertakes the sixth Crusade against Egypt, and is made prisoner. Death of Frederic II., A. D. 1250.

DIONYSIAN ERA.

- 1254-1261. Alexander IV. Hugo de Sto Caro, author of the first concordance († 1260). Procession of the Flagellants in Italy (1260).
1264. Urban IV. (1261-1264) institutes the Feast of Corpus Christi.
- 1265-1268. Clement IV. Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufens, is beheaded, notwithstanding the interposition of Clement.
- 1269-1270. The Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis. Its authenticity is contested (1269). St. Louis undertakes the seventh and last Crusade against Tunis and Ptolemaïs in 1269.
- 1271-1276. Gregory X. Rudolph of Hapsburg, Emperor (1273-1291). William of Saint-Amour, the great opponent of the Mendicants and adversary of the Mendicant Orders, and likewise the celebrated preacher, Berthold of Ratisbonne, died (1272).
1274. *Fourteenth Ecumenical Council*, or Second of Lyons. Attempts at reunion with the Greek Church; disciplinary canons concerning ecclesiastical elections are rendered more severe. Conclave; St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventure, and Robert, founder of the Sorbonne (1251), die in 1274. Albert the Great, master of St. Thomas († 1281).
- 1282, 1283. Prussia is entirely subdued by the Teutonic Order in 1283. Andronicus I., Greek Emperor (1282-1288). Sicilian Vespers.
- 1288-1292. Nicholas IV. sends the Franciscan, John of Monte Corvino, as missionary to China. In 1291, the Christians lose Ptolemaïs, their last stronghold in Palestine. The Templars establish themselves in the island of Cyprus.
1294. Celestine V. establishes the Celestine Hermits, and dies. Death of Roger Bacon (*Doctor Mirabilis*).
- 1294-1303. Boniface VIII. His quarrel with Philip the Fair of France. James de Voragine († 1298). Bonifacii Sextus Decretalium, 1298.
1300. Boniface VIII. establishes the Jubilee and the indulgences connected therewith.

III. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE COUNCILS HELD DURING THE SECOND PERIOD.*

PRINCIPAL SYNODS HELD IN IRELAND BEFORE THE EIGHTH CENTURY.†

Synod of St. Patrick at Armagh. Synod of Bishops: of St. Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserinus, held at Armagh, probably about 456. About the year 599, a synod was convened in some part of Leinster, in which it was decreed that the Archbishopric of Leinster should be annexed to the See of Ferns. Synod of Old Leighlin, convened to settle the Paschal controversy, A. D. 630; another synod on the same subject was held at Whitefield, in 633 or 634. Celebrated synod of Flan (Florent. Febhla), Archbishop of Armagh, held in 695 or 696, and attended by forty bishops.

IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

Toledo, 701. Nesterfield, 701. Rome, 703. Niddanum (Adderbourn), 705. Constantinople, 715, 716. Rome, 721, 732. Germany, 742. Liptinæ, 743. Rome, 743. Soissons, 744. Frankish General Synod, 745. Rome, 745. Germany, 747. Cloveshove, 747. Düren, 748. Vermeria, 753. Quiercy and Mentz, 754. Constantinople, 754. Verneuil, 755. Compiègne, 757. Rome, 757. Constance, 758-759. Rome, 761. Aschaim, in Bavaria, 763. Attigny, 765. Gentilly, 767. Rome, 769. Dingolfingen and Reuching, in Bavaria, between 769-772. Genua, 772. Paderborn or Lippstadt, 780 or 785. Worms, 781. Ratisbon (?), 781. Attigny, 785. Worms, 786. Nice (*Seventh Œcumenical*), 787. Calchut, 787. Worms and Ingelheim, 787, 788. Narbonne, 788. Aix-la-Chapelle, 789. Ratisbon, 792. Great Synod of Frankfurt, 794. Verulam, 794. Friuli, 796. Bezaneld, 797. Rome, 799. Aix-la-Chapelle, 799. Riesbach, Freisingen, Salzburg, Urgel, and Finchol, 799. Rome, Cloveshove, and Tours, 800.

IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

Aix-la-Chapelle, 802. Ratisbon, 803. Cloveshove, 803, 809. Salz, 804. Constantinople and Salzburg, 806-809. Aix-la-Chapelle, 809, 811. Constantinople, 812. Rheims, 813. Mentz, 813. Tours, 813. Châlons, 813. Constantinople, 814, 815. Celchyt, 816. Aix-la-Chapelle, 816, 817. Aix-la-Chapelle, Venice, Vannes, and Thionville, 818. Attigny, 822. Rome and Compiègne, 823. London, Cloveshove, Oslaveshlen, and Aix-la-Chapelle, between 816, 825. Paris, 825. Ingelheim, Rome, and Mantua, 826, 827. Paris, 828, 829. Worms, 829. St. Denys, 829-832. Nimwegen, 831. Compiègne, 833. Thionville, 835. Ingelheim, 840. Fontenay, Aix-la-Chapelle, Bourges, Milan, and Germany, between 841-843. Constantinople, 842. Lauriac, 843. Coulaines, 843. Thion-

* For the sources, consult the collections of councils, both general and particular, by *Mansi*, *Harduin*, etc. Cf. also the works thereon by *Cabassutius*, *Hefele*, etc. See also literature, Vol. I., p. 16, note 1.

† Extracted from *Lanigan's History*. The statements of Irish synods down to the thirteenth century, supplemented in this table, are derived from the same source. (Tr.)

ville, 844. Verneuil, 844. Meaux, 845. Beauvais, 845. Paris, 846. Mentz, 847. Bretagne, 848. Rome, 848. Sedan, 848. Mentz, 848. Paris, 849. Quiercy, 849. Pavia, 850. Rome, 850. Mentz, 851. Cordova, 852. Rome, 853. Paris, 853. Soissons, 853. Quiercy, 853. Leon, 854. Valence, 855. Pavia, 855. Winchester, 855. Quiercy, 857, 858. Constantinople, 858 (twice). Langres, 859. Savonnières, 859. Aix-la-Chapelle, 860. Coblenz, 860. Tousi, 860. Milan, 860. Rome, 860. Constantinople, 861. Rome, 861. Soissons, 862. Aix-la-Chapelle, 862. Pistes (Pistres), 862. Metz, 863. Rome, 863, 864. Attigny, 865. Soissons, 866. Constantinople, 866, 867. Troyes, 867. Worms, 868. Rome, 869. Constantinople (*Eighth Œcumenical*), 869. Verheri and Metz, 869. Attigny, 870. Douzi, 871. Senlis, 873. Ravenna, 874. Douzi, 874. Pavia, 876. Rome, 876. Ravenna, 877. Rome, 877. Compiègne, 877. Ovoidé, 877. Troyes, 878. Rome, 879. Constantinople, 879. Rome, 880, 881. Fimes, 881. Ravenna, 882. Toulouse, 883. Châlons, 886. Cologne, 886. Metz and Mentz, 888. Pavia, 889 or 890. Vienne, 892. Châlons, 894. Tribur, 895. England, 895. Rome, 896, 898. Ravenna, 898. Rhéims and Rome, 900.

IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

Rome, 901. In the province of Narbonne, 902, 906, 907. Trosly, 909. Altheim, 916. Constantinople, 920. Trosly, 921. Coblenz, 922. Rhéims, 922. Altheim, 931. Ratisbon, Erfurt, and Dingolfingen, 932. Soissons, 941. Laon, 948. Ingelheim, 948. Treves, 948. London, 948. Llandaff, 950. Augsburg and Frankfort, 952. Llandaff, 955. Near Meaux, 962. Rome, 962, 963, 964, 967. Ravenna, 967, 968. England, 969. Canterbury, 969. Rome, 971. Compostella, 971. London, 971. Ingelheim, 972. Winchester, 975. Calne, 978. Llandaff, 988. Senlis, 988. Near Rhéims, 991. Rome, 993. Italy, about 995. Mouson, 995. Rome, 996. St. Denys, 996. Pavia, 997. Rome, 998. Ravenna, 998. Magdeburg, 999.

IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Rome, 1001. Frankfort, 1001. Rome, 1002. Poitiers, 1004. Thionville and Constance, 1005. Frankfort, 1007. Encham, 1009. Mentz, 1011. Coblenz, 1012. Leon, 1012. Ravenna, 1014. Orleans, 1017. Pavia, 1020. Orleans, 1022. Seligenstadt, 1022. Poitiers, Mentz, 1023. Paris, 1024. Arras, 1025. Anse, 1025. Mentz, 1028. Charroux, 1028. Limoges, 1029, 1031. Bourges, 1031. Arles, 1034. Aquitaine, 1034. Lyons, 1034. St. Gilles (Egydi), 1042. Sutri, 1046. Rome, 1047, 1049. Rhéims, 1049. Mentz, 1049. Rouen, 1049. Rome, 1050. Paris, 1050. Brione, 1050. Vercelli, 1050. Coyac, 1050. Rome, 1051, 1053. Bamberg, Ratisbon, Worms, 1052. Constantinople, 1053. Narbonne and Mentz, 1054. Rouen, 1055. Lisieux, 1055. Lyons, 1055. Florence, 1055. Tours, 1055. Angers, 1055. Compostella, 1056. Toulouse, 1056. Rome, 1057. Melfi, 1059. Benevento, 1059. Rome, 1059, 1060. Yacca, 1060. Tours, 1060. Vienne, 1060. Osborn, 1062. Aradon and Rome, 1063. Châlons, 1063. Rome, 1065. London, 1065. Mantua, 1067. Gironne, 1068. Toulouse, 1068. Barcelona, 1068; again, 1068. Spain, 1068. Mentz, 1069. Normandy, 1070. Winchester, 1070. Mentz and Treves, 1071. Winchester, 1072. Rouen, 1072. Rome, 1073. Erfurt, 1073. Rouen, 1074. Mentz, 1074. Poitiers, 1074. Erfurt, 1074. Rome, 1075. Mentz, 1075. London, 1075. Rome, 1076. Worms, 1076. Tribur, 1076. Autun, 1077. Forchheim, 1077. Rome, 1078. Poitiers, 1078. Avignon, 1080. Bourgos, 1080. Brixen, 1080. Mentz, 1080. Lyons, 1080. Rome, 1080, 1081. Meaux, 1082. Rome, 1083, 1084. Lucca, 1085. Compiègne, 1085. Quedlinburg, Mentz, 1085. Benevento, 1087. Capua, 1087. Bordeaux, 1087. Rome, 1089 (twice). Melfi, 1089. Toulouse, 1090. Etampes, 1091. Benevento, 1091. Leon, 1091. Soissons, Compiègne, and Rhéims, 1092. Troyes, 1093. Autun, Rhéims, and Constance, 1094. Poitiers, 1095. Clermont, 1095. Piacenza, 1095. Tours, 1096. Nîmes and Rouen, 1096. Bari, 1098. Saint Omer, 1099. Rome, 1099. Valence, 1100. Poitiers, 1100. Anse, 1100.

IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

Rome, 1102. London, 1102. Troyes, 1104. Paris, 1104. Lateran, 1105. Rhéims, 1105. Thuringia, 1105. Florence, 1106. Guastalla, 1106. Jerusalem, 1107. Troyes, 1107. London, 1107, 1108. Rome, 1110. Clermont, Toulouse, 1110. St. Benoit, 1110. Feadh Mac Aengussa, 1111. Beauvais, 1112. Vienne, 1112. Lateran, 1112. Cologne, 1113. Gran, 1114. Windsor, 1114. Ceperano, 1114. Châlons, 1115. Cologne, 1115. Syria, 1115. Rhéims, 1115. Lateran, 1116. Benevento, 1117. Capua, 1118.

Rouen, Mans, Toulouse, 1118. Rath Breasail, 1118.¹ Rheims, 1119. Toulouse, 1119. Beauvais, 1220. Naplous, 1120. Soissons, 1121. Worms, 1122. *Lateran* (*Ninth Ecumenical*), 1123. Vienne, Chartres, Clermont, Beauvais, 1124. Westminster, 1125, 1126, 1127. Nantes, 1127. Troyes, Ravenna, and Rouen, 1128. Châlons, London, 1129. Clermont, Etampes, Würzburg, 1130. Mentz, Rheims, Linégne, 1131. Piacenza, 1132. Jouare, 1134. Pisa, Cashel, 1134.² London, Northumbria, 1136. London, 1138. *Lateran* (*Tenth Ecumenical*), 1139. Winchester, 1139. Constantinople, Antioch, Sens, 1140. Constantinople, 1143. Tuam, 1143.³ Rome, Armagh, 1144. Vezelai, Chartres, 1146. Paris, Constantinople, 1147. Rheims, 1148. Treves, 1148. Augsburg, 1148. Holmpatrick, 1148.⁴ Beaugenci, 1152. Kells, 1152.⁵ Mellifont, 1157.⁶ Brigh Mac-

¹ This synod decreed that (exclusive of Dublin) the dioceses of Ireland should be reduced to the number of twenty-four: twelve of these to be subject to Armagh, and twelve to Cashel.

² Held by Domnald O'Conaing, archbishop, and by the other bishops of Munster, who assisted at the consecration of the Metropolitan church.

³ Under Muredach, archbishop, for the liberation of Roderic O'Connor, who was then held captive by Tiernan O'Rourke, for which purpose also the next Synod of Armagh, 1144, was convened.

⁴ Held by Gelasius, Archbishop of Armagh, and by Malachy, in order to procure the pallium for the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel.

⁵ Under Cardinal Paparo, who, as legate of Pope Eugene III., divided Ireland into four provinces and thirty-one dioceses. From the act of submission made by the Irish bishops to King Henry of England, during the pontificate of Alexander III., we learn the number and names of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland during the twelfth century, which are as follows: I. The Archbishopric of Armagh, with the eight suffragan sees of the Episcopus Charensis, Odanus, Chondorensis, Thuenensis, Rathbotensis, Cenevensis, Ardachadensis, and Cluencardensis. II. The Archbishopric of Cashel, with the nine suffragan sees of the Episcopus Lismorensis, Ingmelleccensis, Arcmorensis, Lucapniarensis, Kildarensis, Waterfordensis, Ardferdensis, Rosensis, and Finabrensis. III. The Archbishopric of Dublin, with the five suffragan sees of the Episcopus Bistagnensis, Fernensis, Leighlinensis, Kindarensis, and Erupolensis. IV. The Archiepiscopal See of Tuam, with the five suffragan sees of the Episcopus Kinfernensis, Kinlathensis, Maigonensis, Aelfinensis, and Achatkouvensis. Many of these episcopal sees can now no longer be identified. See *Art. Ireland*, in *Ashbach's Eccl. Cyclopædia*, written by *Sparschuh*.

P. Pius Bonifac. Gams, in his *Series Episcoporum*, Ratisbon, 1873, resting on the authority of *Wareus*, *Cotton*, *Thos. Walsh*, *Aug. Theiner*, etc., gives on pp. 204, sq., in alphabetical order, the following names and dates of their erection: 1. *Achonry* (Arcadensis) s. *Lyney*, 1152; 2. *Ardagh* (Ardachadensis ep.), 1152; 3. *Armagh* (Armacanus), 445 (455); 4. *Cashel* (Cashelien.), archiepsc., er. 1152; *Sedes de Emly*, c. 527, postea Cashel et Emly unitæ Sedes, c. 1567; 5. *Clogher* (Clogherensis), first bp., St. Maccartin, † 506, Episcopatus *Louth*, 534; 6. *Clonfert* (Clonfertensis), 558; 7. *Clonmacnois* (Cluensis ep.), first bp., St. Kieran, discipulus S. Finniani, † 549; 8. *Cloyne and Ross* (Cloynen. et Rossen.), Cloyne fund. per St. Colman, c. 580; Ross fund. per S. Fachnan, c. 570; 9. *Cork* (Corgacensis ep.), 606; 10. *Derry* (Derrensensis ep.), 1158; 11. *Down and Connor* (Dunen. et Conoren.), 499; 12. *Dromore* (Dromorensis ep.), c. 510; 13. *Dublin* (Glendalough), St. Kevin (Cœngen), † 618; 1166, sedit Kinad O'Ronan, Episcopi Dublinensis; 1038, sat Donatus (Dunan), a Dane, who built the Cathedral of the Most Blessed Trinity; 1074, Gilla [Patrici (an) us], consecrated by Lanfranc, archbp. of Canterbury; 14. *Elphin*, first bp., S. Asicus, c. 450; 15. *Enaghduane* (Enagduensis ep.), St. Meldan, in the seventh century; 1152; after 1484 united to Tuam; 16. *Ferns*, St. Aidan (Maidoc), † 632; 17. *Kerry* (Ardfertensis, ep.), Dermot. Mac Mael Brennan, † 1075; 18. *Kildare-Leighlin* (Kildarien. et Leighlin.) (St. Bridget, 490), St. Coulaeth † 519; 19. *Killala* (Alladensis), S. Muredach, tempore S. Columba, Kellach, occis. c. 544, Muredach, † c. 590; O'Maelfogomair, ep. de Tirawley et O'Fiachra, † 1151; 20. *Killaloe* (Laonensis ep.), c. 640-650, St. Flaian; 21. *Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora* (Finaboren. et Duacen.), St. Colman, before 620; 22. *Kilmore* (Kilmoren) (Brefny, Brefinia, Triburna), 1136; 23. *Leighlin and Kildare* (Leighlinensis ep.), 626. St. Gobban erects the Abbey of Leighlin, and a synod is held there, A. D. 630; c. 632, St.

* Convoked for the purpose of consecrating the church of that place.

Thadlig,¹ Roscommon, 1158. Anagni, Pavia, Nazareth, Oxford, 1160. Toulouse, Lodi, 1161. Montpellier, 1162. Clane, 1162.² Tours, 1163. Rheims, Northampton, Clarendon, 1164. Aix-la-Chapelle, Lombres, Würzburg, 1165. Constantinople, London, 1166. Lateran, 1167. Gran, 1169. Armagh, 1170.³ Cashel, 1172.⁴ Avranches, 1172. Tuam, 1172.⁵ London, 1175. Waterford, 1175.⁶ Venice, 1177. Dublin, 1177.⁷ *Lateran (Eleventh Œcumenical)*, 1179. Caen, 1182. Verona, 1184. Paris, 1185. London, 1185. Dublin, 1186.⁸ Paris, 1188. Rouen, 1190. Mentz, 1191. Montpellier, 1195. York, 1195. Bamberg, 1196. Paris, 1196. Sens, 1198. Dijon, 1199. Vienne, 1199. Dioclea, in Dalmatia. London, 1200. Dublin (c. 1200).⁹

IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Soissons, 1201. Paris, 1201. Meaux and Antioch, 1204. Laval, near Mans, 1207. Avignon and Paris, 1209. St. Gilles, 1209. Rome, 1210. Montpellier and Arles, 1211. Paris, 1212, 1213. Lavaur, 1213. London, 1213, 1214. Rouen and Bourges, 1214. *Lateran (Twelfth Œcumenical)*, 1215. Paris, 1215. Montpellier, 1215. Melun, 1216. Gisors, 1218. Salzburg, 1219. Nice, by Schismatical Greeks, 1220. Oxford, 1222. Slesvig, 1222. Erfurt, 1223. Hildesheim, 1224. Montpellier, 1224. Mentz, Bourges, Melun, 1225. Paris, 1226. Cremona, 1226. Narbonne, 1227. Treves, 1227. Rome, 1228. Paris, 1229. Toulouse, 1229. Tarragona, 1229. Mentz and Wurzburg, 1230. Noyon, 1233. Mentz, 1234. Arles, 1234. Béziers, 1234. Narbonne, Senlis, Rheims, Compiègne, 1235. Tours, Bourges, 1236. London, 1237. Treves, 1238. Tours, 1239. Worcester, 1240. *Lyons (Thirteenth Œcumenical)*, 1245. Lerida, 1246. Béziers, 1246. Cologne, 1247. Paris, Breslau, and Valence, 1248. Utrecht, 1249. Tarragona and Saumur, 1253. Albi, 1254. Paris and Bordeaux, 1255. Sens, 1256. Compiègne and Gran, 1256. Lanciez, in Silesia, 1257. Ruffec, near Poitiers, and Merton, in England, 1258. Fritzlar, 1259. Arles, 1260. Cognac, 1260. Cologne, 1260. Paris, 1260. London, Mentz, 1261. Ravenna, 1261. Paris, 1263. Nantes, 1264. Northampton and Westminster, 1265. Cologne, Bremen, 1266. Vienna, 1267. Breslau, 1268. London, 1268. Sens and Bourges, 1269. Salzburg, 1274. *Lyons (Fourteenth Œcumenical)*, 1274. Constantinople, 1275. Bourges, 1276. Saumur, 1276. Constantinople, 1277. Compiègne, 1278. Langres, 1278. Angers, 1279. Béziers, Avignon, Reading, and Ofen

Laserian founded the episcopal see and † 639; 24. *Limerick* (Limericensis ep.), 1106; 25. *Lismore* and *Waterford* (Waterfordien. et Lismorien.), St. Cathach establishes the see in 633; 26. *Meath* (Midensis), 520, St. Finnian, first bp. of Clonard, 1174, Eugene, first bp. of Meath; 27. *Ossory* (Ossoriens.), St. Kieran, 538; 28. *Raphoe* (Rathbotensis, ep.); 29. *Tuam* (Tuamensis ep.), St. Jarlath, † c. 540, archbp., 1152; 30. *Mayo*, c. 665, 670, 1578, Bp., Patr. O'Hely, † a martyr of the faith, and the see was united to Tuam; 31. *Waterford* (Waterfordien.), erected 1095. (Tr.)

¹ (Co. Meath) held to promote ecclesiastical discipline. Derry made a regular episcopal see.

² Held by Gelasius of Armagh, for the promotion of discipline and morals.

³ By this synod, all the English, who were detained in servitude in Ireland were restored to liberty.

⁴ Convened by order of Henry II., to regulate ecclesiastical discipline. Neither the primate nor any of his suffragans assisted at this synod.

⁵ Provincial synod, under Archbishop Cadla O'Dubhai. Three churches were consecrated by the bishops who assembled on this occasion.

⁶ In this meeting of bishops, the bull of Hadrian IV. to Henry II. and the confirmatory brief of Alexander III. to the same prince, were, for the first time, publicly read in Ireland.

⁷ Under *Fivian*, legate for Ireland, Scotland, etc., who set forth Henry's right to the sovereignty of Ireland, in virtue of the Pope's authority, and inculcated the necessity of obeying him under the pain of excommunication.

⁸ The object was church discipline, ecclesiastical ceremonies. Confirmed by Pope Urban III.

⁹ Under Matthew O'Henry, Archbishop of Cashel and legate, who confirmed the donations made by Prince John to Cumiu, Archbishop of Dublin, and the union of the See of Glendalough to Dublin.

(Buda), 1279. Cologne, 1280. Constantinople, 1280. Paris, 1281. Salzburg, 1281. Lambeth, 1281. Avignon, Tarragona, Tours, and Saintes, 1282. Constantinople, 1283. Blaquère, 1283. St. Pöelten, Melfi, 1284. Riez and Lanciez, 1285. Bourges, 1286. Ravenna, 1286. London, 1286. Rheims, 1287. Milan, 1287. Wurzburg. German National Council, 1287. Exeter, Rheims, and Milan, 1287. Salzburg and Lille, 1288. Chester, 1289. Paris, Westminster, and Nogaret, 1290. Milan, 1291. Salzburg and Aschaffenburg, 1291. Tarragona, Bremen, and Aschaffenburg, 1292. Béziers and Grado, 1296. London, 1297. Rouen and Béziers, 1299. Melun, Salzburg, and Merton, 1300.

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